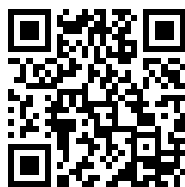

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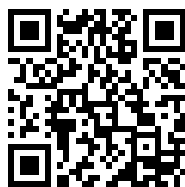
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Studies in Philology

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УПАВЛЕНИЕ СТОМАТОЛОГИИ

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Studies in Philology

Volume XXIV

January, 1927

Number 1

A CENSUS OF BRITISH NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS, 1620-1809

By R. S. CRANE and F. B. KAYE
with the assistance of M. E. PRIOR

Gratis quando datur equus, os non inspiciatur.

The student of the intellectual and social history of England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who wishes to study the periodical literature of the time can turn to a number of bibliographical guides. But even the most valuable of these—the *Tercentenary Handlist* and the *Union List of Serials*, now approaching completion in its provisional edition—still leave certain needs of the scholar uncared for. The *Union List*, because of its vast scope and its lack of any chronological arrangement, is not very convenient for the student of a special period; and the *Tercentenary Handlist*, which omits Scotch and Irish periodicals and limits itself to holdings in certain British libraries, does not, naturally, attempt completeness. It has seemed to us, therefore, that this present work would be of service to scholars.

We have tried, first, to give a two-fold bibliography, containing both a detailed finding-list of the precise holdings of the leading American libraries and a list of British periodicals apparently not found in these libraries. In these lists we have attempted to include all recognized types of periodicals—newspapers, magazines, reviews, essay sheets in the *Spectator* tradition, annuals, etc.¹—from 1620 to 1800, and Scotch, Irish, and Welsh, as well as English publications. In the second place, we have supplied two indexes, the first chronological, so that the student may know just what periodicals were published during any particular year, and the second

¹ With the exception of almanacs, though a few of these may have been inadvertently included.

geographical, so that he may easily discover the output of periodicals for any particular place outside of London.

The finding-list of periodicals in American libraries has been compiled in the main from the reports of thirty-seven libraries.² It attempts to record not merely the possession of a periodical, but, wherever possible, the precise "run" possessed. In the case of rare periodicals, therefore, the student can often piece out a file of the journal from the scattered holdings.

In making this census we have had to rely chiefly on reports made to us by the various librarians and by certain friends of ours who have had access to these libraries: naturally, we have seen only a small proportion of the periodicals.³ In spite, therefore, of the extraordinary amiability and conscientiousness of the librarians, there are inevitable errors and omissions in this list against which the user should be warned. (1) Since it is almost impossible for large libraries to single out all their periodicals, it is certain that our list of holdings is incomplete. (2) A few of the items reported are probably not periodicals. (3) As some of the periodicals had a complicated and obscure history, which the existing bibliographies do not untangle, and as the reports of holdings were not all equally full, there are certainly errors in description. Thus many changes in title may well have escaped us; in some instances continuations under a different title may be separated from the original periodical; and in some cases we may have joined what the publishers put asunder. Sometimes, again, we may have failed to discover that a periodical was published outside of London. There are also, no doubt, errors in dates, especially in periodicals of the seventeenth century, because of the difficulty of discriminating between Old and New Style in the reports. Finally, it has sometimes not been possible to be sure of the initial and terminal dates of periodicals,

² For a list of these libraries see below, pp. 9-11.

³ We have also used the provisional edition of the *Union List of Serials* (A-O), from which we have taken a few titles, indicated on our list by the symbol U. L., as well as a few holdings of libraries not included in our original list. The *Checklist of Newspapers and Official Gazettes in the New York Public Library* (New York, 1915), the *List of Newspapers in the Yale University Library* (New Haven, 1916), and J. T. Gerould's *Sources of English History of the Seventeenth Century, 1603-1689, in the University of Minnesota Library* (Minneapolis, 1921) have likewise been consulted with profit.

especially of newspapers—to know when a run is complete; and in some cases our terminal dates are simply those of the longest run reported.

After all, however, this part of the census is fundamentally a convenience for the locating of periodicals, and anyone using it for that purpose will necessarily, in the periodicals themselves, have a check against its errors. To safeguard the user, however, we have indicated a query whenever we had specific cause for doubt. And we have, moreover, taken great pains to reduce error to a minimum. Queries have been sent again and again to libraries, and a good many of the more perplexing periodicals have been personally examined.⁴ As a result, the finding-list, for all its undoubted faultiness, is more complete than any hitherto published for the period.

We did not at first intend to publish the supplementary list of periodicals not found in America. In the course of preparing the finding-list, however, it began to come into being, and we presently realized that it might be expanded into a bibliographical convenience and made a part of the chronological and geographical indexes. We therefore set ourselves to pillage bibliographies⁵ and to secure

⁴This fact will explain some of our deviations from the usual bibliographical descriptions (*e. g.*, in the terminal dates of John Houghton's two *Collections*). We felt, in those cases, that we had more trustworthy data.

⁵The works which we have utilized in this way are:

Aitken, G. A. *Life of Richard Steele*. London, 1889. 2 vols.

Allnutt, W. H. "English Provincial Presses, Part III." *Bibliographica*, II (1896), 276-308.

Andrews, A. *The History of British Journalism, from the Foundation of the Newspaper Press in England to the Repeal of the Stamp Act in 1855*. London, 1859. 2 vols.

Austin, Roland. "Gloucester Journal." *Notes and Queries*, 12th series, X (1922), 261-64, 283-85.

Austin, Roland. "Robert Raikes, the Elder, & the 'Gloucester Journal.'" *The Library*, 3rd series, VI (1915), 1-24.

Barwick, G. F. "A List of Magazines of the Eighteenth Century." *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, X (1908-09), 109-40.

Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Catalogue of the Printed Books preserved at Haigh Hall, Wigan, Co. Pal. Lancast. Aberdeen, 1910. 4 vols.

Bourne, H. R. Fox. *English Newspapers. Chapters in the History of Journalism*. London, 1887. 2 vols.

Bowes, Robert. *A Catalogue of Books printed at or relating to the University Town and County of Cambridge from 1521 to 1893*. Cambridge, 1894.

information in the British Museum, including the Hendon Repository, and in the Bodleian Library. And the list grew and grew. Soon, as the difficulties accumulated, we felt like Frankensteins. For, from the nature of the case, this list could not be made as trustworthy as the finding-list. The finding-list contained only

British Museum. *Catalogue of Printed Books: Periodical Publications.* London, 1899-1900.

Brushfield, T. N. "Andrew Brice, and the Early Exeter Newspaper Press." *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art*, XX (1888), 163-214.

Burn, J. H. *Catalogue of a Collection of Early English Newspapers and Essayists formed by the Late John Thomas Hope, Esq.* Oxford, 1865.

Catalogue of Periodicals contained in the Bodleian Library. Oxford, 1878-80. 2 vols.

Chalmers, George. *The Life of Thomas Ruddiman.* London, 1794.

Ch[isholm], H. "Newspapers: Sect. 2. British Newspapers." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., XIX (1911), 552-66.

Corns, A. R. *Bibliotheca Lincolniensis.* Lincoln, 1904.

Couper, W. J. *The Edinburgh Periodical Press.* Stirling, 1908. 2 vols.

Crossley, J. "'Works of the Learned.'" *Notes and Queries*, 1st series, VI (1852), 435-37.

Davidson, James. *Bibliotheca Devoniensis: A Catalogue of the Printed Books relating to the County of Devon.* Exeter, 1852.

Davies, Robert. *A Memoir of the York Press.* Westminster, 1868.

Dix, E. R. McC. *List of Books and Pamphlets printed in Strabane, Co. Tyrone, in the Eighteenth Century.* 2nd ed. Dundrum, 1908. ("Irish Bibliographical Pamphlets," No. 1.)

Dix, E. R. McC. *List of Books Newspapers and Pamphlets printed in Ennis, Co. Clare, in the Eighteenth Century.* Dublin, 1912. ("Irish Bibliographical Pamphlets," No. 8.)

Dix, E. R. McC. *List of Books, Pamphlets and Newspapers printed in Drogheda, Co. Louth, in the Eighteenth Century.* Dundalk, 1904. ("Irish Bibliographical Pamphlets," No. 3.)

Dix, E. R. McC. *List of Books, Pamphlets and Newspapers printed in Limerick from the Earliest Period to 1800.* Limerick, 1907. ("Irish Bibliographical Pamphlets," No. 5.)

Dix, E. R. McC. *List of Books, Pamphlets and Newspapers printed in Monaghan, in the Eighteenth Century.* Dundalk, 1906. ("Irish Bibliographical Pamphlets," No. 4.)

Dix, E. R. McC. *List of Books, Pamphlets, Newspapers, &c. printed in Londonderry, prior to 1801.* Dundalk, 1911. ("Irish Bibliographical Pamphlets," No. 7.)

Dix, E. R. McC. "Rare Ephemeral Magazines of the Eighteenth Century." *Irish Book Lover*, I (1910), 71-73.

items really in existence and could be checked by the reports of the libraries; but four-fifths of this list is, perforce, based on previous bibliographies of periodicals.

Only one who has worked with these bibliographies can realize the rich possibilities of confusion. Often it is impossible to tell whether two similar items in two bibliographies are the same or

- Dix, E. R. McC. "The Earliest Periodicals published in Dublin." *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 3rd series, VI (1900-02), 33-35.
- Drake, Nathan. *Essays, Biographical, Critical, and Historical, illustrative of the Rambler, Adventurer, & Idler*. London, 1809-10. 2 vols.
- Gilbert, H. M., and G. N. Godwin. *Bibliotheca Hantoniensis: A List of Books relating to Hampshire . . . with An Additional List of Hampshire Newspapers by F. E. Edwards*. Southampton, [1891.]
- Graham, Walter. "Some Predecessors of the *Tatler*." *Journal of English and German Philology*, XXIV (1925), 548-54.
- Graham, Walter. *The Beginnings of English Literary Periodicals: A Study of Periodical Literature, 1665-1715*. New York, 1926.
- Green, Emanuel. *Bibliotheca Somersetiensis*. Taunton, 1902. 3 vols.
- Hyett, Francis A., and William Bazeley. *The Bibliographer's Manual of Gloucestershire Literature*. Gloucester, 1895-97. 3 vols.
- Lee, William. "Forgotten Periodical Publications." *Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, IX (1866), 53-64.
- Lee, William. "Periodical Publications during the Twenty Years 1712 to 1732." *Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, IX (1866), 72-75 and 92-95. Cf. also 3rd series, IX, 164, 268, and X, 134.
- Madden, Richard Robert. *The History of Irish Periodical Literature, from the End of the 17th to the Middle of the 19th Century*. London, 1867. 2 vols.
- Marr, G. S. *The Periodical Essayists of the Eighteenth Century, with Illustrative Extracts from the Rarer Periodicals*. London, 1923.
- Mayo, Charles H. *Bibliotheca Dorsetiensis*. London, 1885.
- McCutcheon, R. P. "The Beginnings of Book-reviewing in English Periodicals." *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXVII (1922), 691-706.
- Muddiman, J. G. *The King's Journalist, 1659-1689: Studies in the Reign of Charles II*. London, [1923.]
- Nichols, John. *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*. London, 1812-16. Vols. I, IV, VIII, IX.
- Norris, Herbert E. "St. Ives Mercury." *Notes and Queries*, 11th series, II (1910), 481-82.
- "Old Newspapers." [Notes by various correspondents.] *Notes and Queries*, 12th series, XI (1922), 108, 157, 177.
- Pierpoint, Robert. "Newcastle and Durham Papers." *Notes and Queries*, 12th series, XII (1923), 254.

not; some give dates Old Style, some New—and fail to tell you which; some standardize titles one way, some another; and in some bibliographies of periodicals—for example, the *Catalogue of Periodicals contained in the Bodleian Library*—many of the entries are not periodicals at all.⁵² As we realized on what authorities our list had sometimes to be based and tried to judge between two sources of information each of which might be thoroughly untrustworthy, we have often felt anxiety lest our efforts to resolve the confusion might not be adding “fat pollutions of our own.”

There are two special difficulties in a list such as this. First, there are the “ghosts”—periodicals which get recorded, but which do not exist. A confusion of dates, a miswriting of a title, an error as to editors or printers—and a “ghost” walks. For exorcism many careful monographs are needed; and some of the wraiths

Plomer, H. R. *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667*. London, 1907.

Plomer, H. R. *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725*. Oxford, 1922.

Roberts, William. “The ‘Gentleman’s Magazine’ and its Rivals.” *Athenæum*, Oct. 26, 1889, p. 560.

Stevens, D. H. *Party Politics and English Journalism, 1702-1742*. Chicago, 1916.

Tercentenary Handlist of English & Welsh Newspapers, Magazines & Reviews. London, 1920.

“Tercentenary Handlist of Newspapers.” [Additions and corrections by various correspondents.] *Notes and Queries*, 12th series, VIII (1921), 91-93, 118, 173-75, 252-53; X (1922), 191-94, 213-14.

Term Catalogues. Ed. Edward Arber. London, 1903-06. 3 vols.

Timperley, C. H. *Encyclopædia of Literary and Typographical Anecdote*. 2nd ed., London, 1842.

Wallis, Alfred. ‘A Sketch of the Early History of the Printing Press in Derbyshire.’ Reprinted from the *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, III (1881).

Welford, Richard. “Early Newcastle Typography, 1639-1800.” *Archæologia Aeliana*, 3rd series, III (1907), 1-134.

Williams, J. B. *A History of English Journalism to the Foundation of the “Gazette.”* London, 1908.

⁵² Certain honorable exceptions, besides the two mentioned in our first paragraph, should be noted; for instance, Couper’s *Edinburgh Periodical Press* and Madden’s *History of Irish Periodical Literature*.

can never be laid. The second difficulty is incompleteness. Our list can of course be expanded by a further search in bibliographies and libraries, for the field is immense. In fact, as we saw how much was left, we put off publication and went on garnering material. That material is now included—and a new mass of information accumulating. At no matter what stage, indeed, we obligated ourselves to print, there would always be more that we could do. And meanwhile a useful tool would rust.

We have, however, a consolation in knowing that this list, as supplemented by the finding-list, is more nearly complete than any earlier one we have examined, and that, in addition, it contains a considerable number of periodicals not mentioned, so far as we know, in any other bibliographies.

In both lists certain information is always given—the title of the periodical, its place of publication, and its initial and terminal dates when these are available or calculable with some security. In addition, the names of editors, publishers, or printers are given (after the title) when these were known and thought to be of sufficient importance; and the frequency of publication is indicated when definitely known. In both lists, also, periodicals which changed their titles are placed under their initial title and a cross-reference given under the subsequent title or titles.

Two other matters should be understood. First, no effort is made to give information about that part of the run of a journal which extends beyond 1800; the mere indication of this fact by means of the symbol + is all that will be found. Secondly, when there is no statement of the provenience, London is to be presumed.

Entries have been standardized as much as possible. The capitalization of titles has been conformed to the A. L. A. rules. Articles at the beginning of titles have been omitted. Dates have, to the best of our knowledge, been uniformly expressed in New Style. Issues dated for a period of time instead of with a single date (e. g., Monday, Jan. 3 to Wednesday, Jan. 5) are, except in a few special instances, given only the latter date e. g., Jan. 5).

In the list of periodicals found in America, the descriptions of library holdings, unless it be otherwise specified, record the original issues (see, for example, the entries under the *Tatler* and Gold-

smith's *Bee*).⁶ When no entry follows the library symbol, the run is supposed to be complete.

In both lists, a question mark after a date means either that the date is inferential or that the authority for it is suspect. The user should remember, too, that the terminal date given is often merely that of the last number which we have found recorded.

In the two indexes, periodicals or parts of runs of periodicals not found in America are expressed by *italicized* numbers. We have also sought to facilitate reference by beginning the numbering in the second list with 1001. Transactions of societies are, with a few exceptions (e. g., the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*), indexed only under the date of their first appearance because of the frequently irregular appearance of these publications. Finally, it should be remembered that the periodicals in our second list cannot be so completely represented in the chronological index as those in the first list because the length of their runs is so often unknown.

We have been fortunate in the help which we have received in making this census. The librarians to whom we have applied have been more than generous of aid, and we have had the good luck to enlist the unselfish help of many friends. Professor A. E. Case, Professor R. H. Griffith, Professor George Sherburn, Mr. T. W. Koch, Mr. Andrew Keogh, Mr. A. T. Dorf, Mr. Stephen F. Crocker, Miss Emily H. Hall, and Miss Fannie Ratchford have verified entries and reported new ones to us or otherwise given us aid and comfort. Miss Bernice Ford, Mrs. R. S. Crane, and Mrs. G. R. Osler have spent laborious and effective hours on the lists and indexes. Professor R. P. McCutcheon, Mr. Aubrey L. Hawkins, and Mr. R. H. Thornton have, at much expenditure of time, sent us many entries which we should not otherwise have had. Miss Mary E. Craig has given us notes on Scottish periodicals more full than could be found in any bibliography.

One final note. This bibliography is to be looked upon as a first draft. No work such as this can possibly reach completion in

⁶ Certain facts should be noted concerning our descriptions of library holdings. (1) Reprints in the collected works of an author or in the essay-collections of Chalmers and Harrison are not recorded. (2) Because of variations of method in the reports of the libraries, details of holdings

its first edition. We hope to be able in time to perfect it, and, to this end, we invite all users of these lists to send us corrections and additions, for, in cases like this, as Dr. Johnson said, "those who can add any thing . . . communicate their discoveries, and time produces what had eluded diligence."

University of Chicago.
Northwestern University.

R. S. C.
F. B. K.

LIST OF LIBRARIES, WITH THEIR SYMBOLS¹

CSH	The Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California
CSt	Leland Stanford University Library, Stanford University, California
CU	University of California Library, Berkeley, California
CtHT	<i>Trinity College Library, Hartford, Connecticut</i>
CtY	Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut
DA	<i>Library of U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.</i>
DCU	<i>Library of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.</i>
DGS	<i>Library of the U. S. Geological Survey, Washington, D. C.</i>
DGU	<i>Library of Georgetown University, D. C.</i>
DLC	Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
DNM	<i>U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C.</i>

could not always be given with equal fullness. (3) When no comma appears before such terms as "rep.", "inc.", or "2nd ed.", they apply only to the issue or volume immediately preceding (as in no. 840); when a comma appears before these terms, they apply to all the preceding issues or volumes back to the nearest semicolon or, in the absence of a semicolon, to the beginning of the holding (as in nos. 733, 101, and 199).

¹In this list are included three groups of libraries. The first consists of those libraries whose detailed reports of holdings constitute the basis of our finding-list. The second group comprises a small number of private libraries the contents of which happened to be known to us; from these we have recorded certain rare periodicals for the possible convenience of scholars. The third group includes a number of libraries, mainly of a specialized character, occasional holdings of which have been inserted on the authority either of the *Union List of Serials* or of cards in the Union

DP	<i>Library of the U. S. Patent Office, Washington, D. C.</i>
DSG	<i>Library of U. S. Surgeon General's Office, Washington, D. C.</i>
ICJ	John Crerar Library, Chicago, Illinois
ICN	Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois
ICS	Private Library of Professor George Sherburn, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois
ICU	University of Chicago Libraries, Chicago, Illinois
IEK	Private Library of Professor F. B. Kaye, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois
IEN	Northwestern University Library, Evanston, Illinois
IU	University of Illinois Library, Urbana, Illinois
IWS	Private library of Mr. A. W. Shaw, Winnetka, Illinois
Ia	<i>Iowa State Library, Des Moines, Iowa</i>
IaU	<i>Library of the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa</i>
MAA	<i>Library of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, Amherst, Massachusetts</i>
MB	Boston Public Library
MBB	Library of the Boston Athenaeum
MBC	<i>Congregational Library, Boston, Massachusetts</i>
MBM	<i>Boston Medical Library, Boston, Massachusetts</i>
MH	Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts
MH-A	<i>Library of the Arnold Arboretum, Cambridge, Massachusetts</i>
MH-L	<i>Library of the Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Massachusetts</i>
MHi	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts
MdBJ	Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore, Maryland
MdBM	<i>Library of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of the State of Maryland, Baltimore, Maryland</i>
MdBp	Peabody Institute, Baltimore, Maryland
MeB	<i>Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick, Maine</i>
MiD-B	<i>Burton Historical Collection, Detroit, Michigan</i>
MiU	University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan
MiUC	William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan

Catalogue at the University of Chicago; these libraries are distinguished by italics in the above list. The symbols used are, with a few additions, those employed in the *Union List*. For permission to use them we are indebted to the publishers, the H. W. Wilson Company, New York.

MnU	University of Minnesota Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota
N	New York State Library, Albany, New York
NIC	Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York
NN	New York Public Library, New York City
NNC	Columbia University Library, New York City
NNE	<i>Engineering Societies Library, New York City</i>
NNG	<i>Library of the General Theological Seminary, New York City</i>
NNU	<i>Library of Union Theological Seminary, New York City</i>
NcU	Library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina
NjP	Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey
NjPT	<i>Library of Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey</i>
O	<i>State Library, Columbus, Ohio</i>
OO	<i>Oberlin College Library, Oberlin, Ohio</i>
PPL	Library Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
PPAP	Library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
PPH	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
PU	University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
RPB	Brown University Library, Providence, Rhode Island
TxAG	Private Library of Professor R. H. Griffith, University of Texas, Austin, Texas
TxU	University of Texas Library, Austin, Texas
VaU	Library of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia
WH	Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin
WU	University of Wisconsin Library, Madison, Wisconsin

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

- a. — published annually
- app. — appendix
- d. — published daily

12 *A Census of British Newspapers and Periodicals, 1620-1800*

- Ed.* = edited by
f. = published fortnightly
impr. = imprint on titlepage bound with original
 sheets when these were collected into a
 volume
inc. = incomplete
ir. = published at irregular intervals
m. = published monthly
n. s. = new series
q. = published quarterly
rep. = reprint or reprinted
ser. = series
s. m. = published semi-monthly
suppl. = supplement
s. w. = published semi-weekly
t. w. = published tri-weekly
U. L. = *Union List of Serials*
w. = published weekly
+ = published until after 1800

I. BRITISH PERIODICALS, 1620-1800, ACCESSIBLE IN AMERICAN LIBRARIES

1. Aberdeen magazine. Aberdeen, 1761. m.
NN (v. 1, July, 1761, inc.), ICU.
- 1a. Abstract of some speciall forreigne occurrences. Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne. 1638.
MnU.
- 1b. Account of the proceedings of the meeting of the Estates in Scotland. *Continued as* Continuation of the proceedings of the Convention of the Estates in Scotland (from no. ?). *Printed for* R. Chiswell. 1689-90.
CSH (nos. 82-147, 1690).
2. Account of the publick transactions in Christendom. *Continued as* Historical account of the publick transactions in Christendom (from no. 2, Aug. 18, 1694); *discontinued*, Sept. 8, 1694—May 4, 1695; *continued as* Holland packet-boat; or, An historical account of the publick transactions of Christendom (from no. 15, June 17, 1695); *amalgamated with* Post boy, and historical account, &c., with foreign and domestick news (nos. 16-71, June 19—Oct. 22, 1695); *continued as* Post man, and the historical account . . . (from no. 72, Oct. 24, 1695); *as* Œdipus; or, The postman remounted (from Feb. 24, 1729/30, with new numbering). Abel Boyer, John de Fonvive, Abel Roper, etc. 1694-1730(?). t. w.
CSH (nos. 442-48, 446 [*sic*], 451-69, 471-78, 482-87, 491-92, 495-520, 522-31, 533-37, Mar. 26—Nov. 10, 1698; 537-61, Nov. 12, 1698—Jan. 12, 1699; 563-600, 602-11, 613-36, 638-46, 648-62, 664-68, Jan. 14—Oct. 26, 1699; 670-714, Oct. 28, 1699—Feb. 20, 1700; 716, 718-29, Feb. 24—Mar. 26, 1700), CtY (nos. 11050-16542, Jan. 4, 1715—Dec. 31, 1717), IWS (nos. 929, 947, 997-98, 1002-05, Feb. 3—Aug. 18, 1702), NN (Dec. 11, 1703), TxU (nos. 1158-1967, July 8, 1703—Oct. 23, 1708; 1847, Feb. 16, 1710; 2061, June 28, 1711; 11050, Sept. 4, 1714; 11050 [*sic*], Nov. 1, 1714), WH (nos. 869, Feb. 15, 1701; 919, Jan. 8, 1702; 1011, Sept. 5, 1702; 1078, Jan. 5, 1703; 1229, Jan. 20, 1704; 1363, Jan. 6, 1705; 1572, Jan. 26, 1706; 1803, July 8, 1707).
3. Adams's weekly courant. Chester, no. 241, June 29, 1737+. w.
NN (Apr. 7, 1747).

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4. *Adventurer*. *Ed.* J. Hawkesworth. Nos. 1-140, Nov. 7, 1752-Mar. 9, 1754. s. w.
CSH (v. 1-2, 1752-53), **CtY** (also rep. 1756), **ICU**, **IU** (1753-54), **MB**, **NN**, **NNC** (nos. 71-140), **TxU** (lacking no. 71), **WH**.
Advice from Parnassus. See News from Parnassus.
5. *Adviser*, by Abraham Briarcliff. Edinburgh, 1797. w.
CtY (nos. 1-16, Feb. 11-May 27, 1797).
6. *Advocate*; or, A vindication of the Christian religion, and the Church of England in particular, against the vile and blasphemous writers of the age. 1720-21. w.
MH (nos. 1-18, Nov. 9, 1720-Mar. 8, 1721).
7. *Alter et idem*, a new review. *Ed.* Robert Deverell. Reading, 1794.
DLC (no. 1).
8. *American gazette*; being a collection of all the . . . addresses, memorials, letters, etc. which relate to the present disputes between Great Britain and her colonies. 1768-70. w.
CSH, **CtY** (1768-70, inc.), **DLC** (nos. 1-5, 1768-69, 3rd ed.), **ICN** (nos. 1-2, 2nd ed., 1768), **MB** (nos. 1-3, 1768), **MiUC** (nos. 1-3), **NN** (no. 2, inc.).
9. *American gazette*, by several gentlemen from America. 1776. (From U. L.).
DLC (nos. 2-4, Feb.-Mar. 1776).
- 9a. *American repository*; or, Lottery magazine of literature, politics, and pleasure . . . by Philanthropos. 1777.
ICN, **MB**.
10. *Analytical review*; or, History of literature, domestic and foreign. 1788-99. m.
CtY (v. 1-28, May 1788-Dec. 1798), **DLC**, **ICN** (v. 1-17, May 1788-Dec. 1793; 19-28, May 1794-Dec. 1798; n. s., v. 1, Jan.-June 1799), **IU** (v. 1-14, May 1788-Dec. 1792), **MB** (v. 1-22, 1788-96), **MBB**, **MH** (v. 1-17; 18-28, inc.), **N** (v. 1-17, May 1788-Dec. 1793; 19-28, May 1794-Dec. 1798), **NjP**, **NN**, **NNC** (v. 1-9, May 1788-Apr. 1791), **PPL**, **VaU** (v. 1-16, 1788-93).
11. *Annals of agriculture and other useful arts*. *Ed.* Arthur Young. London, 1784-89; Bury St. Edmunds, 1790+. q.
CtY, **CU**, **DLC** (v. 1-17), **ICJ**, **ICU**, **IU** (v. 1-33, 1784-99), **MB**, **MnU**, **NIC**, **NNC** (inc.), **PU**.
12. *Annals of Europe*. 1739-44. a.
CtY, **TxAG** (1743), **WH**.

13. *Annals of Europe; or, Regal register shewing the succession of sovereigns.* 1779. a.
MB.
14. *Annals of King George.* 1716-21. a.
CtY, DLC, ICU (v. 2-3), **RPB** (1716).
Annals of medicine. *See* *Medical and philosophical commentaries.*
- 14a. *Annotations on the Tatler, by W. Wagstaff.* W. Oldisworth. 1710.
CtY.
15. *Annual advertiser.* 1739-40. a.
PPAP.
16. *Annual register. Founded by R. Dodsley.* 1759 (for the year 1758)+. a.
CSH, CSt, CtY, CU, DLC, ICJ, ICN, ICU, IEN, IU, MB, MBB, MdBj, MdBP, MH, MHi, MiU, MiUC, MnU, N, NIC, NjP, NN, NNC, NcU, PPH, PPL, PU, RPB, TxU, VaU (inc.), **WH.**
17. *Anthologia Hibernica; or, Monthly collections of science, belles lettres, and history.* Dublin, 1793-94. m.
CtY, DLC, ICN, ICU, MB, MBB, MdBP, MH, MiU, NN, PPL (1793), **RPB, WH.**
18. *Antidote against the malignant influence of Mercurius (surnamed) Aulicus.* 1642.
TxU (no. 1, Sept. 2, 1642).
19. *Anti-Jacobin; or, Weekly examiner.* *Ed.* W. Gifford. Nos. 1-36, Nov. 20, 1797-July 9, 1798. w.
CtY (also 4th ed., 1799), **DLC, ICN, ICU, MB, MBB, MH** (4th ed.), **NIC** (4th ed.), **NN, NNC** (4th ed.), **PPL** (4th ed.), **RPB, TxU.**
20. *Anti-Jacobin review and magazine.* 1798+. m.
CSt, CtY, DLC, ICN, ICU, IU (v. 1-3, July 1798-Aug. 1799), **MB, MBB, MdBj** (v. 1), **MH, MiU, MnU, N, NIC, NjP, NN, NNC, PPL, WH.**
Anti-Roman packet. *See* *Pacquet of advice from Rome....*
21. *Anti-theatre.* Nos. 1-15, Feb. 15-Apr. 4, 1720. s. w.
CtY (rep. 1791), **DLC** (nos. 2-15), **TxU** (no. 9).
22. *Anti-union.* Dublin, nos. 1-32, 1798-99. t. w.
CtY, DLC (nos. 1-13, 15-19, Dec. 27, 1798-Feb. 7, 1799), **NN, NNC.**
Applebee's original weekly journal. *See* *Original weekly journal.*

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24. *Archaeologia; or, Miscellaneous tracts relating to antiquity.*
1770+.
CSt, CtY, CU, DLC, ICN, ICU, IU, MB, MdBp, MH (lacking v. 3),
N, NIC, NcU, NNC, WH.
25. *Archaeologia Scotica; or, Transactions of the society of
antiquaries of Scotland.* Edinburgh, 1792+. a.
CtY, MB, MdBp, NIC, NN, NNC, WH.
26. *Argus.* 1789-96(?). w.
CtY (Oct. 29, 1795-May 18, 1796).
27. *Aris's Birmingham gazette; or, The general correspondent.*
Birmingham, 1741+.
NN (Dec. 22, 1755).
28. *Arminian magazine. Continued as Methodist magazine*
(from Jan. 1798). *Ed.* John Wesley and others.
1778+. m.
CtY, DLC, ICN (v. 1-20, Jan. 1778-Dec. 1797), **ICU** (v. 1-20),
MB, NIC, NN (v. 19, 20 inc.), **NNC, WH** (v. 16, Jan.-Dec. 1793).
29. *Artists' repository and drawing magazine.* F. Fitzgerald.
1785-94. m.
DLC (v. 1-4, 1785-88).
30. *Asiatic annual register; or, A view of the history of Hindu-
stan, and of the politics, commerce and literature of Asia.*
1799+. a.
CtY, DLC, MB, MdBp, MH, MiU, NNC, WH.
31. *Asiatic miscellany.* Calcutta and London, 1785-86.
MH.
Astrologer's magazine and philosophical miscellany. See
Conjuror's magazine. . . .
Asylum; or, Weekly miscellany. See Weekly miscellany of
instruction and entertainment.
32. *Athenian gazette; or, Casuistical mercury. Continued as*
Athenian mercury (from no. 2). John Dunton, assisted
by Richard Sault, John Norris, Samuel Wesley, Sr., etc.
V. 1-19, March 17, 1690/91-Feb. 8, 1696, thirty nos. in
a volume; v. 20, May 14-June 14, 1697, ten nos. s. w.
Five supplements.
CtY (also suppl. 1-5), **ICN** (also suppl. 1-4), **ICU** (v. 1-8, Mar. 17,
1691-July 26, 1692; v. 9, nos. 2, 5-6, 13-14), **IU** (v. 1-11, 1691-93),
MB, MH (v. 1-19, lacking v. 1, nos. 1-3, 7-8, 11, 15-16; v. 3,
nos. 6, 13, 15; v. 4, nos. 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, and part of 4th suppl.),
NN, NNC (v. 10-20, Mar. 28, 1693-June 14, 1697), **PPL** (v. 8,
nos. 1, 23), **TxU, WH** (v. 3, nos. 4, 6; v. 10, nos. 22, 25, 28;

v. 11, nos. 7, 10, 11, 20, 21, 23, 25; v. 12, nos. 1, 4, 12, 13, 16, 18, 28; v. 13, nos. 6, 10).

Athenian mercury. *See* Athenian gazette; or, Casuistical mercury.

33. Attic miscellany; or, Characteristic mirror of men and things. Oct. 1789–Aug. 1792. m.

DLC (v. 1, Oct. 1789–Sept. 1790, 2nd ed.), **MBB** (1789-91), **MH**.

34. Auditor. 1733-34. s. w.; w.

CtY (Jan. 9-23, May 8, Dec. 5, 1733), **DLC** (nos. 1-45, Jan. 9, 1733–Jan. 30, 1734).

35. Auditor. Arthur Murphy. 1762-63. w.

CtY (July 15, 1762–May 16, 1763, rep. in *Political controversy*, 1762-63), **RPB** (rep. in *Political controversy*).

"Bagweel" papers. *See* Occasional paper, 1716-19.

37. Baldwin's London journal; or, British chronicle. 1762-92(?). w.

CtY (nos. 1-35, Jan. 2–Aug. 28, 1762).

Banks' currant intelligence. *See* Currant intelligence; or, An impartial account of transactions . . . (Banks).

38. Baptist annual register. 1790+. a.

CtY, **DLC** (1794-97), **ICN**, **ICU**, **MB**, **MiU**, **N** (1790-93), **NjP**, **NN**, **RPB**.

Bath journal. *See* Boddely's Bath journal.

40. Beauties of all the magazines selected. 1762-64.

CtY (v. 1-2, 1762-63), **ICN** (v. 1-2), **MB** (v. 1).

41. Bee. Oliver Goldsmith. Nos. 1-8, Oct. 6–Nov. 24, 1759. w.

ICS, **MH** (rep. 1759).

42. Bee; or, Literary weekly intelligencer. *Ed.* James Anderson. Edinburgh, Dec. 22, 1790–Jan. 21, 1794. w.

CSH, **CtY**, **DLC**, **ICN**, **ICU**, **IU**, **MB** (v. 1, Dec. 22, 1790–Mar. 2, 1791), **MH**, **MHi**, **NjP** (v. 3, May 11–July 6, 1791), **NN**, **NNC**, **PPL**, **WH**.

43. Bee; or, Universal weekly pamphlet. *Continued as* Bee; or, Universal weekly pamphlet revived (from v. 2, no. 1); *as* Bee revived; or, The universal weekly pamphlet (from v. 2, no. 4). E. Budgell. Feb. 3, 1733–June 14, 1735. w.

CtY, **DLC** (no. 8, Mar. 1733), **ICU** (nos. 1-8, Feb. 3–Mar. 31, 1733), **MB** (nos. 1-77, Feb. 3, 1733–Aug. 24, 1734), **MH**, **MHi** (v. 6, no. 75, 1734), **NN** (v. 2, nos. 14-26, May 30–Aug. 22, 1733), **NNC** (nos. 2, Feb. 1733; 12, Apr. 1733), **TxAG** (v. 1-4, 6-9, 1733-35).

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44. Bee revived; or, The prisoner's magazine. 1750.
MH (prospectus, and v. 1, no. 1, 1750).
 Bee revived; or, The universal weekly pamphlet. *See* Bee;
 or, Universal weekly pamphlet.
45. Belfast news-letter, and general advertiser. *Continued as*
 Belfast news-letter (from ?). Belfast, 1737(?)+. s. w.
NN (July 3, Dec. 14, 1795).
46. Bellamy's picturesque magazine and literary museum. 1793.
MH (v. 1).
47. Bell's weekly messenger. 1796+. w.
CtY (May 1, 1796-Dec. 31, 1797; Apr. 15-29, May 27, July 1,
 1798; Jan. 20, Mar. 10, 31, Apr. 21, 1799), **ICU** (nos. 4-10, 12-15,
 18-20, 22-28, 30-31, 33-38, 40-41, 43-48, 50, 52, 54-56, 59-61,
 67-68, 71, 74-76, 78-87, 89-100, 102-06, 108-10, 113-18, 120-23,
 125-26, May 22, 1796-Sept. 23, 1798), **IU** (1796+), **MaBP**.
- 47a. B. Berington's evening post. 1732(?) - 33(?). t. w.
TxU (Apr. 10, 1733).
48. Berkshire repository. Maidenhead, 1797.
CtY (v. 1).
 Berrow's Worcester journal. *See* Worcester postman.
- 48a. Berwick museum; or, Monthly literary intelligencer.
 Berwick-on-Tweed, 1785-87. m.
NN (Feb., Mar., May 1786).
49. Bibliotheca literaria, being a collection of inscriptions,
 medals, dissertations. *Ed.* S. Webb. 1722-24.
CSH, **CtY** (nos. 1-10, 1722-24), **DLC**, **ICS**, **ICU**, **IU**, **MH**, **N**.
50. Biographical and imperial magazine. 1789-92. Monthly
 parts entitled The imperial magazine.
CtY (v. 1-3, Jan. 1789-June 1790), **IU** (Jan. 1789).
51. Biographical magazine. 1773-76.
DLC (4 v. in one, 1773-76), **ICU**.
52. Biographical magazine, containing portraits & characters
 of eminent and ingenious persons of every age & nation.
 1794.
CtY, **MB**, **NN**.
53. Biographical magazine; or, Complete historical library.
Printed for F. Newbery. 1776-(?).
DLC (v. 1-4, 1776), **NN** (v. 1, 1776), **WH** (v. 1-4).
- 53a. Boddely's Bath journal. *Continued as* Bath journal (from
 Mar. 8, 1773). Bath, 1744+. w.
TxU (v. 2-5, Mar. 25, 1745-Mar. 20, 1749).

54. Botanical magazine; or, The flower garden displayed. *Continued as Curtis' botanical magazine* (from 1801). W. Curtis. 1787+.
CSt (v. 1, impr. 1793; v. 14, impr. 1800), CtY, DLC, ICU (v. 1-3, 1787-92; 7-12, 1794-98), IU (v. 1-14), MB, MdBp, MnU, NIC, NN, NNC, VaU.
55. Botanical review. 1790-(?). (From U. L.)
MH-A (v. 1, 1790).
56. Briefe relation of some affaires and transactions, civill and military, both forraigne and domestique. Walter Frost. Oct. 2, 1649-Oct. 22, 1650. w.
MnU (no. 35, Apr. 23, 1650).
57. Bristol gazette and public advertiser. Bristol, 1767(?)+. NN (Aug. 20, 1772).
58. Britain. 1713.
TxU (nos. 11, 13, 15, 16, Feb. 11, 18, 25, 28, 1713).
59. Britannic magazine; or, Entertaining repository of heroic adventures and memorable exploits. 1793+. m.
CtY, DLC (v. 1-6, 1793-98), ICU (v. 1-7), MBB (1793-96).
60. British Apollo; or, Curious amusements for the ingenious. 1708-11. s. w. (to no. 79); t. w.
CtY, DLC (v. 1-3, Feb. 13, 1708-Mar. 26, 1711), ICN (v. 1-2, Feb. 13, 1708-Mar. 24, 1710), ICU (4th ed., abridged, 1740), IU (2nd, 3rd eds.), MB (rep. 1740), MBB, MH (v. 1-3, Feb. 13, 1708-Mar. 26, 1711; v. 4, nos. 1-20, Mar. 28-May 11, 1711, lacking v. 2, no. 13, and v. 3, no. 113; also v. 1-3, 3rd ed., 1726; v. 1-2, 4th ed., 1740), NIC (v. 1-3, rep. 1726), NN (v. 1-3), NNC (rep. 1726), TxU, WH (v. 2, 1709-10).
- 60a. British antidote to Caledonian poison. *Continued as Scots scourge: being a compleat supplement to the British antidote to Caledonian poison* (from v. 3, 1763); *as British antidote* (from v. 5, 1766). 1762-66.
DLC.
British champion; or, The impartial advertiser. *See* Champion; or, British mercury.
61. British critic, and quarterly theological review. Ed. W. Beloe and R. Nares. 1793+. m.
Cst, CtY, CU, DLC, ICN, ICU, IU, MB, MBB, MdBp (v. 4, July-Dec. 1794), MH, MiU, N, NIC, NN, NNC, VaU (v. 1-3, 6-15, 21-23).
British gazette and Sunday monitor. *See* Johnson's British gazette and Sunday monitor.

62. British journal. *Continued as British journal*; or, The censor (from Jan. 20, 1728); *as British journal*; or, The traveller (from Nov. 30, 1730). 1722-31(?). w.
CtY (Jan. 5, Feb. 16, Mar. 14-30, Apr. 13, 27-Dec. 7, 21, 1723; May 23, 30, Aug. 15, 29, Sept. 19, 26, Oct. 17, 31, Nov. 7-21, 1724; Feb. 20, 1725; Feb. 11-Dec. 30, 1727; Jan. 3, Feb. 14, 21, Apr. 25-Dec. 26, 1730), **MH** (nos. 2-136, Sept. 29, 1722-Apr. 24, 1725, lacking nos. 9, 12, 35, 51, 80, 99), **TxU** (nos. 4-13, Oct. 13-Dec. 15, 1722, lacking nos. 11-12; Mar. 23, 1723), **WH** (nos. 1-58, Sept. 22, 1722-Oct. 26, 1723; 60-75, Nov. 9, 1723-Feb. 22, 1724; 77-105, Mar. 7-Sept. 19, 1724).
63. British librarian. William Oldys. Nos. 1-6, Jan.-June, 1737. m.
CtY, ICJ, ICS, ICU, IU, MB, MBB, MH, N, NcU, NIC, NN, NNC (rep. 1738), **RPB**.
64. British lyre; or, Muses repertory. 1793. a.
MH.
65. British magazine. *Ed.* John Hill. 1746-50. m.
CtY (July-Nov. 1747, July inc.), **DLC** (v. 4, 1749), **IU**.
66. British magazine. 1800+. m.
DLC, ICN (v. 2, nos. 7-9, July-Sept. 1800), **PPL**.
67. British magazine and general review of the literature, employment and amusements of the times. 1772. m.
DLC (v. 1, Mar.-June 1772; v. 2, July-Nov. 1772, lacking Aug.-Oct., Dec.), **ICU**.
68. British magazine and review; or, Universal miscellany of arts, sciences, etc. July 1782-Dec. 1783. m.
CtY, IU, MB.
69. British magazine; or, Monthly repository for gentlemen and ladies. *Ed.* T. G. Smollett. Jan. 1760-Dec. 1767. m.
CtY, ICU (v. 3-6, 8, 1762-67, lacking Sept. 1763, Mar. 1764, Jan. 1765, and Oct. 1767), **MB** (1760-61), **MHi** (Oct. 1761), **NN** (v. 2, 1761), **NNC** (v. 3-4, 1762-63), **WH** (v. 2-3, 1761-62).
70. British magazine; or, The London and Edinburgh intelligencer. Edinburgh, 1747-48.
DLC.
71. British melody; or, The musical magazine. 1739.
MH.
72. British merchant; or, Commerce preserv'd; in answer to [Defoe's] *Mercator*. . . . *Ed.* Charles King. Nos. 1-103, Aug. 7, 1713-July 30, 1714. s. w.
CtY (nos. 16, 18-87, 89-101, 103, Sept. 29, 1713-July 30, 1714;

- also 2nd ed., 1743; 3rd ed. 1748), **DLC** (rep. 1721), **ICU** (3rd ed., 1748), **IU** (rep. 1721), **MB** (rep. 1721), **NIC** (rep. 1721), **TxU**.
73. British mercury, published by the Company of London-insurers. *Continued as* British weekly mercury (from no. 498, Jan. 15, 1715). Nos. 1-566, 1710-16. s. w.
WH (nos. 396-518, Feb. 4, 1713-June 4, 1715).
74. British mercury; or, Annals of history, politics, manners, literature, etc. 1787-90. w.
NJP (v. 1-13, Apr. 4, 1787-June 26, 1790; v. 15, Oct. 2-Dec. 25, 1790).
75. British mercury; or, Historical and critical views of the events of the present time. *Ed.* J. Mallet de Pan. 1798-1800. s. m.
CtY (v. 1-3, 1798-99; v. 1, 2nd ed.), **NN** (v. 1-5, 1798-1800), **PU** (v. 1-4).
76. British mercury; or, The Welch diurnall. 1643.
TxU (no. 6, Dec. 3, 1643).
77. British military library, or journal. 1798+. m.
DLC (v. 1, Oct. 1798-Sept. 1799), **MB**, **MH**, **NN** (v. 1-2), **WH**.
British palladium. *See* Gentleman and lady's palladium.
78. British poetical miscellany. Huddersfield, 1799(?). w.
CtY (nos. 1-30), **ICN** (4th ed., 1818).
79. British public characters. *Published by* R. Phillips. 1798+. a.
CtY, **DLC**, **ICN**, **IU**, **MB**, **MH**, **MnU**, **NcU**, **NIC**, **NN**, **NNC** (ed. 1801-09), **PPL**.
- 79a. British telescope. 1724-49. a.
DLC, **NNC** (v. 25, 1748), **PPAP** (1724-25, 1728-36, 1738-49), **WH**.
British weekly mercury. *See* British mercury, 1710-16.
80. Briton. 1723-24. w.
NN, **TxU** (nos. 1-30, Aug. 7, 1723-Feb. 19, 1724).
81. Briton. *Ed.* T. G. Smollett. Nos. 1-38, May 29, 1762-Feb. 12, 1763. w.
CtY (rep. in Political controversy, 1762-63), **NN** (nos. 1-18, 20-24, 26-38), **WH** (nos. 1-23, May 29-Oct. 30, 1762).
82. Builder's magazine; or, Monthly companion for architects, carpenters, masons, etc. (by a society of architects). 1774.
NNC.
83. Bulletins of the campaigns (from the London gazette). 1793+.

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- DLC (1793-96, 1798+), NNC (1793+), WH (Mar. 2, 1793-Dec. 14, 1799).
84. Bystander; or, Universal weekly expositor. Charles Dibdin. Aug. 15, 1789-Feb. 6, 1790. w.
CtY, MH, NNC.
 85. Cabinet, by a society of gentlemen. Norwich, 1794-95. m.
CtY (v. 1-3, 1794-95), NjP (v. 1-3), RPB (v. 1-2).
 86. Caledonian mercury. Edinburgh, 1720+. t. w.; d. (June 27-Sept. 2, 1776); t. w.
CtY (nos. 8493-9099, Apr. 8, 1776-Dec. 29, 1779), IU (nos. 5255-5774, Aug. 16, 1755-Dec. 30, 1758), WH (nos. 1051-52, Jan. 9-10, 1727; 1078-80, Mar. 13-16, 1727).
 87. Caledonian weekly magazine. Edinburgh, 1773-(?). w.
CtY (v. 1, nos. for June 30, July 21-July 28, 1773).
 88. Cambrian register. Ed. W. O. Pughe. 1795+.
DLC, ICN, IU, MH, MnU, PPL (1795), RPB.
 89. Cambridge intelligencer. Cambridge, 1793-1800. w.
CtY (July 20, 1793-Dec. 26, 1795).
 90. Candid review and literary repository. 1765. m.
CtY (Jan.-June, 1765).
Canterbury journal. See Kentish weekly post; or, Canterbury journal.
 91. Carlton house magazine: or, Annals of taste, fashion, and politeness. Jan. 1792-Feb. 1796. m.
CtY (Oct.-Dec. 1792), DLC (v. 1-2), MBB, MH (Jan. 1792-June 1793).
 92. Cassandra (But I hope not). Charles Leslie. 1704.
ICU (v. 1-2).
 93. Catalogue of books printed and published at London. Ed. Robert Clavell. 1670-1709, 1711. q. Reprinted in Arber's Term catalogues, 1903-06.
CSH (nos. 1-18, 1670-74; 2-21, 1675-79; Michaelmas term, 1680; Hilary term, 1681; nos. 18-23, 1686), ICN (nos. 1-10, 1674-76; 12-18, 1677-79; 1-6, 1680-82), NIC.
 94. Catholick intelligence; or, Infallible news, both domestick and foreign. 1680. w.
NN (Mar. 8-29, 1680), TxU (nos. 1-5, Mar. 1-29, 1680).
 95. Censor. L. Theobald and others. Nos. 1-96, April 11-June 17, 1715; Jan. 1-June 1, 1717. t. w.
CtY (v. 1-3, 1717; v. 1, 2nd ed.), DLC, PPL (nos. 64-96, Mar. 19-June 1, 1717), PU (v. 1-3).

- Censor; or, Covent Garden journal. *See* Covent Garden journal; or, The censor.
96. *Censura temporum*, the good or ill tendencies of books, sermons, pamphlets, etc. impartially considered. Samuel Parker. 1708-10. m.
DLC, IEK (v. 1, 1708), IU (v. 1, nos. 1-4, 1708), MBB (Oct. 1708; July 1709), NNC.
97. *Centinel*. 1757. w.; s. w.; d.
TxU (nos. 1-22, Jan. 6-June 2, 1757).
98. *Certaine informations from severall parts of the kingdom*. William Ingler. 1643-44. w.
CtY (nos. 16-17, May 8-15, 1643), TxU (nos. 3, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 21, 35, Feb. 6-Sept. 11, 1643).
Certain passages of every dayes intelligence. *See* Perfect passages of every daies intelligence.
99. *Certain speciall and remarkable passages from both Houses of Parliament*. Samuel Pecke. 1642.
TxU (Aug. 23).
100. *Champion*. 1763. w.
CtY (rep. in *Political controversy*, 1763).
101. *Champion*; or, *British mercury*. *Continued as Champion*; or, *Evening advertiser* (from ?); *as British champion*; or, *The impartial advertiser* (1743). Henry Fielding (to June 1741), James Ralph, etc. Nov. 15, 1739-1743. t. w.
CtY (nos. 1-94, Nov. 15, 1739-June 19, 1740, reps. 1741, 1743), DLC (rep. 1741), IU (nos. 1-94, rep. 1743), MH (nos. 1-94, rep. 1741), NN (June 10, 12, Oct. 11, 1740; May 7, 1741; Nov. 11, 1742; Aug. 4, 18, Sept. 10, 15, 1743), TxU (rep. 1741, 2 v.), WH (no. 125, Aug. 30, 1740).
102. *Chelmsford and Colchester chronicle*. *Continued as Chelmsford chronicle* (from April 5, 1771). Chelmsford, no. 179, Jan. 1, 1768+.
CtY (Apr. 5-May 17, 1771; May 24, 1771-Mar. 27, 1772; Aug. 15, 1783-Dec. 30, 1785).
103. *Children's magazine*; or, *Monthly repository of instruction and delight*. Jan. 1799-Dec. 1800. m.
DLC.
104. *Christian magazine*; or, *Evangelical repository*. Edinburgh, 1797+. m. (From U. L.)
NNU (1797).
105. *Christian miscellany*; or, *Religious and moral magazine*. 1792.
PPL (Jan.-May 1792).

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106. Christian monthly history: or, An account of the revival and progress of religion, abroad, and at home. *Ed.* James Robe. Edinburgh, Nov. 1743-Jan. 1746. m.
DLC, IU (nos. 1, 4, Nov. 1743, Feb. 1744), MB (nos. 1-2, Nov.-Dec. 1743), MBC (1743-45), NjP (1745).
107. Christian's gazette. *Ed.* John Dunton. 1713.
CtY (Jan.-Apr., 2nd ed.).
108. Christian's magazine; or, A treasury of divine knowledge. V. 1-8, 1760-67.
CtHT (v. 1-7), CtY (v. 2-4, 6-8, inc., 1761-67), NNU (v. 3, 5), PPL (v. 1-7, 1760-66).
Churchman; or, Loyalist's weekly journal. *See* Churchman's last shift. . . .
109. Churchman's last shift; or, Loyalist's weekly journal. *Continued as* Churchman; or, Loyalist's weekly journal (from no. 23, Nov. 5, 1720). 1720-21. w.
CtY (nos. 1-20, May 14-Oct. 15, 1720).
City and countrey mercury. *See* True character of Mercurius urbanicus & rusticus.
110. City watchman. Dublin, 1754.
CtY (nos. 1-2, May 31-June 7, 1754).
111. Collection for the improvement of husbandry and trade. John Houghton. Nos. 1-583, Mar. 30, 1692-Sept. 24, 1703; rep., with some omissions, in Husbandry and trade improv'd . . . , v. 1-3, 1727. w.
CtY (nos. 1-320, Mar. 30, 1692-Sept. 9, 1698), CU (rep. 1727), DLC (v. 5, no. 107, Aug. 17, 1694; also rep. 1727), ICJ (rep. 1727), NNC (rep. 1727), WU (rep. 1727).
112. Collection of letters for the improvement of husbandry and trade. John Houghton. Sept. 8, 1681-June 16, 1683 [*i. e.* 1684]; partially rep. in Husbandry and trade improv'd, v. 4, 1728. ir.
CtY, CU (rep. 1728), DA, DLC (rep. 1728), MaU, NN (no. 9, Oct. 19, 1682), NNC (rep. 1728), WU (rep. 1728).
- 112a. Comedian; or, Philosophical enquirer. *Ed.* Thomas Cooke. Nos. 1-9, Apr.-Nov. 1732; Apr. 1733. m.
CtY.
113. Commercial and agricultural magazine. 1799+. m.
MAA, MBB (v. 1, 3-5, 1799-1800), NN (v. 1, 3, 5), PPL.
114. Common sense; or, The Englishman's journal. Chesterfield, Lyttleton, etc. 1737-43. w. A separate series, with parallel date and numeration, entitled Old common

- sense; or, *The Englishman's journal*, was issued between Nov. 26, 1737 and June 16, 1739 (nos. 43-123).
CtY (nos. 19, June 11, 1737; 34-48, Sept. 24-Dec. 31, 1737; 49-254, Jan. 7, 1738-Dec. 26, 1741; also rep. 1738-39, 2 v.), **ICU** (rep. 1738-39), **IU** (Feb. 5, 1737-Jan. 27, 1739), **NN** (Apr. 9, Aug. 13, Dec. 10, 1737; Sept. 23, 30, 1738; Jan. 27, July 14, Oct. 6, 13, 1739; Oct. 4, 1740; May 9, 1741; Nov. 13, 20, 1742; Aug. 6, 20, 1743), **NNC** (1737-39), **RPB** (1737-39), **WH** (no. 147, Nov. 24, 1739).
115. Compleat intelligencer and resolver. George Smith(?). 1643.
CtY (no. 3, Nov. 14, 1643).
 116. Compleat library; or, *News for the ingenious*. Ed. Richard Wolley for John Dunton. May 1692-Apr. 1694. m.
DLC, **ICN**, **IWS** (May 1692-Dec. 1693), **MH** (May 1692-Dec. 1693), **NcU** (Dec. 1692-Dec. 1693), **NNC** (May-Nov. 1692).
 117. Compleat mercury; or, *The Haerlem courant truly rendered into English*. Haarlem and London, 1682.
TxU (nos. 2, 4, Jan. 21-21, Jan. 30-28, 1682).
 118. Conjuror's magazine; or, *Magical and physiognomical mirror*. Continued as *Astrologer's magazine and philosophical miscellany* (from Aug. 1793). 1791-94. m.
DLC (v. 1-2, Aug. 1791-July 1793), **MB**, **NN** (v. 1-2).
 119. Connoisseur. George Colman, Bonnell Thornton, and others. Nos. 1-140, Jan. 31, 1754-Sept. 30, 1756. w.
CSt (also rep. 1793), **CtY**, **ICU** (rep. 1757, v. 1-2, and 1793), **IU** (rep. 1757-60), **MH**, **NN** (nos. 105-40), **TxU** (nos. 1-5).
 120. Constitution. 1757. (From U. L.)
CtY, **NN** (nos. 1-3).
 121. Con-test. Owen Ruffhead. Nos. 1-38, Nov. 23, 1756-Aug. 6, 1757. w.
CtY, **DLC** (nos. 7, 25), **ICU**, **MnU** (nos. 1-2, 4-5, 7-34), **NN**, **TxU** (no. 16), **WH**.
 122. Continuation of a journall of passages of the Parliament, and other papers from the Scotts quarters. Samuel Pecke. Printed for F. L. 1646. w.
CtY (nos. 3-6, Nov. 5-26, 1646).
 123. Continuation of certaine speciall and remarkable passages. Printed for Walt Cook and Robert Wood. 1642-43. w.
CtY (nos. 26-27, 35, 40, 43, 50-51, Jan. 12-June 8, 1643), **TxU** (nos. 31, 38).
 124. Continuation of certain speciall and remarkable passages.

- Samuel Peeke. *Printed for Francis Leach and Francis Coles.* Aug. 1642-Feb. 1646. w.
CtY (nos. 21, 23-24, 27, 29-31, 33-34, 37-38, 40-42, 44, 46, 52, Dec. 1, 1642-Aug. 25, 1643), **TxU** (no. 38).
125. Continuation of certain speciall and remarkable passages informed to both Houses of Parliament: Samuel Peeke. 1642-43.
TxU (nos. 33, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, Feb. 23-May 11, 1643).
 Continuation of the actions, passages, and occurrences. *See* Principall passages of Germany, Italy, France, etc.
126. Continuation of the forraine avisoës for two weekes last past. N. Butter and N. Bourne. (?) - 1640(?).
ICN (no. 49, Jan. 23, 1640).
 Continuation of the proceedings of the Convention of the Estates in Scotland. *See* Account of the proceedings of the meeting of the Estates in Scotland.
 Continuation of the true diurnall of passages in Parliament. *See* True diurnall of the last weeks passages in Parliament.
- 126a. Continuation of the true diurnall of the passages in Parliament. 1642. Distinct from no. 888.
ICN (no. 6, Feb. 14-21, 1641/2).
127. Continuation of the intelligence from the . . . Earl of Manchester's army [slight variations in title]. S. Ash and W. Good. June-Aug. 1644.
CtY (no. 4, June 17, 1644), **TxU** (no. 7, Aug. 16, 1644).
128. Contrast. Nos. 1-24, June 29-Dec. 14, 1763.
CtY (nos. 1-10, rep. in Political controversy, July 4-Sept. 6, 1763).
129. Conventicle courant. John Hilton. 1682-83. w.
CSH, **TxU** (nos. 1, 3, 5-30, [July 24?], 1682-Feb. 14, 1683).
130. Copper plate magazine; or, Monthly cabinet of picturesque prints, consisting of views in Great Britain and Ireland. 1792+. m.
CSH, **DLC**, **MH**, **NNC** (v. 1-3), **RPB** (v. 1-3).
131. Copper plate magazine; or, Monthly treasure, for the admirers of the imitative arts. Nos. 1-42, Aug. 1774-Jan. 1778. m.
DLC, **DNM**, **MB** (1778), **NN**, **WH**.
132. Coranto from beyond the sea. No. 1, June 9, 1643.
ICU (no. 1).

133. Corant; or, Weekly newes from Italy, Germany, Hungaria, Polonia, Bohemia, France and the Low-countries. 1621. NN (Aug. 6, 1621, photostat).
134. [Corantos of various titles.] Nathaniel Butter, Nicholas Bourne, etc. 1622-32. *See also* Abstract of some speciall forreigne occurrences, Continuation of the forraine avisoes, Newes of this present weeke, Ordinary weekly curranto, Principall passages of Germany, Italy, France, etc., and Swedish intelligencer. Note: These corantos are notoriously perplexing. As this is a finding-list and not an effort at bibliographical description, we have simply grouped the corantos in what seemed to us a sufficiently convenient manner. Certain corantos may appear on both this and our second list, but we have not dared attempt the discrimination.
 MnU (no. 22, Mar. 7, 1623, beginning: The sentence and execution done upon the bodies of certaine persons . . .).
135. Cork evening post. Printed by G. and J. Knight. Cork, 1754-96. s. w.
 NN (June 26, July 3, 7, 14-21, 28, 31, Aug. 6-Sept. 1, 8-29, Oct. 9-23, Nov. 17, Dec. 4, 25, 1788).
136. Corn-cutter's journal. 1733(?) - 34(?).
 CtY (Nov. 13, 1733).
 Country journal; or, The craftsman. *See* Craftsman.
137. Country magazine. 1763. m.
 MH (v. 1).
138. Country spectator. Ed. T. F. Middleton. Gainsborough, nos. 1-33, Oct. 9, 1792-May 21, 1793. w.
 CtY, MB.
139. County magazine. Continued as Western county magazine (from 1790). Salisbury, v. 1-6, 1786-92. m.
 CtY (v. 1-2, Jan. 1786-Dec. 1788), DLC (v. 1-2, Jan. 1786-Oct. 1788), MH, NN (v. 1-2).
140. Courier and evening gazette. 1792+. d.
 NN (Oct. 9, 11, 14-16, 19-21, 24, 25, 29, 30, Nov. 1, 4, 13, 25, 29, Dec. 6, 14, 19, 25, 26, 1799; Jan. 1, 2, 4, 17, 18, 21-23, 28, 30, 31, Feb. 1, 11, 13, 18, 20, 21, 25, 27-Mar. 7, 10, 12, 15, 21, 22, Apr. 9, 22, 23, 30, June 26, 27, 1800).
141. Courier de l'Europe. London; Boulogne, 1776-92. (From U. L.)
 DLC (v. 4-5, 7-10), MB (v. 1-23), N (v. 1-2).
142. Court and city register. Continued as Court and city

- kalendar; or, Gentleman's register (from 1763?); *as* Court and city register; or, Gentleman's complete annual calendar (from 1779?); *as* London kalendar; or, City and court register (from 1783?). 1746(?)–97(?). **a.**
MH (1767), **PPAP** (1746, 1763, 1765, 1779, 1783), **PPL** (1748, 1753, 1775, 1780, 1786, 1791, 1794, 1797).
 Court and city magazine. *See* Court magazine; or, Royal chronicle.
143. Court and city magazine; or, A fund of entertainment for the man of quality. . . . 1770–71. **m.** (From U. L.)
DLC.
 Court, city and country magazine. *See* Court magazine; or, Royal chronicle.
144. Court, city and country magazine; or, Gentleman and lady's universal and polite instructor. 1788. **m.**
CtY (Jan.–Apr. 1788).
145. Court magazine; or, Royal chronicle. *Continued as* Court and city magazine (from Mar. 1763); *as* Court, city and country magazine (from Feb. 1764). *Ed.* Hugh Kelly. 1761–65. **m.**
CtY (v. 1–8, Sept. 1761–Nov. 1765), **NN** (Nov. 1761).
146. Court mercurie. John Cotgrave(?). 1644.
CtY (nos. 5, Aug. 3; 8, Aug. 31, 1644).
147. Court miscellany; or, Ladies new magazine. *Continued as* Court miscellany; or, Gentleman and lady's new magazine (from v. 2, 1766). Matilda Wentworth, etc. 1765–71. **m.**
CtY, DLC (v. 2), **MB** (v. 1–4, 1765–68), **WH** (v. 5–7).
148. Covent Garden journal. Henry Fielding. Nos. 1–72, Jan. 4–Nov. 25, 1752. **s. w.; w.** (from no. 53).
CtY (rotograph), **TxU**.
149. Covent Garden journal extraordinary. Bonnell Thornton(?). 1752. A parody on Fielding's Covent Garden journal.
CtY (no. 1, Jan. 20, 1752).
150. Covent Garden journal; or, The censor. *Continued as* Censor; or, Covent Garden journal (from no. 83, July 26, 1753). *Printed by* James Hoey. Dublin, nos. 1–234, 1752–56. **w.** Reprinted much material from Fielding's Covent Garden journal.
CSH (nos. 1–100, Jan. 23, 1752–Nov. 22, 1753), **CtY** (nos. 1–86, Jan. 23, 1752–Aug. 16, 1753).
 Coventry mercury. *See* Jopson's Coventry mercury.

151. Crab-tree. 1757. w.
TxU (nos. 12-14, July 12-26, 1757).
152. Craftsman. *Continued as Country journal*; or, The craftsman (from no. 45, May 13, 1727). Amhurst, Bolingbroke, Pulteney, etc. Nos. 1-1111 (?), 1726-47 (?). t. w.; w. The political parts were reprinted at various times as The craftsman, by Caleb d'Anvers, of Gray's Inn, esq. [pseud.]. The reprint of 1731-37 (in 14 v.) contains nos. 1-511, Dec. 5, 1726-Apr. 17, 1736, omitting nos. 301-02, 310, 323, 354, 388, 397, 401, 408-09, 427-29, 432, 434, 458, 460, 479, 481, 504.
CtY (nos. 49-60, 63-72, 72-78, 80, 82-90, 93-94, 96-100, 102, 105-13, 115-20, 122-23, 126-29, June 9, 1727-Dec. 30, 1728; 1729-43, inc.; also nos. 1-44, Dec. 5, 1726-May 8, 1727, rep. 1727; also rep. 1731-37), CU (rep. 1731-37), DLC (rep. 1731-37), ICJ (rep. 1731-37), ICU (rep. 1731-37, v. 1-12, 14), IU (rep. 1731-37), MB (rep. 1731-37), MH (rep. 1731-37), MdBp (rep. 1731-37), NIC (rep. 1731-37), NjP (rep. 1731-37), NN (rep. 1731-37), NNC (rep. 1731-37, lacking v. 1, 11), TxU (nos. 139-368, 438-555, Mar. 1, 1728-Feb. 19, 1737, lacking nos. 200-01, 206, 249, 268, 277-88, 303-05, 311-50, 458-59, 473, 514-17, 532; also rep. 1731-37), WH (nos. 103, 108, 112, 114-18, 121, 123, 126, 130, 136, 138, 140, 143, 151, 162-64, 166, 168, 170, 174, 181-85, 193, 199, 202, 209, 211, 214-16, 218-20, 222-26, 231, 233-35, 237, 240, 242, 243, 245-48, 251, 253, 254, 256-73, 275, 276, 278-83, 285-88, 292, 302, 305, 307, 308, 312, 317-28, 330, 333, 336, 342, 345, 361, 362, 363, 381, June 22, 1728-Jan. 14, 1737).
153. Crisis. *Ed.* William Moore(?). Nos. 1-91, Jan. 21, 1775-Oct. 12, 1776. w. A supplement, The crisis extraordinary, was issued on Aug. 9, 1775.
CSH (v. 1, rep. N. Y., 1776), CtY (also rep. 1775, 1776), DLC (nos. 1-73; also Crisis extraordinary), ICN (nos. 1-75, 78, 80-91), MB (nos. 1-80), MH (nos. 1-81), MHi (nos. 1-65), MiUC, N (nos. 1-76), NIC (nos. 1-28, rep. N. Y., 1776), NN (also Crisis extraordinary), WH (nos. 1-81).
154. Crisis. 1793. w.
CtY (rep. 1794).
155. Critical observations on books, antient and modern. Thomas Howes. 1776-83(?). ir.
CtY (nos. 1-8, 1776-83).
156. Critical review; or, Annals of literature. *Ed.* Smollett and others. 1756+. m.
CtY, DLC, ICN, IU, MBB, MdBp, MH, N (lacking v. 22, 57, 84, 90, 93), NjP, NN, NNC (inc.), PPL (lacking 1789-90), RPB (v. 1-2, 4-10, 12-13, 17-18, 20+), VaU, WU (v. 1-2).

157. Critick: a review of authors and their productions. Thomas Brereton. Nos. 1-22, Jan.-June 1718; rep. as *The criticks, being papers upon the times*, 1719.
ICS, TxAG.
158. Cumberland magazine; or, Whitehaven monthly miscellany. Whitehaven, 1779-80(?). (From U. L.)
La (v. 2-4, 1779-80).
159. Currant. 1642.
ICN (July 12).
160. Currant intelligence, published by authority. Henry Mudiman. 1666. s. w.
CSH (nos. 1-24, June 4-Aug. 23, 1666), **CtY** (no. 12, July 12, 1666), **MnU** (nos. 1-24).
161. Currant intelligence; or, An impartial account of transactions both forraign and domestick. *Continued as* Smith's currant intelligence; or, An impartial account . . . (from no. 10, Mar. 16, 1680); *as* Currant intelligence (from Apr. 1681). J. Smith. Feb. 14, 1679/80-Dec. 24, 1681. s. w.
MnU (nos. 24, May 1, 1680; 38-70, Aug. 30-Dec. 24, 1681), **NN** (Feb. 17-Mar. 13, 16-Apr. 10, 17-27, 1680), **WH** (May 1-4, 1680).
162. Currant intelligence; or, An impartial account of transactions both forreign and domestick. *Continued as* Banks' currant intelligence . . . (from no. 2). A. Banks. 1680. w.
NN (Mar. 13, 20, Apr. 3), **TxU** (nos. 1-4, Mar. 13-Apr. 3, 1680).
Curtis' botanical magazine. *See* Botanical magazine. . . .
163. Daily advertiser. 1730+. d.
CtY (Apr. 29, 1734; Mar. 1, 1738; Feb. 21, Mar. 7, 19, 27, 1741; Aug. 16, Dec. 1, 1755), **DLC** (nos. 286-20929, Jan. 1, 1731-Dec. 31, 1795), **NN** (Feb. 25-Mar. 4, 1771).
164. Daily courant. 1702-35. d. There seems to have been also a country edition, issued tri-weekly. *See* below under **IWS**.
CtY (nos. 1, 97-1208, 1210-2555, Mar. 11, 1702-Dec. 31, 1709; Jan. 3, 1715-Dec. 30, 1717; 7118, Aug. 8, 1724; 5979, 5984, June 2, July 7, 1735), **ICU** (July 22, 24, 1710; nos. 3121-3371, Oct. 13, 1711-Aug. 1, 1712, badly cut up), **IWS** (nos. 33-84, May 27-July 25, 1702, chiefly country issues; also nos. 100, 106, Aug. 13, 20, 1702), **TxAG** (nos. 9255, 9256, 5070-71, 5206, 5498-99, 5505, 5507, 5547, July 7, 1731-Jan. 16, 1733), **TxU** (nos. 1159-1470, Jan. 1-Dec. 3, 1706; 1834-60, Jan. 1-31, 1708, lacking nos. 1844, 1847,

- 1856; 2799, Oct. 12, 1710; 3631, 3641, 3665, 3705, 3715, 3725, 3737, June 3-Oct. 5, 1713; 4005, 4033, Aug. 25, Sept. 27, 1714; 5149, 5152, Apr. 25, 26, 1718; 5813-5934, June 8-Oct. 27, 1720; 9286, 9287, Aug. 13-14, 1731; 5939, 5945, 5946, 5949, 5953, 5959, 5960, 5965, 5967, 5969, 5975, 5981, 5982, 5986, 5987, 5989, 5993, 5995, 5997, 5999, 6001, Apr. 16-June 27, 1735), **WH** (nos. 1395, Oct. 3, 1706; 1711, Aug. 8, 1707).
165. Daily gazetteer. 1735-48. d.
CtY (Jan. 2, Sept. 1, 1736), **IU** (nos. 1747-48, June 8-10, 1741), **TxU** (nos. 3-159, with some omissions, July 2-Dec. 31, 1735).
166. Daily journal. 1720-42. d.
CtY (Mar. 27-Nov. 6, 1733; Apr. 24, May 20, 22, 24, 25, Nov. 15, 29, 1736; Mar. 15, 17, 19, 1737), **TxU** (no. 3250, June 5, 1731).
167. Daily post. 1719-46(?). d.
CtY (June 3, 1723-Dec. 31, 1724; June 4, Nov. 17, 1733), **NN** (Sept. 29, 1738), **TxU** (no. 7820, Sept. 25, 1744), **WH** (no. 2783, Aug. 22, 1728).
 Daily post boy. *See* Post boy, with foreign and domestick news.
168. Daily universal register. *Continued as Times*; or, Daily universal register (from Jan. 1, 1788); *as Times* (from May 18, 1788). 1785+. d.
CtY (1789, 1790, 1791, 1793, 1797-98, all inc.), **TxU** (nos. 2517, Jan. 26, 1793; 3936, July 3, 1797; 4298, Oct. 3, 1798), **WH** (nos. 2517, 3936, 4298).
169. Delphick oracle. Sept. 1719-Mar. 1720. m.
CSH (lacking Mar. 1720).
170. Devil; containing a review and investigation of all public subjects whatever. 1786-87. w.
CSH (v. 1, nos. 1-13), **CtY** (nos. 1-13, 1786, 3rd ed.), **DLC** (v. 1), **MH**.
171. Devil's pocket-book. 1786-87. w.
CtY (nos. 1-10, 1786-87).
172. Devil upon crutches in England; or, Night scenes in London. 1755. (From U. L.)
DLC, **ICN**, **NNC**.
173. Diary, or an exact journall, faithfully communicating the most remarkable proceedings of both Houses of Parliament. . . . 1644-46.
MnU (no. 66, Aug. 21, 1645), **TxU** (no. 7, Aug. 16, 1644).
174. Diary; or, Woodfall's register. 1789-93(?). d.
CtY (May 26, 1789; Mar. 2-4, 16, 30, Apr. 1, 17, 27, 1790), **WH**

(nos. 67-111, 113-29, June 15-Aug. 26, 1789; 502, 504, 510, 522, 537, 547-49, 551, Nov. 4-Dec. 31, 1790; 752-53, 761-62, 769-70, 774, 790, 794, 798, 813, 819-20, 831-33, 836, 844, 850-51, 857, 863, Aug. 20-Dec. 28, 1791; 1090, Sept. 18, 1792).

Diatelesma. See Principall passages of Germany, Italy, France, etc.

175. *Dilucidator*; or, Reflection upon modern transactions. 1689.
CSH (nos. 1-3), **NIC** (no. 5).

- 175a. *Diurnall occurrences in Parliament*. Printed for F. Coules and T. Banks. 1642. w.

ICN (no. 2, Jan. 24; no. 6, Feb. 21, 1642), **MnU** (Jan. 10).

Diurnall occurrences in Parliament. See Heads of severall proceedings in the present Parliament.

- 175b. *Diurnall occurrences in Parliament*. June 1642.

TxU (nos. 1-2, June 6-13, 1642).

Diurnall occurrences; or, The heads of severall proceedings in both Houses of Parliament. See Heads of severall proceedings in the present Parliament.

- 175c. *Diurnall occurrences*; or, The heads of the proceedings in both Houses of Parliament. Printed for I. G. 1642.

ICN (Jan. 10-17, Feb. 7-14, 1641/2).

Diurnall; or, The heads of all the proceedings in Parliament. See Heads of severall proceedings in the present Parliament.

176. *Diverting muse*; or, The universal medley. 1707.

NNC (pt. 1).

177. *Diverting post*. Henry Playford. 1704-06. w. (to June 30, 1705); m.

MH (nos. 3-5, Nov. 4-25, 1704; 27-29, Apr. 21-May 12, 1705; 32-35, May 26-June 23, 1705), **TxAG** (Feb. 1706), **TxU** (Jan. 1706).

178. *Domestick intelligence*; or, News both from city and country. Continued as Protestant (domestick) intelligence (from no. 56, Jan. 16, 1680). Benjamin Harris. Nos. 1-114, July 9, 1679-Apr. 15, 1681 (not published Apr. 16-Dec. 28, 1680). s. w. See also True Protestant (domestick) intelligence.

CSH (nos. 1-25, 1679; 83-84, 1680), **CtY** (photostat; also no. 21, Sept. 16, 1679, orig.), **ICN** (nos. 56-114, photostat), **IU** (photostat), **MB** (nos. 1-50), **MnU** (nos. 1-114, photographic facsimiles; also originals of nos. 9, 10, 12-14, 20, 21, 39, 44, 57, 59, 61, 63-65,

69-71, 74, 78, 79, 81, 84, 87, 90-95, 97-114), **NIC** (photostat), **NN** (nos. 52-82), **NNC**, **WH** (photostat).

179. Domestick intelligence; or, News both from city and country. *Continued as* True domestick intelligence (from no. 19, Sept. 9, 1679); *as* Loyal Protestant, and true domestick intelligence (from no. 1, Mar. 9, 1681). Nathaniel Thompson. 1679-83. s. w.; t. w. (from Mar. 9, 1681).
CtY (Mar. 12, 1680-Mar. 20, 1682; Mar. 23, June 20, July 1, 1682), **NN** (nos. 52-63, 65-85, Jan. 2-Apr. 27, 1680), **WH** (nos. 87-90, May 4-14, 1680; 28, 32, 37, 43, 46, 50, 52, 53, 56-61, 66-69, 71, 81-84, 86-89, 91, 93-95, 98, 100-04, 107-09, 111-16, 118-23, 125, 127-29, 134, 136-37, 140, 143-45, 147-48, 150-57, 159-65, 167-70, 172-91, June 11, 1681-Aug. 8, 1682).
180. Domestick intelligence; or, News both from city and country impartially related. T. Benskin. 1681-82.
CtY (no. 112, June 19, 1682), **MnU** (nos. 5, June 9, 1681; 21, Aug. 4, 1681), **NN** (June 23, 1681), **TxU** (nos. 1-155, May 13, 1681-Nov. 16, 1682).
181. Dramatic censor, being remarks upon the conduct, characters and catastrophe of our most celebrated plays. No. 1, 1751.
CtY (no. 1), **MH** (no. 1).
182. Dramatic censor; or, Critical companion. V. 1-2, 1770.
CtY, **DLC**, **ICN**, **ICU**, **IU**, **MB**, **NcU**, **NIC**, **NN**, **NNC**.
183. Dramatic censor; or, Weekly theatrical report. T. Dutton. 1800+. w.
CtY (nos. 1-26, Jan. 4-June 28, 1800), **DLC**, **IU** (v. 1-2), **MB**, **MH**, **MiU** (v. 1-2).
184. Dublin chronicle. Dublin, 1787-93(?). t. w.
CtY (May 3, 1787-Dec. 31, 1791), **TxU** (nos. 8, 94, 126, 151, 257, 259, 260, 263, 271, 273-76, 481, 574, 773, 790, 858, 870, May 17, 1787-Nov. 21, 1792).
185. Dublin gazette. Dublin, 1750(?) - 52(?). s. w.
IU (no. 155, Feb. 11, 1752).
186. Dublin journal. George Faulkner. Dublin, 1725+.
TxU (no. 666, Mar. 4, 1732).
187. Dublin magazine. Dublin, 1762-64(?).
ICU (v. 1-3, 1762-64), **WH** (v. 2-3, 1763-64).
188. Dublin magazine and Irish monthly register. Dublin, 1788-1800. m.
CtY (Dec. 1798), **DCU** (v. 4-5).

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189. Dublin news-letter. Dublin, 1737-44. s. w.
NN (June 27, 1741), **WH** (no. 468, June 27, 1741, facsim.).
190. Eaton chronicle; or, The salt-box. Chester, nos. 1-20, Aug. 30-Sept. 26, 1788.
NN (rep. 1789).
191. Echo; or, Edinburgh weekly journal. Edinburgh, 1729-34. w.
TxAG (nos. 4-14, 18, 24, 27, 38, 39, Jan. 29-Oct. 1, 1729).
192. Edinburgh advertiser. A. Donaldson. Edinburgh, 1764+. s. w.
CtY (nos. 1-145, Jan. 3, 1764-May 21, 1765; 575-626, July 4-Dec. 29, 1769; 732-835, Jan. 4-Dec. 31, 1771; 2194-3339, Jan. 7, 1785-Dec. 29, 1795; 3550-3652, Jan. 5-Dec. 28, 1798), **ICU** (v. 59-60, Feb. 26-Dec. 31, 1793, lacking a few nos.), **MB** (v. 28, nos. 1417-74, 1747, July 22, 1777-Sept. 26, 1780, inc.), **N** (v. 27-30, Jan. 1, 1777-Dec. 29, 1778), **NN** (June 28, 1772-Dec. 31, 1773), **PPL** (v. 59-63, inc., Apr. 9, 1793-Apr. 14, 1795), **WH** (v. 3, no. 105-v. 4, no. 209, Jan.-Dec. 1765; v. 18-19, July 1772-June 1773; 21-22, Jan.-Dec. 1774; 31-32, Jan.-Dec. 1779; 40-45, July 1783-June 1786).
193. Edinburgh chronicle. Edinburgh, 1759-60(?). s. w.; t. w.
 (from Sept. 15, 1759); w. (from Apr. 1760).
CtY (nos. 1-35, Mar. 22-July 19, 1759), **WH** (v. 1, nos. 1-52, Mar. 22-Sept. 15, 1759; v. 3, nos. 131-73, Mar. 17-Oct. 8, 1760).
194. Edinburgh courant. *Continued as Scots courant* (from no. 707, Mar. 22, 1710). Edinburgh, 1705-20. t. w.
NN (Mar. 5-7, 1716; Mar. 17, 1717), **TxU** (nos. 202-400, Sept. 30, 1708-Mar. 24, 1709).
195. Edinburgh evening courant. Edinburgh, 1718+. t. w.
CtY (Sept. 25-Nov. 10, 1740), **MB** (no. 7686, Oct. 15, 1745), **NN** (Apr. 3, 1760; Nov. 14, 1764; Apr. 20-June 29, July 4-18, Aug. 10-Sept. 12, 16, 19, 1778; Jan. 1-Sept. 8, 15-22, Oct. 1-Dec. 26, 1781), **WH** (nos. 249-402, inc., Jan. 2-Dec. 28, 1727).
196. Edinburgh gazette. *Continued as Scots postman*; or, New Edinburgh gazette (from Sept. 7, 1708) *as* Edinburgh gazette; or, Scots postman (from Mar. 11, 1714). James Donaldson. Edinburgh, 1699-1715, with several interruptions and minor changes in title. On the complicated history of this periodical, see W. J. Couper, *Edinburgh periodical press*, I, 202-12, 223-25, 228-33, 238-42; II, 11-15.
TxAG (nos. 429, May 3, 1703; 27, July 14, 1707; 58, May 11, 1710; 252, Oct. 11, 1711).

197. Edinburgh gazette. Edinburgh, 1793+. s. w.
NN (July 2, 9-Oct. 29, Nov. 5-Dec. 31, 1793; 1794).
198. Edinburgh magazine and review. *Ed.* William Smellie and Gilbert Stuart. Edinburgh, v. 1-5, 1773-76. m.
CtY, **DLC**, **ICN** (v. 1-4), **NN** (v. 1, no. 4-v. 2, no. 12, Jan.-Sept. 1774; v. 2, no. 14-v. 3, no. 16, Nov. 1774-Feb. 1775).
 Edinburgh magazine; or, Literary amusement. *See* Weekly magazine; or, Edinburgh amusement.
199. Edinburgh magazine; or, Literary miscellany. *Ed.* James Sibbald (to 1792); Robert Anderson. Edinburgh, 1785+. m.
DLC (v. 1, Jan.-June 1785; 3-4, 1786; 7, Jan.-June, 1788; 11, Jan.-June 1790), **MB** (1786), **MH** (v. 13, no. 78, June 1791; v. 15, no. 87, Mar. 1792), **MID-B** (1778, 1790, 1796, 1799, inc.), **NN** (Feb. 1796), **PPL** (n. s., v. 1-11, Jan. 1793-June 1798).
200. Edinburgh quarterly magazine, intended to promote the knowledge, belief, and influence of divine revelation. Edinburgh, 1798-1800. q., with also an annual supplement.
CtY (v. 1, Mar. 31-Dec. 29, 1798; also suppl. 1798).
201. Edinburgh review. A. Wedderburn, Adam Smith, Hugh Blair, William Robertson. Edinburgh, nos. 1-2, 1755-56. s. a.
CtY (also rep. 1818), **DLC**, **ICN**, **NcU** (v. 1, rep. 1802), **NN** (rep. 1818), **PPL** (rep. 1818).
202. Edinburgh review. Edinburgh, 1773-99.
TxU.
 Edinburgh weekly magazine. *See* Weekly magazine; or, Edinburgh amusement.
203. Englands memorable accidents. 1642-43.
TxU (Jan. 2, 1642/3).
204. England's moderate messenger. 1649.
CSH.
- 204a. English chronicle. *Continued as* English chronicle, and universal evening-post (from Mar. 31, 1781?). 1779(?)-1800(?). t. w.
CtY (nos. 1355-1533, May 15, 1788-July 16, 1789, lacking 3 nos.), **NN** (Jan. 2, 1779), **WH** (nos. 2829, Aug. 8, 1797; 3164, 3184, 3189, 3216, Aug. 31-Dec. 31, 1799).
205. English currant. *Printed for* R. B. 1688-89.
CSH (nos. 1-9, Dec. 12, 1688-Jan. 9, 1689).

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206. English currant; or, Advice domestick and forreign. *Printed for Tho. Burrell.* 1679-(?).
CSH (no. 1, Sept. 8, 1679).
207. English freeholder. Nos. 1-14, June 1-Aug. 27, 1791.
CtY, PPAP (nos. 1-7).
208. English gazette. *Continued as Westminster gazette* (from no. 8, Jan. 15, 1681). 1680-81.
CSH (nos. 1-3, Dec. 22-29, 1680), **TxU** (nos. 1, 3, 7, Dec. 22-29, 1680, Jan. 29, 1681).
209. English intelligencer. Nos. 1-8, 1679.
CSH, MH.
210. Englishman. Nos. 1-12(?), June 11-Aug. 20(?), 1768.
(From U. L.)
DLC (nos. 1, 6, 8-12).
211. Englishman. Nos. 1-17, Mar. 13-June 2, 1779.
MiU.
212. Englishman: being the sequel of the Guardian. Richard Steele. Nos. 1-57, Oct. 6, 1713-Feb. 15, 1714; second series, nos. 1-38, July 11-Nov. 21, 1715. t. w.
CtY (first series, nos. 1-53, 55-56; also nos. 1-57, rep. 1714), **DLC** (first series), **ICU** (first series), **IEN** (first series, rep.), **IWS** (no. 57), **MB** (first series), **NN** (first series), **NNC** (first series), **PU** (first series), **RPB** (first series, rep. 1714), **TxU** (first series, nos. 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10-14, 18, 19, 23, 26, 30, 31, 35, 37, 39, 40, 41, 45, 46, 47, 48, 54, 57; also reps. 1713, 1714; second series, nos. 13, 14, 15, 34, 35, 36, 38, Aug. 22-Nov. 21, 1715; also rep. 1716).
213. English review; or, An abstract of English and foreign literature. *Continued as English review of literature, science, discoveries, etc.* (v. 27-28, 1796). Jan. 1783-Dec. 1796. m.
CtY, MeB (1787-92, inc.), **MH** (v. 2, Aug. 1783; v. 16, Oct. 1790), **NjP** (v. 17-21, 1791-93), **NN, NNC** (v. 1-21, 1783-93), **PU** (v. 4, 1784).
214. Entertainer. Nos. 1-12, Sept. 3-Nov. 19, 1754. w.
CtY, MiU (no. 1, Sept. 3, 1754), **TxU** (no. 1).
215. Entertainer, containing remarks on men, manners, religion, and policy. Nos. 1-43, Nov. 6, 1717-Aug. 27, 1718. w.
CtY, DLC, ICS (rep.), **ICU** (2nd ed.), **MH, TxU** (rep. by N. Miat).
216. Ephemeris; or, An astronomical state of the heavens. George Kingsley. Nos. 1-7, 1717-23. (From U. L.)
DLC (nos. 5-7), **PPAP, WH** (no. 1).

217. Epitome of the weekly news. 1682.
 TrU (nos. 1, 2, Aug. 28, Sept. 4, 1682).
 Etherington's York chronicle. . . . *See* York chronicle. . . .
218. European magazine and London review. Jan. 1782+. m.
 CtY, **CU** (v. 1-7, Jan. 1782-June 1785; 9-30, Jan. 1786-Dec. 1796),
 DLC, **ICN**, **IU**, **MB**, **MBB**, **MH** (v. 3-7, 9-15, 17-26, 28), **MHI**, **MiU**,
 MnU (v. 1), **N** (v. 3-7, 9-18, 20-38), **NcU** (v. 16, 18, 21, 24), **NIC**,
 NjP (v. 1-5, 7-8, 10-21, 23, 25-33, 35-36), **NN**, **NNC**, **PPL**, **PU**
 (1784-90, inc.; 1791+), **TrU** (v. 1-35), **WH**.
219. Evangelical magazine. 1793+. m.
 CSH (Jan., Feb. 1799), **CtY** (v. 1, July-Dec. 1793; 3+, Jan.
 1795+), **DLC** (v. 3-5, 1795-97), **ICN**, **MB**, **MiU** (v. 1-3, 5-13),
 NN (one no. in 1793; Jan. 1799).
220. Evening advertiser. 1754-58(?). t. w.
 CtY (nos. 2-4, 10-27, Mar. 5-May 2, 1754; 142, 160, 170, 223, 233,
 Jan. 25-Dec. 23, 1755), **WH** (no. 457, Feb. 3, 1757).
221. Evening mail. 1789+.
 CtY (July 20, 1789), **NN** (Feb. 14, June 23, 1794).
222. Evening post, with the historical account. 1706; 1709-30(?). t. w.
 CtY (nos. 516-29, Nov. 29-Dec. 30, 1712; 530-83, 585-93, 640-83,
 685-86, Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1713; 687-741, Jan. 2-May 8, 1714; 853,
 Jan. 25, 1716; 1939, 1941, 1942, Mar. 8-20, 1722), **MB** (nos. 1814,
 1832, 1721), **NN** (Dec. 9, 1721), **TrU** (nos. 436, 510, 778, 979, 990,
 991, 1025, 1040, 1101, 1145, 1233, 1235, 1411, 1415, 1418, 1419,
 1426, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1436, 1438, 1441, 1450, 1699, 2981, May 27,
 1712-Aug. 29, 1728).
223. Every man's magazine; or, Monthly repository of science,
 instruction, and amusement. 1771-72. m.
 CtY (v. 1, July 1771-June 1772).
 Exact accmpt. *See* Particular advice from the office of
 intelligence.
224. Exact and true collection of the weekly passages. 1646. m.
 ICN (one no., Jan. 1-Feb. 16, 1646).
225. Examiner. Dublin, 1710-13.
 TrU (v. 1-3, Aug. 14, 1710-Apr. 9, 1713).
226. Examiner; or, Remarks upon papers and occurrences. *Ed.*
 W. King; J. Swift; Mrs. Manley; W. Oldisworth. Aug.
 3, 1710-July 26, 1714. w.
 CtY (v. 1, no. 1-v. 6, no. 19, Aug. 3, 1710-July 26, 1714), **DLC**
 (rep. 1712-14), **ICU** (v. 1, nos. 1-50, Aug. 3, 1710-July 26, 1711),
 IU (v. 1, nos. 1-52, Aug. 3, 1710-July 26, 1711), **MB** (Aug. 3,

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- 1710-May 11, 1714), **NN** (v. 1, nos. 1-11; v. 4, no. 12, Aug. 3, 1710-June 26, 1713), **NNC** (Aug. 3, 1710-July 26, 1711, rep.), **TxU** (v. 1-6, Aug. 3, 1710-July 26, 1714; also nos. for Nov. 13-Dec. 11, 1714).
227. Exchange intelligencer. 1645.
TxU (no. 7, July 10, 1645).
Extract of letters. *See* Late proceedings of the Scottish army.
228. Extraordinary North Briton. William Moore. 1768-70. w.
DLC (nos. 1-47), **N** (nos. 1-90, May 16, 1768-Jan. 20, 1770), **NN** (nos. 43-91, Mar. 4, 1769-Jan. 27, 1770).
229. Faithfull intelligencer from the Parliaments army in Scotland. Edinburgh, 1659.
CtY (Dec. 3, 1659).
230. Faithfull mercury, imparting news domestick and foreign. 1679.
CSH (no. 1, July 21, 1679).
231. Faithfull relation of the late occurrences and proceedings of the Scottish army. *Printed for* R. Bostock and S. Gellibrand. 1644.
CtY (Feb. 21, 1644).
- 231a. Faithful post. *Continued as* Great Britain's post (from no. 136, Nov. 9, 1653); *as* Politique post (from Jan. 11, 1654); *as* Grand politique post (from ?); *as* Weekly post (from Apr. 18, 1654). *Printed for* George Horton. No. 89, Apr. 1, 1653-June 19, 1655. w.
CtY (no. 196, Sept. 19, 1654).
Fame's palladium; or, Annual miscellany. *See* Gentleman and lady's palladium.
232. Family magazine. Mrs. Trimmer. 1788-89.
ICU (Jan. 1788-June 1789).
233. Farmer's magazine. *Ed.* Robert Brown. Edinburgh, 1800+. q.
CtY, **N**, **NIC**, **NN**, **PPL** (rep. 1802), **PU**.
234. Farmer's magazine and useful family companion. 1776-80.
DA, **NN** (v. 1-2, Apr. 1776-Dec. 1777), **TxU** (v. 1).
235. Female spectator. Eliza Haywood. V. 1-4, 1744-46. m.
CtY (also reps. 1748, 1766), **DLC**, **ICU** (3rd ed., 1750), **IEN** (rep. 1771), **IU**, **MB** (v. 1, 4, rep. 1755), **MH** (rep. 1748), **MnU**, **NNC** (v. 1-3, rep. 1748; v. 4, rep. 1766; also Dublin rep., 1747), **TxU** (rep. 1755).

236. Female tatler. Thomas Baker. 1709-10. t. w.
MH (nos. 1-111, July 8, 1709-Mar. 29, 1710), **NN** (no. 56), **TxU**
 (nos. 1-12, 87-88, 91-92, 94).
237. Financial pamphlets. 1796+. (From U. L.)
DLC.
238. Fine design discovered and Irish rebels landed. 1643.
TxU (June 13, 1643).
239. Finn's Leinster journal. Kilkenny, 1766+.
NN (Dec. 25, 28, 1799; Jan. 18, 25, Feb. 5, Apr. 12, 1800).
240. Flagellant. Robert Southey. 1792. w.
CtY (nos. 1-5, Mar. 1-29, 1792).
241. Flapper. Dublin, nos. 1-75, Feb. 2, 1796-Feb. 4, 1797.
CtY, **DCU**, **MH**, **NN**, **TxU**.
242. Flying post. *Continued as* Flying post; or, The post master
 (from no. 129, Mar. 10, 1696?). *Ed.* George Ridpath
 (to 1713); Stephen Whatley. 1695-1731(?).
CtY (nos. 3321-3340, Jan. 10-Feb. 24, 1712/3; 3656, 3689, 3708,
 3721, 3731, 3742, June 11-Dec. 29, 1715; 3758, 3806, 3818-3821,
 3824, 3826, 3829, 3830, 3835-39, 3841, 3844-46, 3848, 3849, 3852,
 3854, 3855, 3857, 3858, 3861-67, 3869-78, 3880-84, 3886-3900, Feb.
 4-Dec. 29, 1716; 3904-12, 3926, Jan. 8-Mar. 5, 1717), **IU** (1696-99,
 inc.), **IWS** (no. 1134, Aug. 13, 1702), **MB** (nos. 4153, Aug. 21;
 4171, Oct. 14, 1718), **MHi** (1695-1714, inc.), **TxU** (nos. 3280, 3282,
 3292, Oct. 7-Nov. 4, 1712; also issues for June 1, 6, 1723).
 Fog's weekly journal. *See* Weekly journal; or, Saturday's
 post. . . .
244. Fortnight's register; or, A chronicle of interesting and
 remarkable events, foreign and domestic. 1762. (From
 U. L.)
NN (nos. I-11, July-Dec. 1762).
245. Free Briton. F. Walsingham. 1729-35. w.
CtY (Mar. 9, 1731), **RPB** (no. 50, 1730), **TxAG** (nos. 10, 13, 15,
 16, 18, 25-27, 30-31, 55, 61, 64-66, 68-69, 73, 75-78, 82-85, 90, 94,
 96, 100-01, 103, 111, 114-15, 120, 124-25, 131-32, 147, 157-59, 172,
 200-01, 204-05, 207, 225, 228-29, 245, 247-48, 251, 259-60, 264,
 266, 278, Feb. 5, 1730-Mar. 6, 1735).
246. Free Briton; or, The opinion of the people. 1727-(?).
RPB (no. 2).
247. Free enquirer. *Ed.* P. Annet. 1761.
CtY (v. 1, nos. 1-9, Oct. 17-Dec. 12, 1761).

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248. Freeholder; or, Political essays. Joseph Addison. Nos. 1-55, Dec. 23, 1715-June 29, 1716. s. w.
CtY (nos. 1-20; also rep. 1716), DLC, ICU (3rd ed., 1723), IU (rep. 1758), MH, MHI, TxAG (rep. 1732), TxU.
249. Freeholder extraordinary. 1717-18.
TxU (May 2, 1718).
250. Freeholder's journal. 1722-23.
CtY (nos. 1-36, Jan. 31, 1721/2-Aug. 29, 1722), NN (nos. 1-76, Jan. 31, 1721/2-May 18, 1723).
251. Freeholder's magazine; or, Monthly chronicle of liberty. By a patriotic society. 1769-70. m.
MB (Jan.-Dec. 1770), NN (v. 1-2, Sept. 1769-Aug. 1770), RPB (Nov.-Dec. 1769; July-Aug. 1770).
252. Freemason's magazine; or, General and complete library. 1793-98. m. Single numbers for 1797 entitled Scientific magazine and freemasons repository.
DLC (v. 1, 1793; Jan.-June, 1797).
253. Freethinker. 1711. s. w.
TxU (no. 4, Nov. 27, 1711).
254. Freethinker. *Ed.* A. Philips. 1718-21. s. w.
CtY (nos. 1-210, 216-339, Mar. 24, 1718-June 19, 1721, lacking no. 318; also rep. 1739), DLC (nos. 1-159, Mar. 24, 1718-Sept. 28, 1719, rep. 1722-23), ICU (nos. 1-159), IEK (rep. 1723), IU (nos. 1-350, Mar. 24, 1718-July 28, 1721), MB (nos. 1-159), MIU (nos. 1-159), MnU (rep. 1722-23), NN (nos. 1-159, rep. 1723), NNC (nos. 1-159, rep. 1723), PU (Mar. 24, 1718-Mar. 23, 1719), TxU (nos. 4, 57).
255. Freethinker extraordinary to Freethinker in ordinary. 1719.
TxU (no. 7, Dec. 2, 1719).
256. Friendly intelligence. 1679.
CSH (no. 2, Sept. 15, 1679).
257. Friendly writer and register of truth. 1732-33. m.
ICU (nos. 1-6, Sept. 1732-Feb. 1732/3).
258. Fumbler. 1762.
CtY (rep. in Political controversy, 1762).
260. Gallery of fashion. 1794+. m.
MH, NN.
261. Gazetteer and London daily advertiser. *Continued as* Gazetteer and new daily advertiser (from April 27, 1764). 1741(?) - 96(?). d.
CtY (May 28, 1755; Jan. 2-Apr. 29, 1769; Dec. 3, 1770-July 17,

1771; Feb. 26, Mar. 6, July 21, 1789; Apr. 2-Dec. 31, 1790), *ICU* (nos. 13054-13202, Jan. 1-June 24, 1771).

Gazetteer and new daily advertiser. *See* Gazetteer and London daily advertiser.

General advertiser. *See* London daily post and general advertiser.

- 261a. General advertiser and morning intelligencer. *Continued as* Parker's general advertiser and morning intelligencer (from May 11, 1782?); *as* General advertiser (from Nov. 24, 1784). 1776-90(?).

NN (Dec. 24-29, 31, 1778; Jan. 1-7, 9, 15, Feb. 2, 10, 13, Oct. 1-Nov. 8, 10-22, 24, 25, 27-Dec. 11, 14, 16, 17, 22, 27-31, 1779; Jan. 1, 5-7, 12-15, 18-Feb. 5, 9-12, 16-25, 28-Mar. 8, 10-31, 1780).

262. General evening post. 1733+. t. w.

CtY (nos. 668-821, Jan. 3-Dec. 30, 1738; 1855-2218, Aug. 8, 1745-Dec. 26, 1747; 2221-22, Jan. 2-5, 1748; 2225-26, 2228, 2230-42, 2244-79, 2281-91, 2293-95, 2297-2305, Jan. 12-June 30, 1748; 3135-43, Jan. 15-Feb. 2, 1754; 3359, 3405, July 5, Oct. 23, 1755), *WH* (nos. 3588-90, 3592-3600, 3602-12, 3614-29, 3631-49, 3651-63, 3666-67, 3671-78, 3680-85, 3687-90, 3692-95, 3697-3705, 3708-09, 3712-67, 3769-72, 3775-80, 3782-87, 3789, 3792-3803, 3805-06, 3808-10, 3812-51, 3853-54, 3856, 3858-71, 3873-3908, 3910-43, 3945-54, 3956-79, 3981-4012, 4014-15, 4017-20, 4022-23, 4025, Jan. 4, 1757-Aug. 2, 1758; 6367, Nov. 29, 1774).

General history of Europe. *See* Present state of Europe; or, The historical and political monthly mercury.

263. General history of trade. Daniel Defoe. 1713. m.

CtY (nos. 1-2, June-Sept. 1713).

264. General London evening mercury. 1743-45(?). t. w.

WH (nos. 94-105, 106-37, 140-58, 161-76, 178-83, 185-86, 188, 190-94, 196-212, 214-24, 227-30, 232, 234, 236-45, 247, 251-58, 260, 264-65, 267-74, 277, 279-80, 282-84, 286-87, 289, 291-92, 295-98, 300, 303-05, 307-08, 310-12, 314-19, 323-26, 328-40, 343-48, 350-51, 353, 357-60, 363, 365, 368-69, 372-73, 375-77, Dec. 6, 1743-Sept. 26, 1745).

265. General magazine and impartial review. 1787-92.

CtY, *MB* (v. 4, July-Dec. 1790), *MH* (v. 1-4, 1787-90), *MHI* (1789-90), *NN* (v. 4), *NNC* (June 1787; Mar. 1788), *PPL* (v. 1-4).

266. General magazine of arts and sciences, philosophical, philological, mathematical, and mechanical. Benjamin Martin. 1755-65. This publication was issued under the following heads: pt. 1, The young gentlemen's and ladies philosophy (2 v.); pt. 2, The natural history of the

world (2 v.); pt. 3, A compleat system of all the philosophical sciences (2 v.); pt. 4, A body of mathematical institutes or principles of science (2 v.); pt. 5, Miscellaneous correspondence . . . [subtitles vary] (4 v.); Biographia philosophica (1 v.); and The general magazine, etc., on a new plan (1 v.).

CtY (pt. 5, v. 1-3, Jan. 1755-Dec. 1757), **DLC** (pt. 5, v. 1-2), **ICN** (pt. 5, v. 1-3, Jan. 1755-Dec. 1760), **MH** (pt. 5), **MHi** (pta. 1, 2, 5, v. 3-4), **NjP** (pt. 1), **NN** (pt. 1, v. 1-2, 1755-58; pt. 4, v. 2, inc., 1756; pt. 5, Jan. 1755-Dec. 1763), **NNC** (pt. 5), **WH** (pt. 5).

267. General magazine: or, Compleat repository of arts, sciences, politics, and literature. Jan.-Dec. 1776. m.

DLC, **MB** (inc.).

General proceedings of state affairs. *See* Severall proceedings in Parliament.

268. General review; or, Impartial register. 1752.

LaU, **MH** (nos. 1-5, 1752).

269. General treatise of husbandry and gardening. R. Bradley. 1725-26.

CtY (Aug. 1725).

270. Gentleman. 1755.

CtY.

271. Gentleman and lady's palladium. *Continued as* Gentleman and lady's military palladium (from 1759); *as* Gentleman and lady's palladium (from 1760); *as* Palladium extraordinary (from 1763); *as* Palladium enlarged (from 1764); *as* Palladium of fame; or, Annual miscellany (from 1765); *as* Fame's palladium; or, Annual miscellany (from 1766); *as* British palladium (from 1768). J. Tipper. 1752-79. a.

DLC (1752).

272. Gentleman and lady's weekly magazine. Edinburgh, 1774-75. w.

CtY (Feb. 4, 1774-Mar. 29, 1775).

Gentleman's and London magazine; or, Monthly chronologer. *See* London magazine and monthly chronicler.

274. Gentleman's diary; or, The mathematical repository. 1741+. a.

CtY, **DLC**, **ICJ**, **MB** (1764-67, 1769-82, 1784-86), **MH** (1744-45, 1759-63), **NNC** (rep. 1814), **PPAP** (nos. 1-12, 1741-52), **PU** (1785-90), **WH** (1741, 1748-49).

275. Gentleman's journal and tradesman's companion. 1721.
DLC (nos. 1-18, Apr. 1-July 29, 1721).
276. Gentleman's journal; or, The monthly miscellany. *Ed.*
Peter Motteux. Jan. 1692-Nov. 1694. m.
CtY, CSH (Nov. 1692), DLC (1692-93), ICU (lacking June 1692
and a few pages of Oct. and Nov. 1692 and of Apr. 1693), IWS
(Jan. 1692-Dec. 1693), MH, PPL, TxU (Apr., May, June, July,
Sept. 1692; Jan.-Dec. 1693).
277. Gentleman's magazine; or, Monthly intelligencer. *Con-*
tinued as Gentleman's magazine and historical chronicle
(from 1736). *Ed.* E. Cave, etc. 1731+. m.
CSH, CSt, CtY, CU, DLC, ICN, ICU, IEN, IU, MB, MBB, MdBp,
MH, MHI, MiU, MiUC, MnU, N, NeU, NIC, NjP, NN, NNC, PPL,
TxU, WH.
278. Gentleman's mathematical companion. *Ed.* W. Davis, J.
Hampshire. 1798+. a.
IU, NIC, NNC, PU, RPB, TxU.
279. German museum; or, Monthly repository of the literature
of Germany, the North and the Continent in general.
1800+. m.
CtY, DLC, NN.
280. Ghost. Edinburgh, nos. 1-46, Apr. 25-Nov. 16, 1796. s. w.
CtY (nos. 1-25, Apr. 25-July 20, 1796).
281. Glasgow courant. *Ed.* R. and A. Foulis(?). Glasgow, Oct.
21, 1745-Oct. 1760. w.
DLC (Mar. 10, 1746-Sept. 7, 1747).
282. Glasgow courier. Glasgow, 1791+.
CtY (Apr. 27-Dec. 28, 1799).
283. Glasgow magazine and review; or, Universal miscellany.
Glasgow, 1783-84.
NN (v. 1), PU (v. 1).
284. Gloucester journal. *Founded by* Robert Raikes and William
Dicey. Gloucester, 1722+. w.
WH (v. 54+, 1775+).
285. Gospel magazine and theological review. 1796+. (From
U. L.)
NjP (v. 1-5, 1796-1800).
286. Gospel magazine; or, Spiritual library, designed to promote
religion, devotion and piety, from Evangelical principles.
V. 1-8, Jan. 1766-Dec. 1773.
NNU (v. 7), NjPT (v. 2), OO (v. 1), RPB (v. 1-2, 7).

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287. Gospel magazine; or, Treasury of divine knowledge. *Ed.* A. M. Toplady. 1774-84. Merged into Spiritual magazine (1784).
NNU (v. 1-6), **NjPT**, **OO** (v. 8-10), **RPB** (no. 60, Dec. 1778).
 Grand magazine of magazines; or, Universal register. *See* Magazine of magazines; or, Universal register.
288. Grand magazine of universal intelligence and monthly chronicle of our own times. V. 1-3, 1758-60. m.
CtY, **DLC** (v. 1-2), **LaU** (v. 1-2), **MB** (v. 1), **NN**, **WH** (v. 1).
 Grand politique post. *See* Faithful post.
289. Gray's Inn journal. Arthur Murphy. Nos. 1-52, Sept. 29, 1753-Sept. 21, 1754; reprinted, with alterations and with 52 additional numbers (the whole extending from Oct. 21, 1752 to Oct. 12, 1754), in 1756, 2 v. w.
CtY (also rep. 1756), **DLC** (rep. 1756), **ICN** (rep. 1756), **ICU** (rep. 1756), **IU** (rep. 1756), **MB** (rep. 1756), **MH** (also rep. 1756), **MnU** (rep. 1786), **NN** (rep. 1756), **NNC** (rep. 1756).
 Great Britain's post. *See* Faithful post.
290. Grub-Street journal. *Ed.* Alexander Russel and John Martyn. Nos. 1-418, Jan. 8, 1730-Dec. 29, 1737. w.
 A reprint of numbers for the dates Jan. 8, 1730-Aug. 24, 1732 appeared in 1737 under the title of Memoirs of the Society of Grub-Street (2 v.). *See also* Literary courier of Grub-Street.
CtY (also Memoirs), **DLC** (nos. 314-400, Jan. 1, 1736-Aug. 25, 1737), **ICU** (Memoirs), **IU** (Memoirs), **MH** (Memoirs), **NN** (nos. 43, 95, 147; also Memoirs, v. 2), **NNC** (Memoirs), **TxU** (lacking nos. 14, 48, 67, 263, 272, 370, 373, 408; also Memoirs), **WH** (nos. 11-295, Mar. 19, 1730-Aug. 21, 1735, inc.).
292. Guardian. Steele, Addison, and others. Nos. 1-175, Mar. 12-Oct. 1, 1713. d.
CSt, **CtY** (nos. 1-20; also reps. 1714, 1723, 1793), **ICU**, **IEK** (rep. 1714), **IU**, **MH**, **NN** (rep. 1751-67), **NNC** (reps.), **TxU** (nos. 22-44, 81-175, lacking nos. 23, 33, 40, 97, 110, 121, 128, 148; also rep. 1797).
293. Haerlem courant truly rendered into English. Haarlem and London, 1680.
TxU (nos. 1, 7, 9, Jan. 16-17, 13-17, 18-21, 1680).
294. Hampshire chronicle. Southampton, 1772(?) - 78(?). w.
WH (v. 3, no. 112, Oct. 1774; v. 6, nos. 298-300, May 4-18, 1778).
 Harrison's Tatler. *See* Tatler.
295. Have at you all; or, The Drury Lane journal. Bonnell Thornton. 1752. w.

CtY (nos. 1-12, Jan. 16-Apr. 9, 1752), **IU**, **MB** (no. 1, Jan. 16, 1752), **MH** (nos. 1-11, 13, Jan. 16-Apr. 9, 1752, no. 12 omitted in numbering).

- 295a. Heads of severall proceedings in the present Parliament. *Continued as* Diurnall; or, The heads of all the proceedings in Parliament (Dec. 6-13, 1641); *as* Diurnall occurrences; or, The heads of severall proceedings in both Houses of Parliament (from Dec. 13-20, 1641); *as* Diurnall occurrences in Parliament (from Jan. 3-10, 1642); *as* Perfect diurnall of the passages in Parliament (from Jan. 24-31). Samuel Pecke for various book-sellers. Nov. 29, 1641-April 4(?), 1642. w.
ICN (Dec. 6-13, 1641; Dec. 27-Jan. 3, 1641/2; Feb. 21-28, 1641/2), **TxU** (Jan. 24-31, 1641/2).
296. Henry's Winchester journal. Reading, 1743(?) - 46(?). w.
CtY (nos. 128, 142, Mar. 31, June 24, 1746).
297. Heraclitus ridens; or, A discourse between Jest and Earnest. . . . Thomas Flatman. Nos. 1-82, Feb. 1, 1681-Aug. 22, 1682.
CtY, **DLC**, **ICN** (rep. 1713), **ICU** (rep. 1713), **MH**, **NN** (Apr. 26, May 10, 17, 31-June 14, 28, July 5, Nov. 15, 1681; Jan. 3, Mar. 14, Apr. 25, May 30-June 13, 21, 1682), **NNC** (nos. 51, 54, 66, 71, Jan. 17-May 2, 1682; also rep. 1713).
298. Herald; or, Patriot proclaimer. Sept. 17, 1757-Apr. 6, 1758. w.
CtY (rep. 1758), **ICU** (rep. 1758), **IU** (v. 1, rep. 1758).
299. Hermes straticus. No. 1, Aug. 17, 1648.
CSH.
300. Hermit; or, A view of the world. Nos. 1-30, Aug. 4, 1711-Feb. 23, 1712. w.
CtY, **TxU** (nos. 12-19, Aug. 18-Dec. 8, 1711).
301. Hibernian magazine; or, Compendium of entertaining knowledge. *Continued as* Walker's Hibernian magazine . . . (from 1786). Dublin, 1771+. m.
CtY (Apr.-May, 1795; July-Dec., 1796), **DLC** (1781), **ICN** (lacking Jan.-Mar., May-Nov. 1771; Jan.-Mar., May, July-Sept. 1772), **MH** (July-Dec. 1792; July-Dec. 1796), **NN**, **WH** (1773-78, 1779, 1782, 1783, 1797).
303. High-German doctor. Philip Horneck. 1714-15. s. w.
Vol. 2 of 1719-20 rep. has appendix entitled The High-German doctor concluded. . . . [Aug. 1715], London, 1719.
CtY (rep., v. 1, 1720; v. 2, 1719), **DLC**, **ICU** (rep.), **IEK** (rep.)

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- 1720-19), **IU** (rep. 1720-19), **MB**, **NN** (nos. 1-11, Apr. 30-June 8, 1714), **NNC** (rep. 1716-19), **TxAG** (rep., v. 1, 1720; v. 2, 1719).
304. Hippocrates ridens; or, Joco-serious reflections on the impudence and mischief of quacks and illiterate pretenders to physick. 1686. w.
CSH (nos. 1-4, Apr. 26-May 17, 1686).
305. *Historia litteraria*; or, An exact and early account of the most valuable books. *Ed.* A. Bower. V. 1-4, 1730-33. m.
CtY, **DLC**, **ICN** (v. 1, impr. 1731), **ICS**, **ICU** (v. 1-4, impr. 1731-34), **IU** (v. 1-2, 1730-31), **MH**, **NN**, **RPB**, **WH**.
Historical account. . . . *See* Account of the publick transactions. . . .
306. Historical, biographical, literary, and scientific magazine. 1799-1800. m.
MH, **TxU**.
307. Historical chronicle. 1785(?) - 86(?). m.
MB (v. 3, Jan.-June 1786).
308. Historical journal; or, An impartial account in English and in French, of the most considerable occurrences in Europe. 1697.
DLC (Feb. 3-17, 1697).
309. Historical magazine; or, Classical library of public events. 1789-92. m.
CtY, **DLC** (v. 1, 1789), **NN**, **TxU** (nos. 15-26, Jan.-Dec. 1790).
310. Historical register, containing an impartial relation of all transactions, foreign and domestick. 1716-38. q.
CtY (v. 1-21, 1716-38), **DLC**, **ICN** (v. 1-8, 1716-23), **ICU**, **IU**, **MdBP**, **MHi**, **MiU**, **MnU**, **NIC**, **NN**, **NNC** (v. 1-21, 1716-38), **PPL** (v. 2, no. 5-v. 12, no. 48, 1718-27), **TxU**, **WH**.
311. Historical register of publick occurrences, foreign and domestick. 1772-74(?).
CtY (Sept. 1, 1772-Apr. 8, 1774).
312. History of learning, giving a succinet account and narrative of the choicest new books, etc. 1694.
DLC (no. 1, May 1694), **ICU** (no. 1), **IU** (no. 1).
313. History of learning; or, An abstract of several books lately published. J. de la Crose. 1691.
ICU.
314. History of reformation, in a dialogue between Philanax and Erasmus. 1681.
CtY (no. 1, May 12, 1681).

315. History of the reign of Queen Anne, digested into annals. Abel Boyer. 1702-13. a.
ICU (v. 4, 11, 1705/6, 1712), TxU (1705).
316. History of the works of the learned. Jan. 1737-Dec. 1743. m. *See also* Literary magazine; or, The history of the works of the learned *and* Present state of the republic of letters.
CtY, DLC (1737-42), ICN, ICU (1737, v. 1; 1738-39; 1741-42), MH (1739-41), N (1737, pt. 2; 1738; 1739, pt. 2; 1741), PPL, WH (1738-39).
317. History of the works of the learned; or, An impartial account of books lately printed in all parts of Europe. V. 1-14, Jan. 1699-Mar. 1712. m.
CtY (v. 1-14), DLC (v. 1-13), ICJ (v. 1-12), ICN (v. 1-13, Jan. 1699-Dec. 1711), IU (v. 1-7, 10-13), IWS (v. 1-6, 1699-1704), MB (v. 1-12), MH (v. 1-12), N (v. 1, no. 5, May, 1699; v. 2, nos. 5, 10, May, Oct. 1700), NNC (v. 1-13), TxAG (v. 4-5), TxU (v. 1-4; v. 1, no. 1, 2nd ed., 1701).
318. History of our own times. 1741. s. m.
ICU (nos. 1-4, Jan. 1-Mar. 5, 1741).
319. Hog's wash; or, A salmagundy for swine. *Continued as* Hog's wash (from no. 2, Oct. 5, 1793); *as* Hog's wash; or, Politics for the people (from no. 6, Nov. 2, 1793); *as* Politics for the people; or, Hog's wash (from no. 7, Nov. 9, 1793); *as* Politics for the people (from no. 10, Dec. 14, 1793). D. I. Eaton. Nos. 1-15, Sept. 9, 1793-Jan. 18, 1794; pt. 2, nos. 1-14, Jan. 25-Apr. 1794; [pt. 3], nos. 1-30, 1794-95. w.
CtY, ICJ (v. 1, rep. 1794), MH.
Holland packet-boat; or, An historical account. *See* Account of the publick transactions. . . .
320. Honest gentleman. Nos. 1-25, Nov. 5, 1718-Apr. 22, 1719. TxU (nos. 1-2, Nov. 5-Dec. 24, 1718; 11-25, Jan. 14-Apr. 22, 1719).
321. How do you do? *Ed.* Chas. Dibden and F. G. Waldron. 1796. s. m.
MH (nos. 1-8, July 30-Nov. 5, 1796).
Howgrave's Stamford mercury. *See* Stamford mercury.
322. Hue and cry. Dublin(?), 1755. w.
CtY (no. 3, June 18, 1755).
323. Humanist. Nos. 1-15, Mar. 26-July 2, 1757. w.
CtY, MIU (no. 1), TxU.

324. Hyp-doctor. John Henley. Nos. 1-534, Dec. 15, 1730-Jan. 20, 1741.
CtY (no. 140, 1733).
326. Impartial intelligencer: communicating a perfect collection of the weekly passages in Parliament. . . . 1649. w.
CSH (nos. 1-9, 11-18, 1649), **DLC** (July 25-Aug. 1, 1649).
Impartial London intelligence. *See* Protestant Oxford intelligence.
Impartial Protestant mercury. *See* True Protestant mercury . . . (Janeway).
Imperial magazine. *See* Biographical and imperial magazine.
328. Imperial magazine; or, Complete monthly intelligence. 1760-62. m.
MH (v. 1, nos. 1-13, and suppl., 1760; v. 3, nos. 26-30, Jan.-May, 1762), **NN** (v. 3, Jan.-June, 1762), **PPL** (v. 1, 1760-61), **O**.
329. Independent Whig. *Ed.* J. Trenchard and Thomas Gordon. Nos. 1-53, Jan. 20, 1720-Jan. 4, 1721. w.
CSH, **CtY** (also rep. 1743; also rep. Hartford, Conn., 1816), **CU** (rep. 1722), **DLC** (rep. 1721, 1752-53), **ICN** (rep. 1721), **ICU** (rep. 1721, 1735), **IU** (rep. 1726), **MnU** (rep. 1721), **NIC** (rep. 1722), **NN** (v. 1-2, Jan. 20, 1720-Jan. 18, 1721, 7th ed., with additions and amendments, 1743; v. 3, 2nd ed., 1741; v. 4, 1747), **TxU** (nos. 1-30), **WH**.
331. Inspector, containing a concise and impartial collection of news. Oxford, nos. 1-3, 1751.
DLC.
Intelligence from the Scottish army. *See* Late proceedings of the Scottish army.
332. Intelligence from the south borders of Scotland. *Printed for* Robert Bostock and Samuel Gellibrand. 1664.
CtY (no. 8, Apr. 24, 1664).
333. Intelligencer. J. Swift and T. Sheridan. Dublin, nos. 1-20, 1728-29. w.
CtY (nos. 1-11, 13-16; also nos. 1-19, rep. London, 1729), **DLC** (nos. 1-19, rep. London, 1729), **IU** (2nd ed. London, 1730), **MH** (nos. 1-19, rep. London, 1729), **MnU** (nos. 1-19, rep. London, 1729).
334. Intelligencer, published for the satisfaction and information of the people. Sir Roger L'Estrange. Aug. 31, 1663-Jan. 29, 1666. s. w. Published on Mondays; on Thursday of each week (from Sept. 3, 1663) was published the *Newes*, published for satisfaction and information

of the people; this had separate numbering through no. 18; then was issued as a Thursday supplement of the Monday Intelligencer, with numbering and pagination continuous throughout both papers.

CSH (nos. 1-18, Aug. 31-Dec. 31, 1663; 1-102, Jan. 4-Dec. 29, 1664; 1-95, Jan. 2-Nov. 23, 1665; 1-9, Dec. 2-28, 1665; 1-9, Jan. 1-29, 1666), **CtY** (nos. 1-2, Sept. 3, 7, 1663; 27-28, 31-47, 51-69, 75-95, 99, 101, Apr. 4-Dec. 26, 1664; 38, 40, 44-48, May 18, 25, June 8-22, 1665), **DLC** (nos. 4, 6, 12, Jan. 14, 21, Feb. 11, 1663; 1-13, 15-16, Sept. 3-Dec. 17, 1663; 16, 18, 22, 24, 26, 28, 32, 34, 38, 42, 44, 46, 48, 50, 52, 56, 62, 64, 66, 70, 72, 76, 84, 86, 88, 90, 100, Feb. 25-Dec. 22, 1664; 2, 6, 8, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 20 [bis], 22, 28, 32, 34, 42, 44, 46, 50, 52, 54, 56, 60, 62, 64, 73, 75, 77, 79, 81, 83, 85, 87, 89, 91, Jan. 5-Nov. 16, 1665), **IU** (v. 1, no. 4-v. 2, no. 47, 51-101, 1663-64), **MdBJ** (Aug. 1-Dec. 31, 1663; Jan. 4-Mar. 24, 1664), **WH** (nos. 1, 15, 37, 41, 69, 70, 85, Jan. 4-Oct. 31, 1664; 3-4, Jan. 9-16, 1665; 49, June 26, 1665).

335. Intrepid magazine. *Ed.* W. Hamilton. 1784.

MBB.

336. Ipswich journal. Ipswich, 1720+. w.

CtY (June 22 [no. 332]-Sept. 1, Oct. 26-Nov. 2, Nov. 23-Dec. 28, 1745; Jan. 4-July 5, July 26-Nov. 1, Nov. 15, 29-Dec. 27, 1746; Jan. 3-17, 31, Feb. 14-Mar. 7, 21, Apr. 18-25, May 9-Oct. 10, Oct. 24-Dec. 26, 1747; Jan. 2-29, Feb. 20, Apr. 16-23, May 7-Oct. 29, Nov. 26-Dec. 31, 1748; Jan. 7-21, Feb. 4-Dec. 9, 30, 1749; Jan. 6-Feb. 24, Mar. 10-May 12, June 9-23, 1750; Sept. 7 [no. 1387], 1765), **ICU** (nos. 325-516, May 1745-Dec. 1748), **TxU** (no. 887, Jan. 31, 1756).

337. Ireland's true diurnall. *Continued as True diurnall*; or, A continued relation of Irish occurrences (from no. 2, Mar. 8). William Bladen. Feb. 3-Mar. 22(?), 1642. ir.
CtY (no. 1, Feb. 3, 1642), **TxU** (Mar. 8, 22, 1642).

338. Irish agricultural magazine. Dublin, 1798+. ir.

NN.

Italian mercury. *See* Mercurio italico.

Jackson's Oxford journal. *See* Oxford journal.

339. Jacobite's journal. Henry Fielding. 1747-48. w.
CtY (nos. 1-40, 42-49, Dec. 5, 1747-Nov. 5, 1748, photographs).
340. Johnson's British gazette, and Sunday monitor. 1779+. w.
CtY (Feb. 7, 28-June 27, 1790).
341. Jones's Coventry and Warwick ledger. Coventry, 1765(?)-(?). w.
CtY (Aug. 24, Sept. 7-Oct. 19, 1765).

342. Jones's sentimental and masonic magazine. Dublin, 1792(?) - 95(?). m.
DLC (v. 3, 1793).
343. Jopson's Coventry mercury; or, The weekly country journal. Coventry, 1741+. w.
CtY (Jan. 7-May 27, June 10-Sept. 2, Oct. 21-Dec. 30, 1765; Jan. 6, 1766-Dec. 25, 1769; Jan. 1-May 28, June 11-July 30, 1770).
344. Journal étranger de littérature, des spectacles, et de politique. June 1777-May 1778. (From U. L.)
MH.
345. Journal of natural philosophy, chemistry, and the arts. Ed. William Nicholson. 1797+. m.
CSt, CtY, CU, DLC, ICJ, IU, MB, MdBP, NeU, NIC, NN, PPAP, PU.
346. Joyfull and happy news from the west of Ireland. 1642. TxU (May 2, 1642).
347. Kapelion; or, Poetical ordinary. William Kenrick. 1750-51. CtY.
348. Kemmish's new weekly miscellany; or, Amusing companion. 1787. w.
WH.
Kentish chronicle. See Kentish weekly post; or, Canterbury journal.
349. Kentish gazette. Canterbury, 1768+. s. w.
ICU (Nov. 18, 1775; Apr. 24, Nov. 20, 1776), NN (Jan. 7-14, 28, Feb. 22-Mar. 7, 24-Apr. 28, May 5, 16-23, June 13, 16, 23, 27, July 4-14, 21, 28-Aug. 4, 29, Sept. 1, 8, 12, 19-Oct. 17, 24-Nov. 11, 18-Dec. 5, 23, 26, 1772; Jan. 2, 6, 23, 30, Feb. 3, 10-17, 24-Mar. 3, 10, 17, 24, Apr. 7-17, 24-May 5, 19, 22, June 2-12, 30-July 10, Aug. 7, 11, 21-28, Sept. 8, 25-Oct. 9, 16, 23, Nov. 3-20, 27-Dec. 4, 15, 18, 29, 1773; Jan. 1-Feb. 2, 16-Mar. 5, 12-Apr. 13, 20, 30, May 4, 14, 25-June 1, 11, 25, July 9, 23, Aug. 3, 6, 13, 17, 27, 31, Sept. 17-Oct. 29, Nov. 5-Dec. 10, 17-28, 1774; Jan. 4-25, Feb. 1-8, 15, 18, Mar. 4, 11, 15, 22, 29, Apr. 5, 12-19, 26, May 3-17, 24, 31, June 3, 14-24, July 4, 12, 19, 29, Aug. 5, 12, 16, 26, Sept. 6-13, 20-30, Oct. 11, 14, 21-Nov. 29, Dec. 6-27, 1775; Apr. 27, May 18, 22, Aug. 21, 28, Sept. 14-21, 28-Oct. 16, 30, Nov. 6-13, 20-27, Dec. 11, 18-28, 1776).
Kentish post and Canterbury journal. See Kentish weekly post; or, Canterbury journal.
350. Kentish register and monthly miscellany. Canterbury, 1793-95. m.
DLC.

351. Kentish weekly post; or, Canterbury journal. *Continued as* Kentish post and Canterbury journal (from Nov. 21, 1769); *as* Canterbury journal (from Apr. 3, 1770); *as* Kentish chronicle and Canterbury journal (from May 27, 1778); *as* Kentish chronicle (from June 1791). Canterbury, 1768+. w.
ICU (v. 1, nos. 1-61, Sept. 19, 1768-Nov. 13, 1769).
352. Kingdomes faithfull scout. D. Border. Feb. 2, 1648/9-Oct. 12, 1649. w.
CSH (no. 4, 1648/9).
Kingdomes intelligencer. *See* Parliamentary intelligencer.
353. Kingdomes weekly intelligencer, sent abroad to prevent misinformation. Richard Collings(?). Jan. 3, 1643-Oct. 9, 1649. w.
CtY (nos. 1, 10, 12, 15, 16, 18, 21, Jan. 3-May 30, 1643; 59, June 18, 1644; also rep. of no. for Jan. 23, 1648/9), MH (nos. 4-52), MnU (no. 113, Aug. 19, 1645), NN (rep. of no. for Jan. 23, 1649), TxU (nos. 11, 13, 14, 15, 56, 60-62, 77, 78, Mar. 7, 1643-Oct. 29, 1644).
354. Kingdom's scout. 1645. w.
TxU (nos. 1-2, Dec. 2-Dec. 9, 1645).
355. Ladies' diary. 1704+. a. (From U. L.)
DLC (1706-07, 1711-12, 1715, 1718-95, 1797+), MH (1722, 1744, 1762, 1794-95, 1797), NjP (1728, 1740, 1745, 1749, 1757, 1767, 1776, 1785-92, 1797+), PPAP (1706-15, 1717, 1718-52).
356. Ladies' magazine; or, The universal entertainer. 1749-53.
CtY (v. 1-2, Nov. 18, 1749-Nov. 16, 1751), ICU (v. 1).
357. Lady's gazette and evening advertiser. 1789.
CtY (May 5, 1789).
358. Lady's magazine; or, Entertaining companion for the fair sex. 1770+. m.
CtY, ICU (v. 1-9, 12, 15-16, 18-25, 28, 1770-97; v. 12, 15, inc.), MB (1774, 1781, 1783, 1786, 1794, inc.), MH (v. 1-28, 1770-97), NN (v. 6-9, 14, 21-27), PPL, WH (v. 1-7, 9-10, 12, 14, 15+).
359. Lady's monthly museum; or, Polite repository of amusement and instruction. 1798+. m.
CtY, DLC (v. 1, July-Dec. 1798; v. 3+), MB, MHI (v. 1, 3, 5-6), NN (v. 2-3, 1799), WH.
360. Lady's poetical magazine; or, Beauties of British poetry. 1781-82.
CtY, DLC, ICU, IU, MB, NNC.
361. Late proceedings of the Scottish army. *Continued as*

- Intelligence from the Scottish army (no. 6); *as* Extract of letters (no. 7). Nos. 1-7, 1644.
CtY (no. 7, Apr. 20).
362. Lawyer's and magistrate's magazine. V. 1-6, 1790-94.
DLC (v. 1-3), **MH-L, N** (lacking v. 6; v. 1-3, Dublin rep.), **NIC, NN** (v. 1-3).
363. Lawyer's magazine. 1761-62. (From U. L.)
MH-L, NIC, NNC.
 Lay monastery. *See* Lay monk.
364. Lay monk. Sir Richard Blackmore and John Hughes. Nos. 1-40, Nov. 16, 1713-Feb. 15, 1714; reprinted, 1714, *as* Lay monastery. t. w.
CtY (rep. 1714), **IU** (rep. 1714), **MiU** (rep. 1714), **MnU** (rep. 1714), **NIC** (rep. 1714), **TxAG** (rep. 1727), **TxU** (nos. 1, 5, 8, 19, 22, 24, Nov. 16, 1713-Jan. 8, 1714; also rep. 1754).
365. Leeds intelligencer. Leeds, 1754+. w.
CtY (Oct. 14, 1777; Jan. 14, 1793-Dec. 14, 1795; Jan. 1, 1798-June 30, 1800), **WH** (v. 4, no. 176, Nov. 15, 1757).
366. Leeds mercury. Leeds, 1767+. *Cf.* no. 1503.
TxU (v. 17, no. 896, Apr. 13, 1784).
367. Leicester and Nottingham journal. *Continued as* Leicester journal (from 1787). Leicester, 1753(?)+. w.
NN (May 21, July 16, 30, Aug. 6, Sept. 10, Oct. 8, 1790).
368. Letters and papers on agriculture, planting, etc. 1780+. (From U. L.)
DLC, NIC.
369. Library; or, Moral and critical magazine. . . . By a society of gentlemen. *Ed.* A. Kippis. V. 1-2, Apr. 1761-May 1762. m.
CtY, DLC, ICN, RPB (inc.).
 Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford mercury. *See* Stamford mercury.
371. Literary and philosophical society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Reports. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 1793+. (From U. L.)
DLC.
372. Literary amusements; or, Evening entertainer. Dublin, 1782.
ICN, ICU, MB, N.
373. Literary courier of Grub-Street. Nos. 1-30, Jan. 5-July 27, 1738. w. A continuation of the Grub-Street journal.
CtY, TxU (nos. 3-30, lacking nos. 15, 16, 19).

374. Literary fly. 1779. w.
CtY (nos. 1-17, Jan. 18-May 8, 1779), MIU (nos. 1-17).
375. Literary journal. Dublin, 1744-49. q. and a.
CtY, MH, NN.
376. Literary journal; or, A continuation of the Memoirs of literature. M. de la Roche. V. 1-3, 1730-31. m.
CtY (v. 1), RPB (v. 1-3).
377. Literary leisure; or, The recreations of Solomon Saunter, Esq., Sept. 26, 1799-Dec. 18, 1800. w.
DLC, NN (v. 2, nos. 32-60, May 1-Dec. 18, 1800).
378. Literary magazine and British review. 1788-94. m.
CtY, DLC (v. 1-11, July 1788-Dec. 1793), ICN, ICU (v. 3, 10), MB, MBB, MH (v. 4, 5), NIC (v. 7), NjP (v. 3-5), NN, NNC (v. 1-4, 6-9), PPH (v. 4), PPL, PU, WH.
379. Literary magazine; or, Select British library. J. Wilford. Jan.-June, 1735. m.
DLC, NNC (Mar. 1735).
380. Literary magazine; or The history of the works of the learned. *Ed.* E. Chambers. 1735-36. m. This periodical and the Present state of the republic of letters were superseded in 1737 by the History of the works of the learned.
CtY, ICU, NNC (Jan. 1736), PPL.
381. Literary magazine; or, Universal review. *Ed.*(?) Samuel Johnson. 1756-58. m.
CtY, MH (v. 1, Apr. 15, 1756-Jan. 15, 1757).
382. Literary miscellany; or, Selections and extracts, classical and scientific. Stourport, 1800+.
CtY, ICU.
383. Literary register; or, A weekly miscellany; being a review of publications in the year. . . . Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1769-72. w.
CtY (v. 1-3, 1769-71).
Little review. *See* Weekly review of the affairs of France.
384. Living world; or, The history of the last fortnight. 1750. (From U. L.)
RPB (nos. 1-3, 1750).
385. Lloyd's evening post and British chronicle. 1757+. t. w.
CtY (nos. 1-853, July 22, 1757-Dec. 31, 1762; 931-1713, July 1, 1763-June 29, 1768; 1793-4451, Jan. 2, 1769-Dec. 30, 1785), ICU (v. 6, 1760, inc.), IU (v. 1-10, 41-46), NN (Mar. 8-June 7, 12-

- July 14, 19, 24-Aug. 7, 11-Oct. 2, 6-Dec. 18, 22-29, 1758; 1777-79; Jan. 3-Oct. 4, 9-Dec. 29, 1780; 1781), **TxU** (nos. 2106, Jan. 1, 1771; 2302, Apr. 3, 1772; 2359, Aug. 14, 1773; 2761, Mar. 10, 1775; 3730, May 18, 1781; 3731, May 21, 1781; 3755, July 16, 1781; 3760, July 27, 1781; 3769, Aug. 17, 1781), **WH** (v. 2-3, 1758; 5-6, July 1759-June 1760; 8-11, 1761-62; 13-25, July 1763-1769; 35, Aug. 7-Oct. 26, 1774; 46, Jan. 17-Apr. 5, 1780).
386. Loiterer. *Ed. James Austen*. Oxford, 1789-90. w.
CtY (v. 1-2, Jan. 31, 1789-Mar. 20, 1790), **DLC** (nos. 1-37, Jan. 31-Oct. 10, 1789), **MH** (v. 1-2).
387. London and country journal, with the history of the Old and New Testament. 1739-42.
DLC (nos. 18-33, 35-122, 1739-41).
388. London and Dublin magazine. Dublin, 1734-35(?).
IU (v. 1-2), **PPL** (v. 2, Jan.-Dec. 1735).
389. London chronicle; or, Universal evening post. *Continued as London chronicle* (from July 2, 1765). 1757+. t. w.
CSH (v. 55-64, Jan. 5, 1784-Nov. 8, 1788), **CSt** (Jan.-June 1762), **CtY** (lacking nos. 1408, 1487-95, 1497-1501, 1512-16, 1521, 1597, 1600, 1607, 4620-97; also Boswell's file with his annotations, v. 21-38, Dec. 30, 1766-Dec. 29, 1775, lacking 17 nos.), **DLC**, **ICN** (v. 1-68, 1757-90), **ICU** (1758, 1760-65, 1771-72, 1773-82, 1785-96, 1800, many nos. missing before 1773 and a few later), **IU** (v. 1-7, 9, 11-47, 59, 1757-85), **MB** (1757-79, 1781-84, Dec. 1788-Mar. 1789, 1793), **MdBP** (v. 35), **MH** (v. 1-88, 1757-1800, lacking v. 77, Mar. 31-June 4, 1795, and v. 78), **MiU** (v. 1-11, 39, 71-72, 82-88), **N** (inc.), **NIC** (v. 1-54, 1757-84), **NN** (lacking v. 27-28, 39, 57, 59-60, 73, 76-80, 84-88), **NNC** (v. 3-4), **PPL** (1773-78), **RPB** (v. 1-83, 1757-98), **TxU** (nos. 628-702, 706, 1761; 2192, 1771), **WH** (v. 1-23, 26-34, 45-50, 53-60, 69-78).
- London corresponding society. *See* Moral and political magazine. . . .
390. London courant. 1688-89. s. w.
CSH (nos. 1-9, Dec. 12, 1688-Jan. 8, 1689).
391. London courant. *Continued as London courant; or, New advertiser* (from Dec. 1746?). 1745-47(?). d.
CSH (no. 306, June 23, 1746).
392. London courant and Westminster chronicle. *Continued as London courant, Westminster chronicle and daily advertiser* (from Oct. 10, 1781); *as London courant, noon gazette, and daily advertiser* (from Jan. 21, 1782); *as London courant, morning gazette, and daily advertiser* (from Mar. 11, 1782); *as London courant and daily*

advertiser (from Apr. 9, 1782); as London courant, Westminster chronicle, and daily advertiser (from Apr. 15, 1782); as London courant and daily advertiser (Sept. 6, 1782). Nov. 25, 1779(?)–Sept. 6, 1782(?). d.

MB (Nov. 25, 1779–Apr. 18, 1780), **NN** (Nov. 26–Dec. 31, 1779; Jan. 1–Mar. 21, 27–June 30, 1780).

London courant; or, New advertiser. *See* London courant, 1745-47(?).

393. London daily post and general advertiser. *Continued as* General advertiser (from Mar. 12, 1744); as Public advertiser (from Dec. 1, 1752); as Oracle and public advertiser (from Mar. 1, 1794). 1734-98. d. Incorporated with Daily advertiser in 1798.

CtY (Mar. 15, 17, May 20, 22, 25, 26, Sept. 4, 14, Nov. 27, 30, 1736; Apr. 26, 1737; Feb. 24, Apr. 9, 1741; June 24, 1766; Feb. 7, 1767–July 17, 1771; Jan. 2, 1775–Dec. 30, 1780), **NN** (July 16, 1772; Dec. 21, 1779; Mar. 9, 1780), **TxU** (Dec. 24, 1746; Jan. 21, 1754; Jan. 24, 1775–Dec. 6, 1776; Sept. 23, Oct. 22, 25, 31, Nov. 1, 2, 12, 18, 19, 20, Dec. 4, 5, 6, 22, 1794), **WH** (Mar. 5, 1772; Mar. 16, 1778).

394. London evening post. 1727+. t. w.

CSH (no. 2926, Aug. 7, 1746), **CtY** (nos. 1001-1580, Apr. 20, 1734–Dec. 31, 1737; 3146-3302, Jan. 2–Dec. 31, 1748; 4122, Apr. 13, 1754; 4216-34, Nov. 19–Dec. 31, 1754; 4235-4546, Jan. 2, 1755–Dec. 28, 1756; 4548-4677, Jan. 1–Oct. 29, 1757; 4717-4856, Jan. 31–Dec. 21, 1758), **IU** (Mar. 25, 1742–Mar. 29, 1748), **NN** (June 21, July 3, 1735; Oct. 10, 1738; Oct. 11, 1739; Nov. 6, 23, 1742; Jan. 20, 1770, Dec. 24-29, 1778; Jan.–Dec. 1779; Jan.–Mar. 1780), **TxU** (nos. 113-1387, Aug. 29, 1728–Oct. 7, 1736, inc.), **WH** (no. 929, Nov. 3, 1733).

London gazette. *See* Oxford gazette.

395. London intelligence. 1689. s. w.

CSH (nos. 1-10, Jan. 15–Feb. 16, 1689), **CtY** (no. 10).

396. London journal. John Trenchard, etc. 1719-44. w.

CtY (Sept. 3, 10, Oct. 1-15, Nov. 12–Dec. 31, 1720; Jan. 7–Dec. 30, 1721; Jan. 6–Dec. 22, 1722; Jan. 5–Dec. 21, 1723; Jan. 3–Dec. 26, 1724; Feb. 13, 1725; July 2, Oct. 8–Dec. 31, 1726; Jan. 14–Dec. 30, 1727; Jan. 17–Apr. 18, May 30, June 6, July 11, Aug. 6, Nov. 21, 28, Dec. 12, 1730; Feb. 13–Nov. 20, 1731; Feb. 3, 17–Mar. 17, 31–Apr. 14, Apr. 28–May 5, 26–June 9, 23–July 14, Aug. 11-25, Sept. 22–Oct. 6, 20–Nov. 17, Dec. 15, 1733; Jan. 5–Dec. 31, 1735), **IU** (no. 113, Sept. 23, 1721), **NN** (nos. 77-78, Jan. 14-21, 1721; 86, Mar. 18, 1721; 107, Aug. 12, 1721; 185-87, Feb. 9-23, 1723),

TxAG (nos. 731, June 30; 743, Sept. 22; 746, Oct. 13, 1733), **TxU** (nos. 79-177, Jan. 28, 1721-Dec. 15, 1722, lacking nos. 155, 156, 160, 161, 169, 170, 172; 261, July 25, 1724; 522, 528, 577, 597, 598, 613, 626, 630, Aug. 2, 1729-Aug. 21, 1731), **WH** (nos. 74-164, 169, 180, 196, 201, 207, 221, 240, 242, 259, 265, 280, 282, 294, 296, 299, 315, 321, 322, 382, 383, 394, 397, 399, 400, 402, 404-06, 420, 421, 499, Dec. 1, 1720-Feb. 22, 1729).

London kalendar; or, City and court register. *See* Court and city register.

397. London magazine and monthly chronicle. *Continued as* Gentleman's and London magazine; or, Monthly chronologer (from 1753). Dublin, 1742-83(?). m.

CtY (v. 47, 1777), **MB** (v. 39, 1769), **MH** (v. 29-30, 35, 40, 41, 50, 1760-80), **NN** (Jan. 1770, 1783), **PPL** (1779).

398. London magazine; or, Gentleman's monthly intelligencer. *Continued as* London magazine and monthly chronologer (from 1736); *as* London magazine enlarged and improved (from 1783). J. Wilford, etc. 1732-85. m.

CSH (1770-75; Apr. 1778; 1779-80; 1783-85), **CSt** (v. 1-41, 1732-72), **CtY** (lacking Jan.-June, 1784), **DLC**, **ICU** (v. 1-50, 1732-81), **IU** (v. 11, 13-46, 48-52), **MB** (v. 1-52), **MBB**, **MdBP** (v. 25, 27, 28, 31, 33, 35, 43-45, 47, 48, 50), **MH** (v. 1-52), **MHi**, **MiUC** (v. 31-32), **N** (v. 9, 25-26, 28-30, 33-34, 36-41, 44), **NIC** (v. 1, 19, 23, 25, 31), **NN** (v. 1-51), **NNC**, **PPL**, **TxU** (1732-48, 1750-57, 1775, 1782), **VaU** (v. 47-52), **WH**.

399. London medical journal. *Continued as* Medical facts and observations (from 1791). *Ed.* S. F. Simmons. 1781-1800. q.

DSG, **ICJ**, **PU** (1797-1800).

400. London medical review and magazine. *Ed.* W. Blair. 1799+. m.

DSG, **ICJ**.

401. London mercury. 1669.

CSH (nos. 1-2, Jan. 6, 27, 1669).

402. London mercury. 1682. s. w.

CSH (nos. 1-56, Apr. 6-Oct. 17, 1682), **MB** (nos. 1-50, 1682), **IWS** (nos. 1-50, Apr. 6-Sept. 26, 1682), **TxU** (nos. 1-56, Apr. 6-Oct. 17, 1682).

403. London mercury, containing the history, politics, and literature of England. 1781 (for the year 1780)-(?).

DLC (1780), **WH**.

404. London mercury; or, Moderate intelligence. *Continued as*

- London mercury; or, The Orange intelligence (from Jan. 1689). 1688-89. s. w.
CSH (nos. 1-9, Dec. 18, 1688-Jan. 10, 1689), **CtY** (nos. 1-2, 4, 5, Dec. 18-27, 1688), **MH** (nos. 1-2, 4), **NN** (Dec. 15, 22, 27, 1688; Jan. 7, 1689).
405. London monthly review. 1787(?)+. (From U. L.)
DGU (v. 5-6, 9-10, 11-12, 1791+).
 London morning penny post. *See* Universal London morning advertiser.
406. London museum of politics, miscellanies and literature. V. 1-4, Jan. 1770-Dec. 1771. m.
ICN (v. 1, nos. 1-3, Jan.-Mar. 1770), **MB** (Feb., Mar., Oct. 1770; Jan. 1771), **NN**.
407. London news letter, with foreign and domestick occurrences. 1696.
NN (no. 14, May 29, 1696).
408. London packet; or, New evening post. *Continued as* London packet; or, New Lloyd's evening post (from Apr. 17, 1772). 1770+. t. w.
CtY (Dec. 30, 1799+), **IU** (1796+), **IWS** (nos. 966-1123, Jan. 1-Dec. 30, 1776), **N** (May 28, 1770-June 24, 1771; June 22, 1772-July 30, 1773), **NN** (1772-80, inc.), **TxU** (no. 2310, Aug. 17, 1785).
409. London post, faithfully communicating his intelligence of the proceedings of Parliament. John Rushworth and Gilbert Mabbott. 1644-45. w.
MH (nos. 5, 23), **TxU** (nos. 2, Aug. 20, 1644; 21, Jan. 28, 1645).
- 409a. London register; or, Historical notes of the present times. Jan.-June 1762. m.
CtY.
410. London review of English and foreign literature. *Ed.* W. Kenrick and others. V. 1-12, 1775-80. m.
CtY, **DLC** (v. 1-2), **NN** (v. 1-11, Jan. 1775-June 1780).
411. London spy. Edward Ward. 1698-1700. m.
CtY (v. 1-2, Nov. 1698-Apr. 1700), **MHi** (v. 1-2, no. 6), **NNC**, **TxU** (Nov. 1698, rep. 1700; Jan., Mar.-May, July, Oct., Dec. 1699, Apr. and Dec. rep. 1701; Jan., Mar. 1700).
 London spy and Read's weekly journal. *See* Weekly journal; or, British gazetteer.
412. Looker-on. William Roberts, James Beresford, Alexander Chalmers, etc. Nos. 1-86, Mar. 10, 1792-Jan. 11, 1794; extended to 92 nos. in collected ed. s. w.; w. (from Dec. 1, 1792).

- CSt (rep.), CtY (nos. 1-86; also rep. 1794, 1796), ICU (Mar. 10, 1792-Dec. 21, 1793), MB (rep. 1795, 1796), MH (nos. 1-86, Mar. 10, 1792-Dec. 21, 1793), NN (rep.), PU (rep.).
413. Lottery magazine; or, Compleat fund of literary, political and commercial knowledge. 1776-77(?). m.
CtY (June-Nov. 1777), MB (July-Nov. 1777), NN (July-Oct. 1776).
414. Lounger. *Ed.* Henry Mackenzie. Edinburgh, nos. 1-101, Feb. 5, 1785-Jan. 6, 1787. w.
CSt, CtY, DLC, ICN, ICU (2nd ed.), MB (rep.), MH (lacking nos. 96-97), MnU, NIC (nos. 1-100), NN, NNC, (rep. N. Y. 1789), PU, TxU.
415. Lounger's miscellany; or, The lucubrations of Abel Slug, Esq. 1788-89. s. m.
CtY (nos. 1-20, May 31, 1788-Mar. 7, 1789), MB (nos. 1-20).
416. Lover. Steele. Nos. 1-40, Feb. 25-May 27, 1714. t. w.
CSH (rep. 1715), CtY (rep. 1715, 1723), ICU (rep. 1789), IEN (rep. 1723), IU (rep. 1789), MH, NIC (rep. 1789), NN (rep. 1789), TxU (nos. 19-26; also rep. 1715).
417. Loyal impartial mercury; or, News both forreign and domestick. 1682. s. w.
TxU (nos. 1-46, June 9-Nov. 17, 1682).
418. Loyal intelligence; or, News both from city and country. 1680.
NN (nos. 1-3, Mar. 6-31, 1680), TxU (nos. 1-3).
419. Loyal London mercury; or, The moderate intelligencer. *Continued as* Loyal London mercury; or, The currant intelligence (from no. 8). 1682.
MB (nos. 1-20), TxU (nos. 1-25, June 14-Nov. 15, 1682).
Loyal Protestant, and true domestick intelligence. *See* Domestick intelligence. . . . (N. Thompson).
- 419a. Loyal weekly journal: the phoenix; or, Sir Roger reviv'd. Francis Clifton. 1717.
TxU (no. 4, Jan. 26, 1716/7).
420. Lying intelligencer. 1763. w.
CtY (rep. in Political controversy, 1763).
421. Macaroni and theatrical magazine. *Continued as* Macaroni, savoir vivre, and theatrical magazine (from Apr. 1773). Oct. 1772-Dec. 1773.
ICU (Oct. 1772-Nov. 1773), MB, MH (Jan., Aug., Nov., Dec. 1773).

422. *Magazine of magazines*. Limerick, 1751-61. m.
CtY (v. 1-2, Jan.-Dec. 1751; 4-12, July 1752-Dec. 1756), **NN**
(v. 4, 8, 9, 11-14, 18, July 1752-July 1759).
423. *Magazine of magazines; or, Universal register. Continued
as Grand magazine of magazines; or, Universal register
(from v. 2)*. V. 1-3, 1758-59.
CtY (v. 1, nos. 1-16, July-Dec. 1758; v. 3, no. 16, Oct. 1759).
MB, **MH**, **MHi** (Nov. 1759), **NjP**, **NN** (v. 2-3, no. 13, Jan.-July,
1759).
424. *Man: a paper for ennobling the species*. Peter Shaw.
1755. w.
CtY (nos. 1-53, Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1755).
425. *Manchester literary and philosophical society. Memoirs.*
Manchester, 1785+. ir.
CSt (v. 1-2, 1785; v. 3, 1790; v. 4, pt. 1, 1793; v. 4, pt. 2, 1796;
v. 5, pt. 1, 1798; v. 5, pt. 2, impr. 1802), **CtY**, **CU**, **DLC**, **ICU**, **IU**
(inc.), **MH** (v. 1-5, 1785-98), **MiU**, **MnU**, **NIC**, **NN**, **NNC**, **PPAP**.
426. *Man in the moon, discovering a world of knavery under the
sunne*. John Crouch. 1649-50. w.
CSH, **CtY** (Nov. 21, 1649, rep.), **MdBJ** (Nov. 21, 1649), **MH** (Aug.
23, 1649), **NN** (Nov. 21, 1649, rep.).
427. *Many remarkable passages from both Houses of Parliament.*
1642.
CtY (May 17, 1642), **TxU** (May 20, 1642).
428. *Marine intelligencer; or, An account of sea affairs*. (?) -
1711(?).
NN (Apr. 28, 1711).
*Martin's magazine. See General magazine of arts and
sciences.*
429. *Mathematical and philosophical repository*. 1795+. (From
U. L.)
MdBP, **NN**, **NNC**.
430. *Mathematician*. 1745-50. (From U. L.)
MB, **RPB**.
431. *Matrimonial magazine; or, Monthly anecdotes of love and
marriage for the court, the city and the country*. 1775.
Merged into *Westminster magazine*, *q. v.*
DLC (v. 1, Jan.-June 1775).
432. *Matter of great note*. 1641.
TxU (Mar. 2, 1641/2).
Maty's new review. See New review. . . .

433. Meddler. Dublin, 1744. w.
CtY (v. 1, nos. 1-26, Jan. 4-June 28, 1744).
434. Medical and chirurgical review; or, Compendium of medical literature, foreign and domestic. *Ed.* Henry Clutterbuck. July, 1794+. m.
ICJ, MdBj.
435. Medical and philosophical commentaries. *Continued as* Medical commentaries (from 1780); *as* Annals of medicine (from 1796). Edinburgh, 1773+. q.; a. (from 1783).
CtY, ICJ, MB, PU.
436. Medical and physical journal. *Ed.* T. Bradley, etc. 1799+. m.
CSt, CtY (v. 2+, Aug. 1799+), DLC, ICJ, MB, N, PU.
Medical commentaries. *See* Medical and philosophical commentaries.
437. Medical essays and observations. Philosophical society of Edinburgh. Edinburgh, 1733-44. (From U. L.)
CtY (rep.), DLC (v. 2), ICJ, NNC, PU.
Medical facts and observations. *See* London medical journal.
438. Medical museum; or, A repository of cases, experiments, researches, and discoveries, collected at home and abroad. V. 1-3, 1763-64. m. Reprinted as Medical museum; or, Select cases, experiments, enquiries, and discoveries in medicine, pharmacy, anatomy . . . , v. 1-4, 1781.
MBM (v. 1-2, rep. 1781), MdBj, MdBm (v. 1-3, rep. 1781), PU (v. 1-3; v. 1, rep. 1781), WU.
439. Medical observations and inquiries. 1757-84.
CtY, MB, MdBj, PU.
440. Medical society of London. Memoirs. 1792+. (From U. L.)
CtY (v. 3), ICJ, MB, MdBj (v. 1-3), PU, WU.
441. Medical spectator. 1791-94(?). w.
PU (nos. 1-43, 45, Oct. 1, 1791-Feb. 23, 1793).
442. Medley. *Ed.* Arthur Maynwaring, with occasional assistance from Steele, Anthony Henley, and John Oldmixon. 1st series, nos. 1-45, Oct. 5, 1710-Aug. 6, 1711; 2nd series, nos. 1-45, Mar. 3-Aug. 7, 1712; 1st series rep. in 1712 as Medleys for the year 1711. w. (1st series); s. w. (2nd series).
CtY (1st ser.; 2nd ser., nos. 1-44; also rep. 1712), DLC (rep. 1712), IU (1st ser.; also rep. 1712), IWS (rep. 1712), MH (rep. 1712), NIC, NN (rep. 1712), NNC (rep. 1712), PPL (rep. 1712), TxAG (rep. 1712), TxU (1st ser.; 2nd ser., nos. 1-40, inc.).

443. *Memoirs for the curious. Published by James Baldwin.* 1701. m.
NNC (v. 1, nos. 1, 2, n. d.).
444. *Memoirs for the ingenious, containing curious observations in philosophy, mathematicks, physick, philology, and other arts and sciences. J. de la Crose.* 1693. m.
CtY (nos. 1-6, Jan.-June 1693; 8, Aug. 1693), **ICU** (Jan.-Dec. 1693), **NN** (nos. 1-3).
445. *Memoirs for the ingenious; or, The universal mercury. No. 1, Jan. 1694.* m.
CtY, **IU** (no. 1, Jan. 1694), **NN** (no. 1).
446. *Memoirs of literature, containing an account of the state of learning both at home and abroad. Michel de la Roche.* March 1710-Sept. 1714; Jan.-Apr.(?) 1717; 2nd ed., rev. and cor., 1722.
CtY (v. 1, Mar. 13, 1710-Dec. 31, 1711; also rep. 1722), **DLC** (1722), **ICN** (1722), **ICU** (1722), **IU** (1722), **MB** (1722), **MBB** (1722), **MH** (1722), **NIC** (1722), **NN** (v. 4, nos. 1-9, Jan. 4-Sept. 1714; also 1722), **NNC** (1722).
447. *Memoirs of science and the arts. 1793-94. (From U. L.)*
CtY (v. 1), **DLC** (rep. 1798), **NjP**.
Memoirs of the present state of Europe. See Present state of Europe; or, The monthly account of all occurrences. . . .
Memoirs of the Society of Grub-Street. See Grub-Street journal.
449. *Mercator; or, Commerce retrieved. D. Defoe. 1713-14. t. w.*
CtY (nos. 1-181, May 26, 1713-July 20, 1714), **NN** (nos. 1-181), **TxU** (nos. 14, 21, 25, 26-31, 34, 38-45, 103, 114, 119, 123, June 25, 1713-Mar. 6, 1714).
450. *Merchants and manufacturers magazine of trade and commerce. 1785-86.*
DLC.
451. *Merchants news-letter. 1703-(?). w. (From U. L.)*
DLC (nos. 2-5, 15-18, 1703).
452. *Mercure britannique; ou, Notices historiques et critiques sur les affaires du temps. J. Mallet du Pan. 1798-1800. m.*
CtY, **NIC**, **NN** (v. 1, no. 8, 1798; no. 17, 1799).
453. *Mercure de France. Dublin, 1775.*
CtY (v. 1-2, no. 1, Apr.-July 1775).

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454. *Mercurie turc.* Nos. 1-7, 1781.
DLC (nos. 1-7, 1781).
455. *Mercurio britannico.* J. Mallet du Pan. Nos. 1-32, Aug. 1798-Jan. 10, 1800. s. m.
DLC.
456. *Mercurio italico; o sia, Ragguaglio generale intorno alla letteratura . . . di tutta l'Italia.* The Italian mercury; or, A general account concerning the literature, fine arts, useful discoveries, &c. of all Italy. Ed. Francesco Sastres. 1789-90(?). m. In Italian and English.
DLC (v. 1-3, pt. 1, 1789-90), MBB (v. 1-2, 1789), NN (v. 1-2), NNC (v. 1-2), RPB (v. 1-2).
- 456a. *Mercurius academicus, communicating the affairs of Oxford to the rest of the passive party thorowout the kingdom.* No. 1, Apr. 15, 1648.
IWS (no. 1).
457. *Mercurius Anglicus.* 1648.
CSH (no. 1, Aug. 3, 1648).
458. *Mercurius Anglicus.* 1681. (From U. L.)
MH (nos. 1-3, Oct. 10-17, 1681).
459. *Mercurius Anglicus; or, The weekly occurrences faithfully transmitted. Continued as True news; or, Mercurius Anglicus* (from no. 11, Dec. 27, 1679). 1679-80. s. w.
CSH (nos. 1-10, Nov. 13-Dec. 24, 1679), CtY (no. 8, Dec. 17, 1679), NN (nos. 13-17, 19-28, 30-45, Jan. 3-Apr. 24, 1680), WH (nos. 47-51, May 1-15, 1680).
460. *Mercurius anti-Britannicus.* 1645.
CSH.
461. *Mercurius anti-melancholicus.* No. 1, Sept. 24, 1647.
CSH, MH.
462. *Mercurius anti-mercurius.* John Harris. 1648. w.
CSH, IWS (one no., n. d.).
463. *Mercurius anti-pragmaticus.* Oct. 19, 1647-Feb. 3, 1648. w.
CSH (nos. 2-5, 16-19, 1647-48), CtY (nos. 4, Nov. 11, 1647; 18, Jan. 27, 1648), ICU (Oct. 19, 1647; 1648), MH (nos. 4, 8).
464. *Mercurius aquaticus.* 1648.
CSH.
465. *Mercurius aulicus, againe communicating intelligence from all parts touching all affaires, designes, humours, and conditions throughout the kingdome.* Samuel Sheppard. 1648. w.

DLC (no. 2, Feb. 10, 1648), **MB** (no. 3, Feb. 17, 1648), **MnU** (nos. 2-3, Feb. 3-17).

466. *Mercurius aulicus*, communicating the intelligence and affaires of the Court to the rest of the kingdome. Peter Heylin and Sir John Berkenhead. Oxford, 1643-45. w.
CSH (1642/3), **CtY** (Jan. 7, 28, Feb. 11, 25, 1643; Apr. 20, Nov. 23, 1644; Feb. 9, Mar. 2, 1645), **IU** (52 nos., 1642/3), **IWS** (Jan. 8, 1643-Nov. 23, 1644), **MH** (Nov. 11, 1643), **MnU** (Mar. 5-May 20, July 16-Dec. 16, 1643; Jan. 14-27, Feb. 11-Oct. 12, Oct. 27-Nov. 23, 1644; Jan. 5-18, 26, Feb. 1, 9-15, Mar. 2-8, 16-22, Apr. 13-19, 1645), **WH** (May 14, July 23, 30, Aug. 6, 13, 20, 27, Sept. 3, 10, 17, 25, Nov. 19, 25, 1643; Jan. 6, 13, Feb. 3, 10, 17, Mar. 2, 9, 16, 23, Apr. 6, 20, June 8, 15, 29, July 6, 20, Aug. 10, 17, Sept. 14, 21, 28, Oct. 5, 1644; Jan. 12, 19, Feb. 2, 16, Mar. 2, 9, 23, 30, Apr. 20, 27, May 4, June 8, July 20, Aug. 17, 1645).
 467. *Mercurius bellicus*; or, An alarum to all rebels. Sir John Berkenhead. 1647-48.
CSH (nos. 1-7, 9-11, 16-19, 21-24, 26-27, Nov. 23, 1647-July 26, 1648), **DLC** (no. 2, Nov. 29, 1647), **ICU** (July 26, 1648).
 468. *Mercurius bellicus*: the fourth intelligence from Reading. 1643. (From U. L.)
MH (May 1, 1643).
 469. *Mercurius bifrons*; or, The English Janus. 1681.
CtY (no. 1), **MH** (no. 1), **TxU** (nos. 1, 2, 3, Feb. 10-Mar. 3, 1681).
 470. *Mercurius Britannicus*. *Printed by B. W.* 1647. w.
CSH (nos. 1-3), **MH** (nos. 1-2, June 17-July 24, 1647).
 471. *Mercurius Britannicus*. 1718.
NN (Jan.-Mar. 1718), **RPB**.
 472. *Mercurius Britannicus*, communicating the affaires of Great Britaine for the better information of the people. Thomas Audley and Marchamont Nedham. 1643-46. w.
CSH (nos. 1-5, 7-81, 83-130, 1643-46), **CtY** (nos. 1-20, Aug. 29, 1643-Jan. 11, 1644; no. 3, mss. copy), **DLC** (nos. 1-130, lacking no. 106), **IWS** (nos. 1-130, lacking no. 35, Aug. 23, 1643-May 18, 1646), **MH** (nos. 11-109), **MnU** (nos. 1-100, Aug. 23, 1643-Oct. 6, 1645; also counterfeit, no. 27, Mar. 18, 1644), **TxU** (nos. 5, 6, 21, 24, 30, 37, 39, 40-43, 47, 48, 54, 55, 58, 64, 65, Sept. 26, 1643-Jan. 13, 1645).
- Mercurius Britannicus*; or, The weekly observator. *See Mercurius reformatus*.

474. *Mercurius Britannicus* [subtitles vary]. Nos. 1-13, May 16-Aug. 16, 1648. w.
CSH (nos. 1-13).
475. *Mercurius Brittannicus*. Gilbert Mabbott. Nos. 1-7, May 4-June 5, 1649. w.
CSH (nos. 1, 3-5, 7).
476. *Mercurius Caledonius*. Thomas Sydserf. Edinburgh, nos. 1-12, 1661.
CtY (no. 1, Jan. 8, 1661), DLC (Jan. 8, 1661, rep.; 2 extracts in Clarendon hist. soc.), IU (2 extracts in Clarendon hist. soc., 1882), MH (no. 1).
477. *Mercurius Catholicus*. Father Thomas Budd(?). 1648.
CSH.
478. *Mercurius censorius*; or, *Newes from the Isle of Wight and other parts of the kingdom to the royalists*. John Hall. 1648.
CSH (no. 1, June 1, 1648), ICN (no. 1).
479. *Mercurius civicus*. Richard Collings(?). May 11, 1643-Dec. 10, 1646. w.
CSH (nos. 148, 149, Apr. 2, 9, 1646), MH (nos. 11, 16), TxU (nos. 65, 114, 139, Aug. 22, 1644-Jan. 22, 1646).
480. *Mercurius civicus*; or, *A true account of affairs both foreign and domestick*. 1680.
CSH, MnU (no. 10, Apr. 17, 1680), NN (nos. 1-2, 4-12, Mar. 22-Apr. 27, 1680), RPB (no. 4, Apr. 1, 1680), TxU (nos. 1-14, Mar. 22-May 6, 1680).
481. *Mercurius clericus*; or, *News from Syon*. 1647. w.
CtY (no. 1, Sept. 24, 1647), MH (no. 1).
482. *Mercurius clericus*; or, *News from the Assembly*. 1647.
CSH (no. 1).
483. *Mercurius criticus*. 1648.
CSH (no. 1, Apr. 13, 1648).
484. *Mercurius Democritus*; or, *A perfect nocturnal, communicating many strange wonders out of the world in the moon*. . . . John Crouch. May 10-Aug. 10, 1659.
ICU (no. 1, May 10, 1659), TxU (nos. 5, June 7; 11, Aug. 3, 1659).
485. *Mercurius dogmaticus*. Samuel Sheppard. 1648.
CSH (no. 1, Jan. 13, 1648).
486. *Mercurius domesticus*. 1648.
CSH (no. 1, June 5, 1648).

487. *Mercurius domesticus*; or, *Newes both from city and country*. Printed for B. Harris. 1679.
WH (no. 1, Dec. 19, 1679).
488. *Mercurius elencticus*, communicating the unparallel'd proceedings at Westminster, the head-quarters, and other places. . . . Sir George Wharton and S. Sheppard. 1647-49. Cf. J. B. Williams, *History of English journalism* . . . , pp. 200-10.
CSH (inc.), **CtY** (no. 34, July 18, 1648), **DLC** (nos. 11, Feb. 9; 21, Apr. 19, 1648), **ICN** (no. 43, Sept. 20, 1648), **ICU** (May 31, 1648), **MB** (no. 12, Feb. 1648), **MH** (no. 34), **MnU** (nos. 13, 15; 2nd ser., no. 8).
489. *Mercurius*, &c. Jan. 17-Apr. 10, 1644. w.
CSH.
490. *Mercurius fidelicus*. Nos. 1-2, Aug. 24-31, 1648. w.
CSH.
491. *Mercurius fumigosus*; or, The smoking nocturnall, communicating dark and hidden newes out of all obscure places in the Antipodes, either in fire, aire, earth or water. John Crouch. Nos. 1-70, 1654-55.
CtY (no. 58, July 4, 1655).
- 491a. *Mercurius fumigosus*; or, The smoaking nocturnal, communicating many strange wonders out of the world in the moon, the Antipodes, Magy-land . . . and other adjacent parts [slight variations in title]. John Crouch. 1660.
CtY (no. 2, Feb. 1, 1660; 1, Mar. 28, 1660), **ICU** (Jan. 18, 1660), **TrU** (Jan. 18, Feb. 1, 1660).
492. *Mercurius Gallicus*. 1648.
CSH.
493. *Mercurius Helonicus*, or the result of a safe conscience. . . .
Printed by Robert Ibbitson. No. 1, 1651.
IWS (no. 1).
494. *Mercurius honestus*; or, *Newes from Westminster*. 1648.
CSH.
495. *Mercurius impartialis*. Sir George Wharton. 1648. w.
CSH.
496. *Mercurius infernus*; or, *News from the other world, discovering the cheats and abuses of this*. Nos. 1-6, 1680.
TrU (nos. 1-4, n. d.), **NN** (nos. 1-5).
497. *Mercurius insanus insanissimus*. 1648.
CSH (nos. 2-3), **ICU**.

498. *Mercurius librarius*; or, A catalogue of books. *Ed.* John Starkey and Robert Clavell. 1668-70. q. Nos. 1-8 reprinted in Edward Arber's Term catalogues, v. 1.
CSH (nos. 1-8, 1668-70).
499. *Mercurius medicus*; or, A sovereign salve for these sick times [slight variation in sub-title in no. 2]. Henry Walker. *Printed for W. Ley.* 1647.
CSH, **CtY** (no. 1, [Oct. 11], 1647), **IWS** (no. 2, Oct. 15-22, 1647), **MH**.
500. *Mercurius Mediterraneus*; or, The Streights weekly mercury. 1694. w. (From U. L.)
DLC (no. 1, Nov. 28, 1694).
501. *Mercurius melancholicus*; or, News from Westminster and other parts. John Hackluyt and others. 1647-49. w. Numerous counterfeits.
CSH (no. 3, Sept. 17, 1647; 1649), **CtY** (nos. 2-4, Sept. 11-24, 1647; 24, Feb. 12; 30, Mar. 27; 33, Apr. 17; 38, May 15; 41, June 5; 42, June 12, 1648), **DLC** (nos. 2, Sept. 11; 4, Sept. 25, 1647; 21, Jan. 22; 23-24, Jan. 29-Feb. 12; 32-33, Apr. 3-17; 36, May 8, 1648), **ICU** (Oct. 30, 1647), **IU** (no. 2, Sept. 11, 1647), **MB** (nos. 6-8, Oct. 9-23, 1647; 21, Jan. 22; 22, Jan. 29; 25, Feb. 19, 1648), **NIC** (no. 4).
502. *Mercurius melancholicus*. John Crouch. 1648. w. A counterfeit of the preceding (?).
CSH (no. 1, July 28, 1648).
503. *Mercurius mercuriorum stultissimus*. 1647.
CSH.
- 503a. *Mercurius militaris*, communicating intelligence from the Saints militant dissembled at Westminster, the headquarters. . . . No. 1, Apr. 21-28, 1648.
IWS (no. 1).
504. *Mercurius militaris*; or, The people's scout. . . . No. 1, Apr. 17-24, 1649.
CSH.
505. *Mercurius morbus*; or, Newes from Westminster and other parts. Henry Walker. 1647.
CSH.
506. *Mercurius musicus*. *Ed.* Henry Playford. 1699-1702.
MH (nos. 1-7, 10, 11, 1700-02).
507. *Mercurius phanaticus*; or, Mercury temporizing. 1660.
CtY (no. 1, Mar. 14, 1660), **TxU** (no. 1).

508. *Mercurius poeticus*, discovering the treasons of a thing called Parliament. 1648.
CSH, IWS (one no., May 5-13, 1648).
509. *Mercurius poeticus*. Marchamont Nedham. 1654. w.
CSH (no. 1, Feb. 27, 1653/4).
510. *Mercurius poeticus*. 1660.
CtY (no. 1, July 16, 1660).
511. *Mercurius politicus*. Oliver Williams, etc. 1660.
CtY (no. 8, May 17, 1660).
512. *Mercurius politicus*: being monthly observations on the affairs of Great Britain. Daniel Defoe. 1716-20. m.
CtY (May 1716-Jan. 1717; May-Oct. 1718), MH (May 1716-Feb. 1718; Jan., Mar.-Oct. 1719; Jan.-Dec. 1720), TxU (May, Dec. 1716; Jan.-Mar., May, June, Sept., Nov., Dec. 1717; Feb., Mar., May, Sept., 1718; June, Aug., Sept., Dec. 1719).
513. *Mercurius politicus*, comprising the summ of all intelligence . . . in defence of the Commonwealth and for information of the people [variations in subtitle]. Marchamont Nedham, John Milton, John Hall, John Canne, etc. Nos. 1-615, 1650-60. w.
CSH (nos. 157, 221, 552-64, 601-14, 1653-60), CtY (nos. 28, Dec. 19, 1650; 144-53, 155-60, 162-63, 165-66, 168, 171-72, 174-85, 186-237, 238-80, 282-339, 341-403, 405, 408-23, 425-44, 545-65, 567-602, 604-06, 609-11, 615, Mar. 17, 1653-Apr. 12, 1660), DLC (nos. 601-15, Jan. 5-Apr. 12, 1660), ICN (nos. 36-64, 66-87, Feb. 13, 1651-Feb. 5, 1652; 111, July 22, 1652), ICU (nos. 222, Sept. 14, 1654; 599, Dec. 22, 1659), IU, MBB (nos. 221, 552, 608, 1654, 1659, 1660), MdBj (no. 103, May 27, 1652), MHi (nos. 605, 607, 614, 1660), MnU (nos. 284, Nov. 22, 1655; 292, Jan. 17, 1656; 560-61, 567, 570, Mar. 24-June 9, 1659), NIC (nos. 1-138, 200-615), PPH (1654-61), WH (nos. 93, Mar. 18, 1652; 319, 332, July 24, Oct. 23, 1656; 352, Mar. 12, 1657).
514. *Mercurius politicus*; or, An antidote to popular misrepresentation. . . . James Drake. Nos. 1-51, June 12-Dec. 4, 1705. s. w.
CtY, MH.
515. *Mercurius pragmaticus* (for King Charls II). 1649. ir.
CSH (nos. 1-11, Apr. 24-July 3, 1649).
516. *Mercurius pragmaticus*. 1658.
CtY no. 1, Aug. 30, 1658).
517. *Mercurius pragmaticus*. 1659.
ICU (Dec. 30), TxU (no. 1, n. d.; no. 2, Dec. 30, 1659).

518. *Mercurius pragmaticus*, communicating intelligence from all parts. . . . John Cleiveland, Samuel Sheppard, Marchamont Nedham, etc. 1647-50. w.
CtY (nos. 1, 4, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16-18, 21-23, Sept. 21, 1647-Feb. 22, 1648; 2, 6, 9, 12, 19, Apr. 11-Aug. 8, 1648), **DLC** (Sept. 21, 1647-Mar. 28, Apr. 4, June 20, 1648), **ICU** (no. 25, Sept. 19, 1648), **MB** (nos. 5, 7, 8, Oct.-Nov. 1647), **MH** (1st ser., nos. 1-23; 2nd ser., nos. 1-41; 3rd ser., nos. 2-6, 8-10; Sept. 14, 1647-June 26, 1649), **MnU** (nos. 1-28, Sept. 14, 1647-Mar. 28, 1648; 1-5, 7-11, 13-17, Mar. 28-June 5, 1648), **NIC** (nos. 2, 10, 13, 16, 17, 20, 23, 25, 27, Sept. 21, 1647-Mar. 21, 1648; 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 16-19, 20, 21-28, 30-33, 36-37, Apr. 18-Dec. 12, 1648).
- 518a. *Mercurius pragmaticus*, communicating intelligence from all parts. Nos. 1-50, Apr. 4, 1648-Apr. 17, 1649. w.
IWS (nos. 1-10, Apr. 4-June 6, 1648).
519. *Mercurius psitacus*; or, The parroting mercury. 1648. w.
CSH.
520. *Mercurius publicus*. 1648.
CSH (nos. 1-4).
521. *Mercurius publicus*; being a brief summary or rehearsal of the whole weeks intelligence. 1680.
NN (nos. 1-2, Feb. 28-Mar. 18, 1679/80).
522. *Mercurius publicus*, comprising the sum of forraign intelligence with the affairs now in agitation in England, Scotland, and Ireland [variations in subtitle]. Giles Drury and Henry Muddiman. 1660-63. w. This was the Thursday edition of the official newsbook, the Monday edition being entitled *Parliamentary intelligencer*, *q. v.*
CSH (nos. 15-54, 1660-61; 1-53, 1661-62; 1-52, 1662-63; 1-33, 1663), **CtY** (nos. 16-19, 21-25, 27, 31-33, 48, Apr. 22-Nov. 29, 1660; 11, 18, 20, Mar. 21-May 22, 1661), **DLC** (nos. 1-54, Apr. 9, 1660-Jan. 9, 1662), **ICU** (no. 16, Apr. 22, 1660; Oct. 3, 1661; May 15, 1662), **MH** (nos. 31, 36, Aug. 2, Sept. 6, 1660), **MnU** (nos. 16-54, 1660; 1-53, 1661; 1-12, 1662).
523. *Mercurius reformatus*; or, The new observator. *Continued as Weekly observator* (from Jan. 9, 1692); *as Mercurius Britannicus*; or, The weekly observator (from Apr. 15, 1692); *as Mercurius Britannicus* (from ?). 1689-94.
CSH (app. to 1692), **CtY** (v. 1-4, May 15, 1689-Oct. 24, 1691, v. 4 lacking no. 21), **DLC** (v. 1-3, May 15, 1689-Mar. 14, 1691), **IWS** (v. 1-4, May 15, 1689-Oct. 24, 1691), **MH** (v. 1-4), **NN** (Dutch trans., 1690), **PPL** (Aug. 14, 28, 1689; v. 5, nos. 2, 9, 10, 11, 12, Feb.-Apr. 1692), **TxU** (Sept. 4, 1691).

524. **Mercurius reipublicus.** 1649. w.
CSH.
525. **Mercurius Romanus.** 1706-07.
CtY (nos. 1-27, 29-34, 36, 1706-07).
526. **Mercurius rusticus.** 1647.
CSH.
527. **Mercurius rusticus.** 1685.
NN.
528. **Mercurius rusticus ; or, The country's complaint.** . . . Bruno Ryves. Nos. 1-21, 1643-44. w. (with gaps).
CtY (1st week, May 20, 1643), **ICN** (rep. 1685), **ICU** (19th week, Feb. 16, 1643/4; also rep. 1646).
529. **Mercurius Scoticus.** Sir George Wharton. 1648.
CSH.
530. **Mercurius theologicus ; or, The monthly instructor.** Nos. 1-12, 1700-01. m.
CtY, NN (v. 1, nos. 1, 4, 8, 10, 11).
531. **Mercurius urbanicus.** 1648.
CSH.
532. **Mercurius urbanus.** 1643.
CSH.
533. **Mercurius vapulans.** No. 1, Nov. 27, 1647.
DLC.
534. **Mercurius veridicus.** 1644.
TrU (no. 5, Feb. 27, 1644).
535. **Mercurius veridicus, communicating intelligence from all parts of Great Britaine.** . . . 1648. w.
CSH, IWS (nos. 1-3, Apr. 21-May 8, 1648).
Mercury, publishing advertisements of all sorts. . . . *See*
True character of Mercurius urbanicus & rusticus.
537. **Merlin: the weekly monitor predicting England's grandeur.** 1692. w.
NN (June 15, 1692).
538. **Meteors.** Nos. 1-12, Nov. 1799-May 1800. f.
DLC, ICU.
Methodist magazine. *See* **Arminian magazine.**
539. **Methodist magazine ; or, Evangelical repository.** Leeds, 1798+. (From U. L.)
NNG.

540. *Microcosm*. G. Canning and others. Windsor, nos. 1-40, Nov. 6, 1786-July 30, 1787. w.
CSt, CtY (also 2nd ed., 1788), DLC, ICN, ICU, IEN, IU, MB (rep. 1788), MH (also 2nd ed., 1788; 3rd ed., 1790; 4th ed., 1809), MIU, NN (also 2nd ed.; 4th ed.), NNC (2nd ed.; 3rd ed.), PPL, TxU (2nd ed.).
Middlesex journal and evening advertiser. *See* Middlesex journal; or, Chronicle of liberty.
541. *Middlesex journal*; or, Chronicle of liberty. *Continued as* Middlesex journal; or, Universal evening post (from no. 508, July 2, 1772); *as* Middlesex journal and evening advertiser (from no. 729, Nov. 30, 1773). 1769-78(?). t. w.
CtY (nos. 1-272, Apr. 4, 1769-Dec. 29, 1770), WH (nos. 184-507, 744-64, 766-69, 771-72, 774-819, 821-32, 834-43, 845-84, 886-99, 1043, 1056-82, 1085-99, 1101-24, 1126, 1128-33, 1135-54, 1157-98, 1200-01, 1203-12, June 5, 1770-Dec. 31, 1776).
Middlesex journal; or, Universal evening post. *See* Middlesex journal; or, Chronicle of liberty.
542. *Midwife*; or, Old woman's magazine. Ed. Christopher Smart. 1750-53. ir.
CtY, DLC, MB (1751), NN (v. 2, nos. 1-6, 1751), NNC (v. 2, no. 1).
543. *Mirror*. 1757. s. w.
MIU (no. 1, Mar. 22, 1757).
544. *Mirror*. Henry Mackenzie and others. Edinburgh, nos. 1-110, Jan. 23, 1779-May 27, 1780. s. w.
CSt, CtY (also 7th ed., 1787; 8th ed., 1790; 1st Amer. ed., 1792), DLC, ICN (rep.), ICU (also 5th ed., 1783), IU (rep. 1794), MB, MnU (11th ed., 1811), N (Amer. ed., 1793), NN, NNC (nos. 37-74, June 1, 1779-Jan. 22, 1780, 5th ed., 1783), TxU, WH.
545. *Mirror of the times*. 1796(?) +. w.
CtY (Jan. 19, 1799+).
546. *Miscellanea curiosa*. 1723-27. (From U. L.)
NIC.
547. *Miscellanea curiosa mathematica*. Ed. F. Holliday. 1745-49.
MIU, NNC (nos. 1-7, 1745).
548. *Miscellanea scientifica curiosa*. 1766. (From U. L.)
CtY.
549. *Miscellaneous antiquities*; or, A collection of curious papers Horace Walpole. Nos. 1-2, 1772.
ICN.

Miscellaneous correspondence. . . . *See* General magazine of arts and sciences. . . .

550. Miscellaneous letters, giving an account of the works of the learned, both at home and abroad. 1694-96. w. (to Jan. 1695); m.
CtY (v. 1, Oct. 17, 1694-Dec. 1695), **NN** (v. 2, nos. 22-24, Jan.-Mar. 1696), **PPL** (v. 1, no. 1-v. 2, no. 3, Oct. 17, 1694-Mar. 1696).
551. Miscellaneous observations upon authors, ancient and modern. John Jortin. 1731-32.
CtY, **DLC**, **ICN**, **MB**, **NIC** (extracts in John Jortin's *Tracts*, philological, etc., v. 2, 1790), **NN** (no. 2, 1731), **RPB**.
552. Miscellanies over claret. 1697.
CtY (nos. 1-2, 1697), **MdBJ**, **MH**.
553. Miscellany: giving an account of the religion, morality, and learning of the present times. *Continued as* Weekly miscellany; giving an account of the religion, morality, and learning of the present times (from no. 3); *as* Weekly miscellany (from no. 13). W. Webster. Nos. 1-444, 1732-41. w.
CtY (nos. 4-53, 61-124, 126-27, 129-31, 133-296, 298-313, 315-49, 354-61, 363-77, 379-93, 395-98, 400-10, 412-18, Jan. 6, 1733-Dec. 27, 1740; also nos. 1-101, 2nd ed., 1738), **NN** (rep. 1736-38), **NNC** (nos. 1-51, rep. 1736), **TxAG** (rep. 1738).
554. Missionary magazine. Edinburgh, 1796+. m.
CtY (v. 2, no. 7, Jan. 1797), **N**, **NIC**, **NN** (v. 6, no. 38, July 15, 1799), **NNG**.
Mist's weekly journal. *See* Weekly journal; or, Saturday's post. . . .
555. Mitre and crown; or, Great Britain's true interest. 1748-51. s. m.; m. (from Jan. 1749).
DLC (v. 1-3, nos. 1-4, Oct. 1748-Feb. 1751), **MnU** (v. 3, nos. 1-4).
556. Moderate: impartially communicating martial affaires to the kingdome of England. Gilbert Mabbott. 1648-49.
MH (nos. 31-32, 34-35, 38), **MnU** (nos. 24-25, 27, Dec. 19, 1648-Jan. 16, 1649).
557. Moderate intelligencer, impartially communicating martiall affaires to the kingdome of England. John Dillingham. 1645-54. w.
CSH (1649), **CtY** (nos. 137-53, 155-57, 159-70, 179-88, 190-93, 204, 209, 217, Nov. 4, 1647-May 10, 1649; n. s., nos. 1, May 29, 1649; 169, Dec. 29, 1652; 175, Apr. 26, 1653), **ICU** (nos. 89, 90, Nov. 19, 26; 93, Dec. 17, 1646; 135, Oct. 21, 1647), **MnU** (nos.

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16, 44-45, 48, 50, 52-54, 57-58, 62, 80, 82, 86-87, 90-91, 93-97, 100-02, 106-08, 110-13, 116, 125, 134-44, 146-50, 153-55, 157, 160-65, 168, 170-72, 179, 185, 188, 190-94, 197, 200-01, 203-11, 213, 217-18, 221-23, 225, 227, 230-31, 233-34, 236, June 12, 1645-Sept. 27, 1649).

Moderate publisher of every dayes intelligence. *See* Perfect passages of every daies intelligence.

558. *Moderator*. Nos. 1-50, May 22-Nov. 10, 1710. s. w.
CtY, **MiU**, **TxU**.

559. *Moderator*. Steele. 1719.
CtY, **ICN**, **MH** (2nd ed., 1719), **NN**, **NNC**, **TxU**.

560. *Modern history; or, A monethly account of all considerable occurrences, civil, ecclesiastical, and military, with all natural and philosophical productions and transactions.* 1687-89. m.
CSH (v. 2, nos. 1, 2, 11, Oct., Nov. 1688, Aug. 1689), **DLC**, **NN** (v. 2, no. 5, Feb. 1689).

561. *Modest narrative of intelligence.* 1649. w.
CSH (nos. 1-14).

562. *Momus ridens; or, Comical remarks on the weekly reports.* 1690-91. w.
CtY (nos. 17-18, Feb. 18-25, 1691), **MH** (nos. 17-18).

563. *Monethly account.* 1688-89(?). m.
NN (Feb. 1689).

564. *Monitor. Published by J. Morphew.* 1714.
TxU (nos. 1-4, Apr. 22-29, 1714), **MH** (nos. 1-36, Apr. 22-July 12, 1714).

565. *Monitor. Printed for J. Roberts.* 1724-26(?). w.
IU (June 5, 1726).

566. *Monitor; or, British freeholder.* 1755-65. w.
CtY (nos. 1-504, Aug. 9, 1755-Mar. 20, 1765), **DLC** (Aug. 9, 1755-July 31, 1756), **ICU** (nos. 1-52, Aug. 9, 1755-July 31, 1756), **IU** (nos. 357, 360, rep.), **MB** (v. 1-2, Aug. 9, 1755-July 16, 1757), **NNC** (v. 1-4, nos. 1-208, Aug. 9, 1755-July 14, 1759; rep. 1760), **WH** (nos. 1-104, Aug. 9, 1755-July 16, 1757; 197-387, Apr. 28, 1759-Jan. 1, 1763).

567. *Monthly account of the Land Bank.* 1695. m.
CtY (no. 3, Oct. 1, 1695).

568. *Monthly amusement.* 1709. m.
CtY (nos. 1-6, Apr.-Sept. 1709).

- 568a. *Monthly catalogue.* B. Lintot. 1714-15. m.
ICN.

569. Monthly catalogue: being a general register of books, sermons, plays, poetry, and pamphlets [variations in subtitle]. J. Wilford. 1723-30.
DLC (1723-29), ICN (1723-29).
570. Monthly chronicle. 1728-32. m. Includes monthly "Register of books."
CtY (v. 1-3, Jan. 1728-Dec. 1730), DLC (v. 1-4), ICU (v. 1-4, 1728-31; v. 5, nos. 1-3, Jan.-Mar. 1732), N, TxU (v. 1-5, no. 3, Jan. 1728-Mar. 1732).
571. Monthly epitome and catalogue of new publications. 1797+. m.
CtY (v. 2-4, Jan. 1798-Dec. 1800), DLC (v. 2-3, 1798-99), ICN, MB, PPL.
572. Monthly extracts; or, Beauties of modern authors. 1791-92. m.
ICN (v. 1).
573. Monthly journal of the affairs of Europe. July 1704(?). m. (From U. L.)
CtY (no. 1).
574. Monthly ledger; or, Literary repository. V. 1-3, 1773-75. m.
CtY (v. 1-3, 1773-75), DLC, IU, PPL.
575. Monthly magazine, and British register. *Published by R. Phillips.* 1796+. m.
CSH (v. 2, July-Dec. 1796; v. 4, July-Dec. 1797), CtY (v. 1, no. 2, Feb. 1796+), DLC, ICU, MB, MBB, MdBP, MH, MIU, N (v. 7, Jan.-July, 1799), NJP (v. 2, July-Dec. 1796), NN (v. 1-7, Feb. 1796-July 1799), NNC, PPL, TxU (v. 2-3), WH.
576. Monthly masks of vocal musick, containing all the choicest songs by the best masters made for the play-houses, public consorts, and other occasions. 1703-07. m. (From U. L.)
MH.
577. Monthly mirror, reflecting men and manners, with strictures on their epitome, the stage. 1795+. m.
CtY, DLC, ICN, ICU, MB, MBB (v. 7, Jan.-June 1799), MH, MHI (Jan.-June 1799), MIU, NIC, NJP, NN, PPL, WH.
578. Monthly miscellany; or, Gentleman and lady's compleat magazine. 1774-75. m.
CtY, NN (v. 1-2, 1774).
579. Monthly register; or, Memoirs of the affairs of Europe. Samuel Buckley. 1703-07(?). m.
DLC (1707).

580. Monthly review. *Ed.* R. Griffiths. 1749+. m.
CtY, DLC, ICN, ICU, IU, MB, MBB, MABP, MH, MHi (1762-89, inc.), MiU, MnU (1749-89; n. s., v. 2+), N (v. 1-46, 1749-72), NIC, NjP, NN, NNC, PPH, PPL, PU, RPB (v. 1-81), TxU, WH.
581. Monthly visitor and entertaining pocket companion. 1797+. m.
CtY, MBB, NN.
582. Moral and political magazine of the London corresponding society. 1796. m.
CtY (v. 1, June-Dec. 1796), NNC (v. 1, June-Dec. 1796).
583. Morning advertiser. 1794+. d.
TxU (nos. 66, 80, 400, 657, 665, 768, 774, 797, 801, 993, Apr. 25, 1794-Apr. 1, 1797).
584. Morning chronicle, and London advertiser. *Continued as* Morning chronicle (from 1789 or 1790). 1769+. d.
CSH (Sept. 4, 1794), CtY (Apr. 21, 23, May 7-9, 13-16, 18, 21-23, 31-June 6, 8-17, 20, 22-23, 25, July 1-5, 7-15, 18, 20, 1785; Jan. 16, Dec. 13, 1788; June 10, 1789; Dec. 4-6, 13-14, 17, 1792; Jan. 1, 7, 15, 23, 25-26, Feb. 4, 1793; Jan. 1-9, 11-22, 24-Apr. 27, 30-Sept. 20, 23-Nov. 12, 14-Dec. 31, 1799; Apr. 1, 1800+), MB (1794+), NN (July 3, 5, 15, 17, 1779; Mar. 1, 1780), WH (nos. 3485, 3549, 3561-63, 3567, 3570, 3572-73, 3575-87, 3589-3603, 3607-08, 3610-14, 3618, 3621, July 19-Dec. 27, 1780; 6150-51, 6153-6205, Jan. 23-Mar. 28, 1789).
585. Morning herald and daily advertiser. 1780+. d.
CtY (May 15, July 15, 20, 21, Nov. 19, Dec. 11-13, 17, 19-23, 25-29, 31, 1788; Jan. 2-5, 7, May 20-26, 28, 30, June 5-11, July 20-21, Nov. 19, 1789; Feb. 4, 10-26, Mar. 1-5, 8-25, 27-30, Apr. 1-5, 7-24, 27-30, May 3-8, 12, 13, 17-June 11, 29, Aug. 9-Dec. 4, 1790; Jan. 10, May 13, Nov. 22, 24, 25, Dec. 5-7, 10-20, 26-31, 1791; Jan. 2-7, 11-13, 16-Feb. 6, 9-10, 14-27, Mar. 1-9, 13-20, 23-Apr. 6, 10-13, 16, 18-May 5, 8-9, 11-June 21, 23-30, July 3-7, 9-10, 13-25, 27-Aug. 22, 31, Sept. 4-11, 14-27, Oct. 27-Nov. 20, 23-24, 26-27, 29, Dec. 1-4, 6-21, 25-31, 1792; Jan. 1-15, 17-21, 23, 28-Mar. 14, 16-Apr. 2, 4, 8-11, 13-20, 23-May 9, 11-14, 17-22, 24-30, June 3-5, 7-July 2, 4, 10-19, 22-Aug. 3, 1793), TxU (nos. 454, Apr. 13, 1782; 1604, Dec. 16, 1785; 4069, 4083, 4111, 4121, Mar. 16, Apr. 2, May 4, 16, 1792).
586. Morning post and daily advertiser. 1772+. d.
CtY (Dec. 29-31, 1777; Jan. 1, 3-Mar. 14, 17-May 19, 21-29, June 1-July 8, 1778; Jan. 19-May 19, 1789), NN (Jan. 2-23, 30-Dec. 31, 1777; Dec. 28, 30, 1778), TxU (1797, inc.).
Morning star. *See* Star and evening advertiser.

587. *Muses' gazette*. 1720.
MB (no. 8, Apr. 20, 1720, rep. in *The theatre*, by Sir Richard Steele, ed. John Nichols, 1791).
588. *Muses mercury*; or, *The monthly miscellany*. 1707-08. m.
DLC (v. 1, 1707), **TxU** (v. 1, nos. 1, 2, 6, Jan., Mar., June 1707; v. 2, no. 1, Jan. 1708).
589. *Museum*; or, *The literary and historical register*. *Ed.* R. Dodsley. Nos. 1-39, Mar. 29, 1746-Sept. 12, 1747. s. m.
CtY, DLC, ICU, IU, NIC, NN, NNC, PPL.
590. *Museum rusticum et commerciale*. 1763-66.
CtY, ICJ, IU, N, NNC (3rd ed., 1766), **WH**.
591. *National journal*; or, *The country gazette*. 1746. t. w.
CtY (rep. 1748).
592. *Naturalists' miscellany*. G. Shaw and E. Nodder. 1789+.
m.
CU, DLC, MB, NIC.
593. *Naval biography*. 1800+.
CtY.
594. *Naval chronicle*. J. S. Clarke, S. Jones, J. Jones, etc. Jan. 1799+. m.
CSt, CtY, DLC, ICN, ICU, IU, MB, MH, MHI, NIC, NN, NNC, PPL.
595. *New annual register*. A. Kippis and others. 1781 (for the year 1780)+. a.
CtY, DLC, ICU, MB, MH, MnU (1780-89, 1791-97, 1799+), **N** (v. 5, 1784), **NN, NNC** (1783, 1786), **PU** (1782, 1795+), **WH**.
New anti-Roman packet. See *Pacquet of advice from Rome*.
597. *Newcastle chronicle*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1764+. w.
CtY (Aug. 28, 1790; Apr. 27, Aug. 10, 1793).
598. *Newcastle courant*, with news foreign and domestick. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1711+. t. w.; w. (from 1725?).
CtY (nos. 5856-6116, Jan. 3, 1789-Dec. 28, 1793).
599. *Newcastle general magazine*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1747-60. m.
CtY (v. 1-12, 1747-59), **DLC** (v. 12), **NN** (Mar., Sept., Dec., and app., 1748; Jan., Mar., Sept., Nov. 1749).
600. *Newcastle journal*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1739-76(?). w.
DLC (Dec. 21, 1745), **NN** (Mar. 29, 1746).
Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Literary and philosophical society.

See Literary and philosophical society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

602. New Christian's magazine, being a universal repository of divine knowledge. V. 1-5, 1782-86. (From U. L.)
OO (v. 1-5).
603. New Cork evening post. Cork, 1791+. s. w.
NN (Jan. 3, Mar. 4, 7, 14, 18, Apr. 1, 8, 11, 18-May 9, 20, June 3-July 8, 15, 18, 25-Aug. 1, 8, 15, 19, 26-Sept. 5, 12-19, 26-Oct. 7, 17-Nov. 4, 11-Dec. 2, 9, 12, 19, 23, 1799).
604. New dialogue between Somebody and Nobody; or, The Observer observed. 1681.
TxU (nos. 3-5, Dec. 5-19, 1681).
605. New Heraclitus ridens; or, An old dialogue between Jest and Earnest revived. 1689.
CtY (no. 1, May 24).
606. New lady's magazine; or, Polite and entertaining companion for the fair sex. C. Stanhope. 1786-95. m.
CtY (v. 1, Feb.-Dec. 1786, and suppl.; v. 9-10, Jan. 1794-Dec. 1795), **IU** (v. 3), **MB** (v. 4, 1789), **MBB** (v. 1-6, Feb. 1786-Dec. 1791), **NN** (v. 1-6).
607. New London magazine, being an universal and complete monthly repository of knowledge, instruction and entertainment. 1785-92. m.
CtY (July 1787), **DLC** (v. 1-3, 1785-87), **IU** (v. 2-8, 1786-92), **MH** (v. 1, 1785; 5, 1789), **NN** (v. 1, July-Dec. 1785), **WH** (v. 2, 1786).
608. New London medical journal. 1792-93. m.
CtY (v. 1-2, 1792-93; v. 2, inc.).
609. New London price courant. 1786.
CtY (Apr. 14, 1786).
610. New London review; or, Monthly report of authors and books. 1799-1800. m.
CtY, **NN**.
611. New magazine; or, Moral and entertaining miscellany. Dublin, 1799-1800.
DCU, **PPL** (Jan.-Oct. 1799).
612. New memoirs of literature. M. de la Roche. V. 1-6, Jan. 1725-Dec. 1727. m.
CtY, **DLC**, **ICN**, **ICU** (v. 6, 1727), **IU**, **MB**, **MH**, **NN**, **NNC** (lacking v. 6), **PPL**, **RPB** (v. 1, Jan.-June 1725).
613. New miscellany for the year. . . . J. Swift, etc. 1734-39. a.

- CtY** (1734, 1737-38), **ICU** (1737, pts. 1-9), **MB** (1737), **MH** (1737-38), **NN** (1738).
614. New musical and universal magazine. 1774-75(?).
DLC (v. 1-3, 1774-75).
615. New novelist's magazine. 1786-87. m.
MB, NN (v. 2, 1787).
616. New plain dealer; or, Freeman's budgets. 1792-96. ir.
MH (nos. 1, 2nd ed., n. d.; 2-3, May 1792), **NNC** (no. 1, 1792).
617. New review, with literary curiosities and literary intelligence. *Ed.* H. Maty. 1782-86. m.
CtY (v. 1-10, no. 2, Feb. 1782-Aug. 1786), **DLC, MB** (v. 1-9), **MBB, MH, NN** (v. 1-9), **NNC** (v. 1-9), **WH** (v. 1, 5, 7-9).
618. New royal and universal magazine; or, The gentleman and lady's companion. 1752(?) - 59(?). m.
CtY (v. 16, nos. 4-5, Oct.-Nov. 1759).
619. New spectator, with the sage opinions of John Bull. 1784-86. w.
CtY (nos. 1-22, Feb. 3-June 29, 1784), **MtU** (nos. 1-9, Feb. 3-Mar. 30, 1784).
620. New theological repository. Liverpool, July 1800+. m.
MBB.
621. New town and country magazine; or, General monthly repository of knowledge and pleasure. 1787-88. m.
CtY (v. 2, Jan.-Dec. 1788).
622. New universal magazine; or, Gentleman's and lady's polite instructor. 1751-59. m.
ICU (v. 1, nos. 1-9, Sept. 1751-May 1752), **MH** (v. 5, Jan.-June 1754).
623. New weekly chronicle; or, Universal journal. *Continued as* Owen's weekly chronicle; or, Universal journal (from no. 2, Apr. 15, 1758). 1758-67(?). w.
CtY (Apr. 8, 1758-Dec. 29, 1759), **NN** (v. 1, nos. 1-39, Apr. 8-Dec. 30, 1758), **WH** (v. 2, no. 74, Sept. 1, 1759).
624. Newes of this present weeke from Germany, Italy, and Spaine. N. Butter. 1640.
ICN (century 3, no. 27, June 6, 1640).
Newes, published for satisfaction and information of the people. *See* Intelligencer, published for the satisfaction and information of the people.
625. News from Parnassus. *Continued as* Advice from Parnassus (from no. 2). 1681.
TxU (no. 1, Feb. 2, 1681).

626. News from the dead; or, The monthly packet of true intelligence from the other world. Pts. 1-8, 1714-15. (From U. L.)
DLC.
627. News from the land of chivalry. 1681.
TxU (nos. 2-3, n. d. [1681]).
Nicholson's journal. *See* Journal of natural philosophy, chemistry, and the arts.
628. Night walker; or, Evening rambles in search after lewd women. John Dunton. 1696-97. m.
DLC (Sept. 1696-Mar. 1697).
629. Northampton mercury; or, The Monday's post. Northampton, May 2, 1720+. w.
DLC (v. 3-4, 1722-23), **TxU** (v. 27, no. 7, May 19, 1746), **WH** (v. 11, nos. 22-24, 48, 50-52, Sept. 21, 1730-Apr. 19, 1731; v. 12, nos. 1-5, 7, 9-17, 22-36, 38, 51, Apr. 26, 1731-Apr. 10, 1732; v. 13, nos. 5-7, 17-26, 29, 34, 36, 37-39, 45-47, 49, 52, May 22, 1732-Apr. 16, 1733; v. 14, nos. 3-4, 6-7, 9, 11-12, 15-18, 20, 23-24, 29, 32-36, 49, 51-52, May 7, 1733-Apr. 15, 1734; v. 15, nos. 1, 7, 13-22, 25-26, 38-39, 40, 42, 44, 47, 49-51, Apr. 23, 1734-Apr. 14, 1735; v. 16, nos. 2, 5-8, 11, 18-19, Apr. 28-Aug. 25, 1735).
630. North British intelligencer; or, Constitutional miscellany. Edinburgh, 1776-77. w.
NN (v. 1, 3, 5, 1776-77), **PPL** (1776-77).
631. North British magazine; or, Caledonian miscellany. Edinburgh, Oct. 16, 1782-Oct. 24, 1783.
CtY (no. 9, Feb. 20, 1783).
632. North Briton. John Wilkes. *Printed for* G. Kearsley (nos. 1-45) and E. Sumpter (no. 46). Nos. 1-46, June 5, 1762-May 28, 1763. w. (with some interruptions). After the close of Wilkes' editorship (with no. 46), the North Briton was continued as follows: (1) nos. 47-235(?), June 4, 1763-Dec. 6, 1766 (with pagination continuous from Wilkes' no. 46; printed for E. Sumpter [through no. 181, Dec. 21, 1765] and T. Peat [from no. 182, Dec. 28, 1765]); (2) nos. 47-218, May 10, 1768-May 11, 1771 (with double numbering from no. 65, Sept. 10, 1768, which is also called no. 19 "of the Continuation"; printed for W. Bingley); (3) after no. 218 in Bingley's journal; or, Universal gazette. Besides the no. 46 dated May 28, 1763, there were at least two other issues bearing this number but presenting quite different texts: (1) a fragment dated Apr. 30, 1763, "printed at

Strawberry Hill" and (2) an issue dated Nov. 12, 1763. There were also a good many "extras" bearing the title North Briton extraordinary.

CSH (nos. 1-46, 1762-63), CSt (nos. 1-93, June 5, 1762-Apr. 14, 1764; 95-170, Apr. 28, 1764-Oct. 5, 1765; 74, 2nd ed., 68, 3rd ed., 130, 4th ed.), CtY (nos. 47-199, May 10, 1768-Dec. 29, 1770 [Bingley's continuation]; also nos. 1-46, rep. 1769; nos. 1-44, Dublin rep., 1764-65; nos. 1-45, rep. 1766; Appendix to nos. 1-46, 1769), DLC (nos. 1-218, rep. 1769-71 [original series and Bingley's continuation]; also Appendix to nos. 1-46, 1769), ICU (nos. 1-46; also no. 46 of Apr. 30, 1763; also nos. 1-46 [Apr. 30 and Nov. 12, 1763], rep. Bingley, 1769; also nos. 47-100, May 10, 1768-Apr. 10, 1769, rep. Bingley, 1769), IU (nos. 5-46 of the original issue and 47-64, 66-73, 96, 101-206, 208-18 of Bingley's continuation; also nos. 1-45, rep. 1763), MB (nos. 1-218 [original issue and Bingley's continuation], rep. 1769-71), MnU (nos. 2-143, June 12, 1762-Mar. 30, 1765), N (nos. 1-45, June 5, 1762-Apr. 23, 1763; 50-189 [Bingley's continuation], May 28, 1768-Nov. 10, 1770), NIC (nos. 1-45), NN (nos. 1-46, June 5, 1762-May 28, 1763; 47-51, June 4-July 2, 1763; 131-235, Jan. 5, 1765-Dec. 6, 1766), NNC (nos. 1-52, 81, 100-03, 123, 149, 193-94, 1762-70; also nos. 1-46, rep. 1763), TxU (nos. 47-218 [Bingley's continuation]; also nos. 1-46, rep. 1772), WH (nos. 1-46, June 5, 1762-Apr. 30, 1763, and 47-153, May 10, 1768-Mar. 3, 1770, rep. Bingley).

633. Novelist's magazine. V. 1-23, 1780-88.
DLC (v. 2-8, 10-11, 13-18, 20-22), ICU (v. 1-20, 1780-86), IU, MB, MHi, MnU, NjP, NN, NNC (v. 7, 16, 23), WU.
634. Observer. John Tutchin (to Sept. 1707). 1702-12. w.; s. w. (from May 23, 1702).
CtY (v. 1-11, Apr. 1, 1702-July 30, 1712), DLC (nos. 11-23, Nov. 1-Dec. 12, 1707), ICU (v. 1-3, Apr. 1, 1702-Mar. 3, 1705), MH (v. 7, nos. 2-43, Feb. 21-July 14, 1708; v. 8, nos. 1-99, Feb. 2, 1709-Jan. 11, [1710]; v. 9, nos. 13-16, 25, 56, Mar. 1-11, Apr. 12, July 29, 1710), NN (v. 1, no. 5, Apr. 29, 1702; v. 3, no. 53, Sept. 23, 1704), TxU (v. 1-3, Apr. 1, 1702-Mar. 3, 1705).
635. Observer. *Continued as Rehearsal* (from no. 2, Aug. 12, 1704); *as Rehearsal of Observer, &c.* (from no. 5, Sept. 2, 1704, though with frequent recurrences of Rehearsal); *as Rehearsal* (from no. 51, July 21, 1705). Charles Leslie. August 5, 1704-Mar. 26, 1709. w. (to no. 93, Apr. 6, 1706); s. w.
CtY (also rep. 1750), DLC, ICU (also rep. 1750), IEK, IU (v. 1-3, 1704-08), IWS, MH, MnU, NNC (also rep. 1750), TxAG, TxU, WH.

636. *Observer*, in question and answer. Sir Roger L'Estrange. Apr. 13, 1681-Mar. 9, 1687. Sometimes called *Observer* in dialogue.
CSH (v. 1, nos. 1-470, Apr. 13, 1681-Jan. 9, 1684; v. 2, nos. 1-215, Jan. 10, 1684-Feb. 7, 1685; v. 3, nos. 1-246, Feb. 11, 1685-Mar. 4, 1687), **CtY** (v. 1-3, Apr. 13, 1681-Mar. 9, 1687), **DLC** (Apr. 23, 1681), **ICN** (v. 1, Apr. 13, 1681-Jan. 9, 1684), **ICU** (v. 1-3), **IU** (Apr. 13, 1681-Mar. 9, 1687), **IWS**, **MB** (Apr. 13, 1681-Mar. 9, 1686/7), **MH** (v. 1; v. 2, nos. 1, 39-45, 47-69, 71-76, 78-83, 86-88, 92, 94-103, 106-08, 111, 113, 114, 116-19, 121-23, 125-30, 132-43, 145-214, Jan. 10, 1684-Feb. 6, 1685; v. 3, nos. 201-02, Aug. 18-21, 1686), **MnU** (v. 1-3, Apr. 13, 1681-Mar. 9, 1687), **N** (v. 1, 3), **NN** (v. 1-3), **PPL** (Jan. 14, 1684-Mar. 9, 1686/7), **WH** (Apr. 13, 1681-Mar. 9, 1681/2).
637. *Observer* observ'd; or, Protestant observations upon anti-Protestant pamphlets. 1681.
NN (no. 2), **TxU** (nos. 1, May 6, [1681]; 2, 3, n. d.).
638. *Observer* reviv'd. 1707. (From U. L.)
DLC.
639. *Observer*, Tory, Trimmer, Whig, Nobs, Mob. 1688(?).
CSH (no. [1], Dec. [1688]).
640. *Observer*, with a summary of intelligence. Marchamont Nedham. Nos. 1-2, Oct. 24-Nov. 7, 1654. (From U. L.)
NN (no. 1).
641. Occasional paper, containing reflexions on books. . . . 1697-98.
IEK (nos. 1-3), **IU** (v. 1, no. 9, 1698), **NIC** (no. 2), **NNC** (nos. 1, 4, 8).
642. Occasional paper. S. Browne, B. Avery, and others. 1716-19. m. Titlepages of collected volumes read: A collection of the occasional papers for the year . . . ; sometimes referred to as "Bagweel" papers.
CSH (v. 3, no. 9, Sept. 1719), **CtY** (nos. 1-10, 12, 1716-18), **ICU** (v. 1, nos. 1-5, 7-12; v. 2, nos. 2-12; v. 3, no. 9, 1716-19), **IU** (v. 3, no. 9), **MB** (nos. 1-12, 1716; v. 3, no. 4, 1718; v. 3, nos. 9, 10, 1719), **MHi** (1717-18, inc.), **NIC** (v. 3, no. 12, Dec. 1719), **NNC** (v. 1-2, 1716-18), **TxU** (v. 3, no. 9).
643. Occasional writer. Bolingbroke. 1727.
CtY, **ICU** (nos. 1-3, 1727), **NIC** (nos. 1-3), **NNC** (no. 1, 1727), **TxU** (no. 2, 1727).
644. Occasional writer. 1738.
CtY, **NNC** (no. 4).

645. Occurrences from foreign parts, with an exact accompt of the publick affairs of . . . England, Scotland and Ireland. Oliver Williams, John Canne, etc. Nos. 1-88(?), June 28, 1659–May 18, 1660. (From U. L.)
MH (nos. 50, 88, 1660).
646. Oeconomist; or, Edlin's weekly journal. 1733-(?). w.
CtY (no. 1, Sept. 1, 1733).
647. Oeconomist; or, Englishman's magazine. Thomas Bigge and others. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1798-99. m.
CtY, ICJ (v. 1), **IEK, IU, NNC** (v. 1, 1798).
Oedipus; or, The postman remounted. *See* Account of the publick transactions.
Old common sense; or, The Englishman's journal. *See* Common sense; or The Englishman's journal.
648. Old England; or, The constitutional journal. *Continued as* Old England; or, The broadbottom journal (from Oct. 4, 1746); *as* Old England; or, The national gazette (from Apr. 6, 1751); *as* Old England's journal (from Feb. 24, 1753). 1743-53. w.
CtY (nos. 8, [1743]; 146, Feb. 28, 1747), **NN** (Aug. 20, Sept. 1, 7, Oct. 1, 1743).
649. Old maid. Frances Brooke. Nos. 1-37, Nov. 15, 1755–July 24, 1756. w.
CtY (rep. 1764), **DLC** (no. 10, Jan. 17, 1756), **IU, IWS, TxU** (nos. 1-9, Nov. 15, 1755–Jan. 10, 1756).
650. Old Whig. Joseph Addison. Nos. 1-2, Mar. 19–Apr. 2, 1719.
CtY (nos. 1-2; also rep. in Town talk, 1789), **IU** (rep. in Town talk, 1790), **MB** (rep. 1790), **MBB** (rep. 1790), **NN**.
651. Old Whig; or, The consistent Protestant. 1735-38(?). w.
CtY (Mar. 13, 1735–Mar. 30, 1738), **MB** (nos. 1-103, 1735-38), **MH** (nos. 1-160, 1735-38), **NIC** (rep. 1739), **NNC** (rep. 1739), **PPL** (Mar. 13, 1735–Mar. 13, 1738, rep. 1739), **TxU** (nos. 47-160, Jan. 29, 1738–Mar. 30, 1738, lacking nos. 50-53, 55, 58, 62, 80-81, 85-86, 97-98, 101-02, 104, 105-110, 111, 112-17, 118, 126, 130, 134-35, 140-41, 150, 152-55).
652. Olla podrida. T. Monro and others. Oxford and London, nos. 1-44, Mar. 17, 1787–Jan. 12, 1788. w.
CtY (2nd ed., 1788), **DLC** (2nd ed.), **ICU, IU, MB** (2nd ed.), **MH, MH1** (2nd ed.), **NIC** (2nd ed.), **NNC** (2nd ed.), **PPL** (v. 1, nos. 1-37, Mar. 17, 1787–Nov. 24, 1787), **WH**.
One pennyworth of pig-meat; or, Lessons for the swinish multitude. *See* Pigs' meat.

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654. Opposition. 1755. ir.
CtY, NN, NNC, RPB (no. 1!).
655. Oracle. V. 1, 1754. (From U. L.)
TxU (v. 1).
Oracle and public advertiser. See London daily post and general advertiser.
656. Oracle, Bell's new world. 1789-94. d. Incorporated with the Public advertiser in 1794. See London daily post and general advertiser.
CtY (nos. 32-295, July 7, 1789-May 10, 1790; 478-804, Jan. 1-Dec. 24, 1791, inc.).
657. Orange gazette. 1688-89. s. w.
CSH (nos. 1-8, 11-17), CtY (nos. 2, 10, Jan. 3, Feb. 8, 1689).
658. Oratory magazine. Ed. J. Henley. 1748.
CtY (no. 3).
659. Ordinary weekly curranto. Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne. 1638-39.
MnU (nos. 6-11, 21-23, 29-31, 35-40, 47-48, 50, 64-74, Jan. 1-May 27, 1639).
660. Oriental collections. Sir Wm. Ouseley. 1797-99. q.
MB, NN (v. 1-2, 1797-98), NNC (v. 1-2), PU.
661. Oriental repertory. 1791-97. (From U. L.)
DLC.
662. Original weekly journal, with fresh advices, foreign and domestick. Continued as Applebee's original weekly journal . . . (from July 16, 1720). 1715(?) - 36(?). w.
CtY (July 30, 1715, May 9, 1719-May 6, 1721, Jan. 19, 1722, May 4, 1723, Mar. 23, 1730), TxU (Aug. 4, 25, Sept. 1, 15, Dec. 29, 1716; Jan. 5, 12, 19, Feb. 2, May 18, 1717).
663. Orphan reviv'd; or, Powell's weekly journal. 1719-20. w.
MH (nos. 23, 51, Apr. 18, Nov. 7, 1719).
Owen's weekly chronicle; or, Universal journal. See New weekly chronicle. . . .
664. Oxford diurnall, communicating the intelligence and affaires of the court to the rest of the kingdome. Oxford, 1643. w.
CtY (1st week, Jan. 7, 1642/3).
665. Oxford gazette. Continued as London gazette (from no. 24, Feb. 5, 1666). Oxford, 1665-66; London, 1666+. s. w. Numerous issues called Supplement to the London gazette; others, London gazette extraordinary.

- CSH** (no. 15, Jan. 1, 1666-1747; June 15, 1780), **CtY** (1665-1738, 1740-44, 1746-68, 1775, 1790), **DLC**, **ICU** (nos. 1-2369, 2371-3272, 1665-97; 1736, inc.; 1766-67, inc.), **IU** (nos. 1-3693, 4060, 1665-1704), **IWS** (nos. 255-2141, Apr. 27, 1668-May 27, 1686), **MB** (1665-94; 1701-Oct. 1708; June 10, 1775; Mar. 9, June 4, Aug. 3, Sept. 21, Oct. 10, Nov. 23, 1776; 1780-81; 1788-89; 1792-97; 1799+), **MiU** (nos. 1-6590, 1665-1727), **MnU** (1665-1722), **NcU** (nos. 2204-43, 1686-89; 3251-4013, 1696-1704), **NIC** (1799+), **NN** (Nov. 16, 1665-Feb. 1, 1666; Feb. 23, Sept. 21, Oct. 5, 9, Dec. 18-25, 1779; Feb. 12, 28, Mar. 4, 6, May 25, June 15, July 5, Oct. 9, Dec. 21, 30, 1780; Jan. 9, 16, Mar. 13, Apr. 23, May 11, June 5, 9, 12, 16, 23, 27, July 14, Aug. 4, 9, 11, 21, Oct. 15, Nov. 6, Dec. 18, 1781; Mar. 12, 26, 30, May 18-25, June 18, 1782; Feb. 8, 1785-Jan. 1, 1788; 1789-90; 1792-98), **NNC** (nos. 2020-2438, Mar. 30, 1685-Mar. 25, 1689, inc.), **TxU** (nos. 202-4210, Oct. 24, 1667-Mar. 18, 1705; 4785, Dec. 13, 1710; 5010-5246, May 27, 1712-July 31, 1741; 5517, Mar. 5, 1717; 5625, Mar. 18, 1718; 8499-8601, Jan. 7, 1745-Dec. 30, 1746; 11663, May 7, 1776; [?], Nov. 8, 1782; 13570, Sept. 14, 1793; 13572, Sept. 16, 1793; 13987, Mar. 3, 1797), **WH** (nos. [?], Sept. 10, 1666, rep.; 1508-1559, May 3-Oct. 28, 1680; 2929, Dec. 7, 1693; 2986-98, 3001-03, 3005-12, 3014, 3018-20, June 25-Oct. 22, 1694; 3073, Apr. 25, 1695; 3550, Nov. 20, 1699; 3568, 3600, 3602, 3622, Jan. 6, May 13, 20, July 29, 1700; 3784, 3808, 3762, 3770, Feb. 16, May 11, Dec. 1, 29, 1701; 3797, Apr. 2, 1702; 3983, 3991, Jan. 13, Feb. 10, 1703; 4086, 4102, 4044, 4054, 4057, 4058, 4065, Jan. 8-Oct. 26, 1704; 4102, 4168, 4099, Jan. 14, Oct. 22, Dec. 3, 1705; 5018-24, 5026, 5028-42, 5044-62, 5068, June 17-Nov. 15, 1712; July-Dec. 1767; 1768-99).
666. Oxford journal. *Continued as Jackson's Oxford journal* (from ?). W. Jackson. Oxford, 1753+. **TxU** (no. 76, Oct. 12, 1754).
667. Oxford magazine; or, University museum. Oxford, 1768-76. m. **CtY** (v. 1-13, July 1768-Dec. 1776), **DLC** (v. 1-3, 1768-69), **MB** (v. 1-7, 9-11, 1768-75), **MABP** (v. 12, 1775), **MH** (v. 1-2, July 1768-June 1769; v. 7, July-Dec. 1771), **NIC** (v. 1-7, 1768-71), **NN** (v. 1-11, 1768-74, v. 11 inc.), **PPH** (v. 10, 1773), **PPL** (v. 1-2, 1768-69; v. 6, 1771).
668. Packets of letters from Scotland. *Printed by Robert Ibbitson*. 1648. w. **CtY** (nos. 2, 13, 22, 23, 29, Mar. 29-Oct. 3, 1648).
669. Pacquet from Parnassus; or, A collection of papers. 1702. **CtY** (v. 1, nos. 1-2, 1702), **MH** (nos. 1-2).

670. Pacquet of advice from Rome; or, The history of popery. *Continued as* Weekly packet of advice from Rome (from v. 1, no. 2); *as* New anti-Roman packet (from v. 3, no. 1 [i. e. 5], July 9, 1680); *as* Anti-Roman packet (from v. 3, no. 5 [i. e. 9]); *as* Weekly packet of advice from Rome restored; or, The history of popery continued (from v. 3, no. 22 [i. e. 26]); *as* Weekly packet of advice from Rome (from v. 4, no. 1). V. 1-5, Dec. 3, 1678-July 13, 1683; v. 6, Jan. 5-Feb. 8(?), 1689. w. There were two issues of v. 5: one edited by Henry Care (nos. 1-47, Aug. 25, 1682-July 13, 1683), the other by William Salmon (nos. 1-38, Aug. 25, 1682-May 17, 1683).
CSH (v. 1-3, 1678-81), **CtY** (v. 1-3, Dec. 3, 1678-Dec. 16, 1681; v. 5, Aug. 25, 1682-July 13, 1683), **ICU** (v. 1-5, 1678-83), **IWS** (v. 1-3), **MH** (v. 1-5), **MiU** (v. 1, nos. 1-31, Dec. 3, 1678-July 4, 1679; v. 2, nos. 1-47, July 11, 1679-May 28, 1680; v. 3, nos. 1-80, June 4, 1680-Dec. 16, 1681; v. 4, nos. 1-35, Dec. 23, 1681-Aug. 19, 1682; v. 5, both issues; v. 6, nos. 1-3, Jan. 5-Feb. 8, 1689), **NN** (v. 1-2), **NNC** (v. 1-5), **TxAG** (v. 3, nos. 29-80; v. 4, nos. 1-35; v. 5, nos. 1-47), **TxU** (rep.).
- Palladium . . . *See* Gentleman and lady's palladium.
671. Papers concerning the Scots commissioners. *Printed by* A. Coe. 1647.
CtY (no. 5, Feb. 28, 1647).
672. Papers sent from the Scotts quarters. Samuel Pecke. 1646.
CtY (Sept. 24, 1646).
673. Papers of the resolution of the Parliament of Scotland. *Printed by* I. C. 1647.
CtY (no. 1, Jan. 21).
674. Paris gazette. 1673.
CSH (no. 1).
675. Paris pendant l'année. *Ed.* M. Peltier. 1795+. w.
CtY, **NN** (v. 27, no. 205, June 16, 1800), **NNC** (v. 1-4, lacking nos. 28-29; v. 7, lacking no. 59; v. 8, lacking no. 71; v. 9, lacking no. 73; 1795-96).
- Parker's general advertiser and morning intelligencer. *See* General advertiser and morning intelligencer.
677. Parker's London news; or, The impartial intelligencer. *Continued as* Parker's penny post (from Apr. 28, 1725). 1718(?) - 33(?). t. w.
MH (Oct. 26-Nov. 2, Nov. 9-13, 25, 30, Dec. 2, 9, 14, 16, 21, 28, 30, 1724; Jan. 1, 8-18, 22, 27, Feb. 3-8, 12, 19, Mar. 3-15, 24, 26,

- Apr. 1, 1725), **TxU** (nos. 1186, 1194, 1213-16, 1221-23, 1225, 1227-29, 1231, 1234-35, 1244, 1247, 1249-77, 1280-84, 1292-98, 1300-02, Nov. 27, 1732-Aug. 24, 1733).
678. Parliamentary intelligencer. *Continued as Kingdomes intelligencer* (from Jan. 1, 1661). Henry Muddiman and Giles Drury. 1659-63. w. *See also* *Mercurius publicus*, 1660-63.
CSH (nos. 15-53, Apr. 2-Dec. 31, 1660; 1661-63), **CtY** (nos. 17, 41, 43, Apr. 23-Oct. 22, 1660; [captions missing], Apr.-May, 1662; nos. 14, 17-19, 27-28, Apr. 6-July 13, 1663), **ICU** (Nov. 12, 1660; Dec. 29, 1662), **MH** (1660-63, inc.), **WH** (nos. 5, Feb. 4, 1661; 17, 36, 38, [?], 48, 51, Apr. 28-Dec. 22, 1662; 14, 18, 22-23, Apr. 6-June 8, 1663).
679. Parliamentary spy. 1769-70. w.
CtY (nos. 1-23, Nov. 21, 1769-May 25, 1770), **IU** (nos. 1-23).
680. Parliament kite; or, The tell tale bird. 1648.
CSH (nos. 1-15).
681. Parliament porter; or, The door keeper of the House of Commons. 1648.
CSH (nos. 1-4).
682. Parliament scout, communicating his intelligence to the kingdom. John Dillingham. 1643. w.
CtY (no. 5, July 27, 1643).
683. Parliament's post. 1645. w.
TxU (nos. 4, June 3; 8, July 1, 1645).
684. Parliament's scrich-owle. 1648. w. In verse.
CSH (nos. 1-3), **ICU** (no. 2).
685. Parliament's vulture. 1648.
CSH (no. 1, June 22), **ICU**.
686. Parrot, with a compendium of the times. Eliza Haywood. Nos. 1-9, Aug. 2-Oct. 4, 1746. w.
CtY (rep. 1746).
687. Particular advice from the office of intelligence. *Continued as* *Exact accompt* (from Jan. 6, 1660). Oliver Williams and others. 1659-60.
CtY (no. 31, Oct. 21, 1659).
688. Pasquin. Duckett, Amherst, Steele. Nos. 1-120, Nov. 28, 1722-Mar. 26, 1724. w.; s. w.
CtY (nos. 1-120), **DLC** (nos. 1-119, lacking nos. 57-69).
689. Patrician. 1719.
CtY (no. 1), **DLC** (no. 1), **TxU** (also rep. 1719).

690. Patriot. *Ed.* John Harris. 1714-15. t. w.
TxU (nos. 11-12, Apr. 26-30, 1714).
691. Patriot. Nos. 1-5, June 17-July 17, 1762.
CtY (rep. in Political controversy, 1762).
692. Patriot. Edinburgh, nos. 1-23, June 3-Nov. 14, 1740. w.
CtY.
693. Patriot; or, Political, moral, and philosophical repository.
1792-93. s. m.
CtY (v. 1-2, 1792-93), MH (v. 1-3, 1792-93), NNC (v. 1), PU
(v. 1, Apr. 3-Sept. 18, 1792).
694. Patriot; or, The Irish packet open'd. Nos. 1-7, Oct. 25-
Dec. 6, 1753. w.
CtY (rep.), MH, NNC.
695. Peeper. 1796.
CtY (nos. 1-34), IU.
696. Pegasus, with news, an observator, and a Jacobite courier.
Printed for John Dunton. 1696. t. w.
IU.
Penny London morning advertiser. *See* Universal London
morning advertiser.
Penny London post; or, The morning advertiser. *See* Uni-
versal London morning advertiser.
698. Perfect diurnal of every day's proceedings in Parliament.
Continued as Perfect diurnal; or, The daily proceedings
in Parliament (from no. 8, Mar. 1, 1660). Nos. 1-21,
Feb. 21-Mar. 16, 1660. d.
CtY (no. 1, Feb. 21).
699. Perfect diurnall of some passages and proceedings of . . .
the armies in England and Ireland. John Rushworth
and Samuel Pecke. Nos. 1-302, 1649-55. w.
CtY (nos. 1-14, 16-72, 77-79, 81-84, 86, 88, 90-92, 94-95, 97-101,
103-[120], Dec. 17, 1649-Mar. 19, 1652), ICU (no. 11, Feb. 25,
1649/50), MB (nos. 11-13, 15, 17, 18-20, 23, 24, 27, 30, 34-36, 38,
Feb. 18-Sept. 9, 1650), WH (nos. 1-7, 10, 14-15, Dec. 10, 1649-
Mar. 25, 1650).
700. Perfect diurnall of some passages in Parliament. Samuel
Pecke. *Printed for* Francis Coles and Laurence Blaike-
locke. 1643-49. w.
CtY (nos. 1, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 22, 179, 192, 193, 209, 241, 281, 293, July
3, 1643-Mar. 12, 1648), ICU (Apr. 2, July 23, Aug. 6, 1649), MnU
(nos. 1-140, 191-200, 211-20, 231-40, June 26, 1643-Mar. 4, 1647/8),
IWS (nos. 1-100, July 3, 1643-June 30, 1645; 121-60, Nov. 24,

1645-Apr. 24, 1646), **TxU** (nos. 2, 7, 13, 15-18, 20, 21, 23, 28-31, 33, 34, 38, 40, 43, 45-48, 56, 64, 69, 70, 74, 75, 77-80, 82, 84, 85, 87-90, 93, 95-98, 100-09, 111-17, 122-26, 129-31, 133-39, 141-47, 149-59, 161-82, July 10, 1643-Jan. 25, 1646), **WH** (nos. 231-39, 241-43, 246-47, 250-52, 254, 256, 258-61, 263-64, 269, 271, 287-91, 293, 295, 297-98, 300-01, 305, 307-14, 316-20, 323, Jan. 3, 1648-Oct. 8, 1649).

700a. Perfect diurnall of some passages of Parliament. Samuel Pecke(?). *Printed by W. Hunt.* (?) -1650.

CtY (nos. 324-25, July 22-29, 1650).

Perfect diurnall of the passages in Parliament. *See Heads of severall proceedings in the present Parliament.*

700b. Perfect diurnall of the passages in Parliament. *Printed for W. Cook.* Jan.-Mar. 1642. w.

TxU (Jan. 24-31).

701. Perfect diurnall of the passages in Parliament. Nos. 1-2(?), June 20-28, 1642. *Cf.* R. H. Griffith in *Times literary supplement*, Dec. 11, 1924, p. 849.

TxU (nos. 1-2).

702. Perfect diurnall of the passages in Parliament. *Printed by J. Okes and F. Leach.* 1642-43.

CtY (nos. 18, 25, 28, 33-35, 38-39, 41-46, 48, 30 [*i. e.* 50], 52-53, Oct. 17, 1642-June 19, 1643), **TxU** (nos. 38-40, 40 [*sic*], 43-44, 46-49, 30 [*i. e.* 50], 52-53, Mar. 6-June 19, 1643).

703. Perfect diurnall of the passages in Parliament. Samuel Pecke. Various publishers, including Thomas Cook, William Cook, Walter Cook, Robert Wood, etc. Nos. 1-52(?), June 20, 1642-June 5, 1643.

CtY (nos. 5, July 18, 1642; 26, 30-32, 36, 37, 41, 45, 46, 48, 50-52, Dec. 12, 1642-June 5, 1643), **TxU** (nos. [4], July 11, 1642; 36, 39, 40, 41-43, 46, 47, 52, Feb. 20-June 5, 1643).

704. Perfect occurrences of Parliament and chief collections of letters from the armies. 1644-45.

CtY (no. 37, Aug. 29, 1645), **DLC** (no. [15], Apr. 4, 1645), **TxU** (nos. 14, Mar. 28; 43, Oct. 10, 1645).

704a. Perfect occurrences of . . . Parliament and martiall affairs. No. 11, Mar. 13, 1646-1647. *See* J. B. Williams, *A history of English journalism . . .*, p. 231. Possibly a continuation of No. 704.

CtY (Dec. 25, 1646), **TxU** (Aug. 28, 1646).

705. Perfect passages of each dayes proceedings in Parliament. Henry Walker(?). 1644-46(?). w.

CtY (nos. 1-60, 63-71, Oct. 23, 1644-Mar. 4, 1646), **TxU** (nos. 53, 61).

706. Perfect passages of every daies intelligence from the Parliaments army under the command of his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell. *Continued as* Moderate publisher of every dayes intelligence (from no. 81, Jan. 21, 1653); *as* Certain passages of every dayes intelligence (from Jan. 27, 1654). Henry Walker. 1650-55. w.
CtY (no. 17, Nov. 15, 1650).

Perfect proceedings of state affairs. *See* Severall proceedings in Parliament.

Perfect weekly account, 1647. *See* Weekly account.

- 706a. Perfect weekly account. Mar. 29, 1647-1650. w.
CSH (1649), **ICU** (Oct. 2, 1650).
707. Periodical essays. 1780-81. w.
CtY (rep. 1810), **MiU** (nos. 1-5, 8-14, Dec. 2, 1780-Mar. 3, 1781).
708. Pharos. Nos. 1-50, Nov. 7, 1786-Apr. 28, 1787. s. w.
CtY (rep. 1787), **MB**.
709. Philadelphian magazine. 1788-89. m.
CtY (v. 2, nos. 12-22, Jan.-Nov. 1789), **DLC** (v. 1, Feb.-July 1788), **MB** (v. 2).
711. Philanthropist; or, Philosophical essays on politics, government, morals, and manners. Nos. 1-43, Mar. 16, 1795-Jan. 25, 1796. w.
CtY, **DLC**, **NN**.
712. Philological miscellany. 1761.
MH (v. 1, 1761).
713. Philosophical collections. R. Hooke. Nos. 1-7, 1679, 1681-82.
CSH, **CSt**, **MB**, **MH**, **NNC**, **WU**.
714. Philosophical magazine. 1798+. m.
CSt, **CtY**, **CU**, **DLC**, **ICJ**, **IU**, **MB**, **MdBP** (lacking v. 1, 1798), **MHi**, **N**, **NIC**, **NN**, **NNC**, **PU**, **TxU**, **VaU**.
715. Philosophical society of Edinburgh. Essays and observations. Edinburgh, v. 1-3, 1754-71.
MH, **PPAP**.
Philosophical transactions of the Royal society. *See* Royal society of London.
716. Philosophy of medicine. 1799.
ICU (v. 1, 4th ed., 1799), **VaU**.

717. Phoenix; or, Revival of scarce and valuable pieces. 1707-08.
ICU (v. 1-2, 1707-08), NNC (v. 1-2, 1707-08).
Phoenix; or, Weekly miscellany improv'd. *See* Weekly
miscellany of instruction and entertainment.
718. Picture of the times. 1795. w.
CtY (nos. 1-31).
- 718a. Pig's meat; or, Lessons for the swinish multitude, published
in weekly penny numbers. . . . Thomas Spence. 1793-
95. w.
CtY (v. 1-3, 1793-95), DLC, ICJ (v. 1-2), MH, NIC (v. 3, 1795).
719. Plain dealer. 1712. w.
CtY (nos. 1-17, Apr. 12-Aug. 2, 1712), IEK (nos. 1-16), TxU
(nos. 5, 11, 14, 16, May 10-July 26, 1712).
720. Plain dealer. Aaron Hill, William Bond, and others. Nos.
1-117, Mar. 23, 1724-May 7, 1725. s. w.
CtY (nos. 47, 48, 53, 56, 59-68, 75-85, 87, 88, 1724-25; also rep.
1730-34), MB.
721. Plain dealer. Nos. 1-3, 1763. w.
CtY (rep. in Political controversy, 1763).
722. Plain dealer. 1775-76.
CSH (nos. 1-8, Dec. 25, 1775-Feb. 12, 1776).
723. Plebeian. Steele. Nos. 1-4, Mar. 14-Apr. 6, 1719. w.
CtY, DLC, ICU, IU (rep. 1790), MB (rep. 1790), MBB (rep. 1790),
NN, TxU (also rep. 1719).
724. Pocket magazine; or, Elegant repository of useful and
polite literature. 1794-95. m.
DLC, MB (1794), WH (v. 1, 2, nos. 7, 9, Aug. 1794-Apr. 1795).
725. Poetical courant. Samuel Philips. 1706. w.
CtY (v. 1, no. 5, Feb. 23, 1706).
726. Political cabinet; or, An impartial review of the most re-
markable occurrences of the world. 1744-45.
CtY (no. 1, July 1744).
727. Political controversy; or, Weekly magazine of ministerial
and anti-ministerial essays, consisting of the Monitor,
Briton, North Briton, Auditor, and Patriot entire, with
select pieces from the newspapers. *Ed.* John Wilkes.
V. 1-5, 1762-63. w.
CtY (v. 1, no. 1-v. 5, no. 8, July 19, 1762-Sept. 6, 1763), DLC
v. 2-5, inc.), MdBp, MH (nos. 1-11, 27, 1762-63), NN, NNC (v.
1-4, 1762-63), PPAP, WH (v. 2, nos. 11-13; v. 3, no. 27; v. 5,
nos. 4, 6-8; Dec. 7, 1762-Sept. 6, 1763).

728. Political herald and review. *Ed.* Gilbert Stuart. 1785-86. m.
ICU (v. 1-2, 1785-86), **NNC**, **PU**.
729. Political magazine and parliamentary, naval, military, and literary journal. V. 1-21, 1780-91. m.
CtY (v. 1-21, Jan. 1780-Dec. 1791, v. 2, 3, 6, 9, 14, 16, 20, inc.), **DLC** (v. 1-19), **IU** (v. 3, 1782), **MB** (v. 1-6, 8, 10, 1780-85), **N**, **NjP**, **NN** (1780-85; Feb.-Nov. 1789; July-Dec. 1791), **NNC**, **PU** (v. 1, 4, 6-10), **WH**.
730. Political register and impartial review of new books. *Ed.* J. Almon. V. 1-11, 1767-72. m.
CtY, **DLC** (v. 1-8, 10, May 1767-June 1772), **ICN** (nos. 1-21, May 1767-Dec. 1768), **MB**, **MBB**, **MdBP** (v. 1), **MH**, **MiUC** (v. 1-9), **NIC**, **NN**, **NNC** (v. 1, nos. 1-8), **PPL** (v. 1-7, 9-11, 1767-72), **WH** (v. 1-8).
731. Political review of Edinburgh periodical publications. Edinburgh, nos. 1-7, June 20-Aug. 1, 1792. w.
MB.
732. Political state of Europe. 1792-95. m.
CtY, **DLC** (v. 3-10, 1793-95), **MH**, **NNC** (v. 1-8, 1792-94), **WH**.
733. Political state of Great Britain. *Ed.* Abel Boyer (to Oct. 1729). 1711-40. m. The second edition (1718-20) of v. 1-8, for the years 1711-15, is entitled *Quadriennium annae postremum*; or, *The political state of Great Britain*.
CtY (v. 1-52, Jan. 1711-June 1739; also *Quadriennium*), **DLC** (v. 2-54, 56-60, July 1711-Dec. 1740), **IU** (v. 1-36, 38-39, 41-42, 44, 46-55, 1711-38), **MB** (Sept. 1711-Nov. 1739), **MH** (v. 1-60, 1711-40; v. 1-2, 7, 2nd ed.), **MdBP**, **NIC** (Mar. 1711), **NN** (v. 1-58), **NNC** (v. 1-6, 7 inc., 8-54, 56-60), **TxU** (1714; Sept. 1717; Jan. 1718-Dec. 1720; July-Dec. 1735; also *Quadriennium*), **WH** (v. 4-5, 7-28, 31-34, July 1712-Dec. 1727).
734. Politician. 1762.
CtY (rep. in *Political controversy*, 1762-63).
735. Politicks of Europe; or, A rational journal concerning the affairs of the time. 1690-91(?).
CSH (nos. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11), **DLC** (nos. 1-17, July 2, 1690-Oct. 3, 1691).
- Politics for the people. *See* Hog's wash; or, A salmagundy for swine.
- Politics for the people; or, Hog's wash. *See* Hog's wash; or, A salmagundy for swine.
- Politique post. *See* Faithful post.

736. Poor Gillian; or, Mother Redcap's weekly advice to city and country. 1677.
CSH (Nov. 23-Dec. 14).
737. Poor Robin's intelligence. *Continued as* Poor Robin's memoirs (from Dec. 1677). Henry Care. 1676-78.
CSH (nos. "A-Qqqq" [84 nos.], Mar. 23, 1676-Mar. 13, 1677; nos. 1-17, Dec. 10, 1677-Apr. 8, 1678), DLC (Jan. 2-Mar. 13, 1677).
738. Poor Robin's intelligence newly revived. *Continued as* Poor Robin's intelligence revived (from no. 4). Henry Care. 1679-80.
CSH (nos. 1-10, 12-38, Sept. 4, 1679-May 12, 1680), NN (nos. 20-35, Jan. 7-Apr. 21, 1680), TxU (nos. 24-38, Feb. 4-May 12, 1680).
Poor Robin's memoirs. *See* Poor Robin's intelligence.
739. Poor Robin's publick and private occurrences and remarks. 1688.
CSH (nos. 1-3).
740. Post angel. 1701-02. m.
CtY (v. 1-3, Jan. 1701-June 1702), ICU, MH (v. 1-2).
741. Post boy, with foreign and domestick news. *Continued as* Post boy, and historical account, &c., with foreign and domestick news (from no. 16, June 19, 1695); *as* Post boy (from Oct. 1695?); *as* Daily post boy (from Nov. 19, 1728?). Abel Roper, Abel Boyer, etc. 1695-1735.
t. w. *See also* Account of the publick transactions. . . .
CSH (nos. 452-744, lacking nos. 480, 489-91, 499, 502, 504-05, 553, 588, 591, 638, 683, 705, 711, 760, 1698-1700), CtY (nos. 452-53, 455-589, 592-99, 601-738, 742-57, 759-61, 763-855, 857-978, 981, 1009, 1013-14, 1019, 1021-22, 1024, Mar. 29, 1698-Dec. 9, 1701; 2693, Aug. 14, 1712; 3066-4434, Jan. 1, 1715-Dec. 28, 1717; 4628-5097, Mar. 28, 1719-Mar. 24, 1722; 5411-5506, Mar. 26, 1724-Mar. 23, 1725; Jan. 28, Mar. 6, 27, 1732; June 3, 6, Sept. 9, 1735), IU (1695-1728, inc.), IWS (nos. 1049-98, Feb. 5-May 27, 1702), MB (1718), NN (Mar. 7, 1721), TxU (nos. 2807-09, 2810-13, 2819-2923, 2959, 2978, 3012, 4076, 4483, 4489, 4754, 4758, 4882, 4883, May 7, 1713-Nov. 10, 1720), WH (nos. 240, Nov. 19, 1696; 696, Sept. 23, 1699; 1048, Feb. 3, 1701).
Post man, and the historical account. *See* Account of the publick transactions. . . .
742. Prater. Nos. 1-35, Mar. 13-Nov. 6, 1756. w.
CtY (rep. 1757).
743. Present case of Europe in general. 1689.
CSH (no. 1).

744. Present state of Europe. Dublin, 1690(?)–93(?). m.
WH (v. 4, Jan.–Dec. 1693).
745. Present state of Europe; or, The historical and politieal monthly mercury. I. Phillips. 1690–1736(?). m. A translation of *Mercure historique et politique*, published at the Hague, 1686–1777. The title-page of v. 1 reads: The general history of Europe.
CSH (July–Dec. 1690), **CtY** (1690–Jan. 1736, inc.), **DLC** (1690–1728), **ICU** (v. 4, 14, 18–19, 1693, 1703, 1707–08; also Edinburgh rep. 1691–95), **IWS** (v. 1–24, 1690–1713, lacking v. 12, 1701), **MB** (1691), **MHi** (1692–1709), **MnU** (1692–98, 1700–01, 1716), **NIC** (Jan.–Dec. 1702), **NjP** (1704), **NN** (July 1690–Dec. 1693, 1699–1703, 1706–07, 1709, 1711–12, 1714, 1716–20), **NNC** (1690–1704, 1718, inc.), **PPL** (1698), **WH** (1692–98, 1700–04).
746. Present state of Europe; or, The monthly account of all occurrences, ecclesiastical, civil and military. *Continued as Memoirs of the present state of Europe* (from v. 1, no. 2). 1692–96. m. A translation of *Lettres historique*, published at the Hague.
CtY (v. 2, Jan.–Dec. 1693), **WH** (v. 1–2, 1692–93).
747. Present state of the republic of letters. *Ed.* Andrew Reid. V. 1–17 [i. e. 18], Jan. 1728–Dec. 1736. m. This periodical and The literary magazine; or, The history of the works of the learned were superseded in 1737 by The history of the works of the learned.
CtY, **DLC**, **ICN** (lacking v. 15), **ICU** (v. 1–13, 15–18), **MB**, **MBB**, **MdBJ** (v. 12), **MH** (v. 1–6, Jan. 1728–Dec. 1730), **NN**, **NNC**, **PPL**, **TrAG** (v. 12–13, 1733–34).
748. Press. Dublin, 1797–98. t. w.
CtY (Sept. 28, 1797–Mar. 3, 1798).
749. Principall passages of Germany, Italy, France, etc. *Continued as Continuation of the actions, passages, and occurrences* (no. 2, 1637); *as Diatelesma* (nos. 3, 4). N. Butter and N. Bourne. Nos. 1–4, 1636–38.
CSH (no. 1, 1636), **MnU** (nos. 2, 3, 4, 1637–38).
750. Prisoner. 1782.
MiU (no. 1, Nov. 30, 1782).
751. Proceedings of the society for preserving liberty and property against levellers. 1793(?)–(?).
CtY (2 v.).
752. Prompter. Aaron Hill, William Popple, etc. Nos. 1–173, Nov. 12, 1734–July 2, 1736. s. w.
CtY (lacking nos. 24, 84, 93, 116, 138, 152).

753. Prompter. Nos. 1-19, Oct. 24-Dec. 10, 1789.
CtY (inc.).
754. Protestant courant. 1682.
TxU (nos. 4-6, May 6-13, 1682).
755. Protestant dissenter's magazine. 1794-99. m.
ICU (v. 1-5, 1794-98), MBB (v. 1-6, 1794-99).
Protestant (domestick) intelligence. *See* Domestick intelligence (Harris).
756. Protestant mercury. 1696(?) -98.
IU (Aug. 31, 1696).
757. Protestant observator; or, Democritus flens. 1681.
TxU (nos. 1-10, Nov. 19-Dec. 24, 1681).
758. Protestant Oxford intelligence; or, Occurences foraign and domestick. *Continued as* Impartial London intelligence . . . (from Apr. 4, 1681). *Printed for* T. Benskin. 1681.
CtY (Mar. 24, 1681), TxU (nos. 5-7, Mar. 24-31, n. d.; 2-4, Apr. 7-14, n. d.).
759. Protestant postboy. 1711-12. t. w.
CtY (nos. 1, 31-32, 35-38, 42, 67-75, 78-100, 102-23, Sept. 4, 1711-July 12, 1712), TxU (nos. 36, [?], 41, 67, 79, 119, Nov. 24, 1711-June 14, 1712).
760. Protester, on behalf of the people. 1753. w.
CtY (nos. 1-24, June 2-Nov. 10, 1753), IU (nos. 1-20).
Public advertiser. *See* London daily post and general advertiser.
Public characters. *See* British public characters.
761. Public gazetteer. Dublin, 1758-72. s. w.
WH (1758-59).
762. Public intelligence. Sir Roger L'Estrange. No. 1, Nov. 28, 1665.
CSH.
763. Publick intelligencer. Marchamont Nedham and John Canne (in 1659). Oct. 8, 1655-Apr. 9, 1660. w.
CSH (nos. 161-73, 209-17, 1659-60), CtY (nos. 118, Jan. 25, 1658; 210, Jan. 9, 1660), ICU (no. 212, Jan. 1660), MnU (Feb. 2-9, 1657; Dec. 28, 1657-Mar. 7, 1659; May 23-30, 1659), WH (nos. 53, 68, 79, 83, 99, 113, 173, 194, Oct. 13, 1656-Sept. 19, 1659).
764. Public ledger; or, Daily register of commerce and intelligence. *Continued as* Public ledger (from Nov. 3, 1761). J. Newbery. 1760+. d.

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- CtY** (nos. 272, 274-76, 285-87, 290-97, Nov. 24-Dec. 23, 1760), **NN** (v. 1, nos. 1-79, 81-130, 132-43, Jan. 12-June 26, 1760; v. 2, no. 531, Sept. 22, 1761, facsimile).
765. Public occurrences truly stated. Henry Care (to no. 25); Elkanah Settle. 1688. w.
CSH, **CtY** (nos. 3, 14, 19-20, 22, 30-31, 34, Mar. 6-Oct. 2, 1688), **NN** (Apr. 3, 10, June 19, July 17, 24, 1688).
767. Public register; or, Freeman's journal. Dublin, 1763+. s. w.
CtY (v. 1, no. 34, Jan. 3, 1764; v. 4, no. 33, Dec. 27, 1766), **PPL** (Sept. 13, 1763-Sept. 3, 1765; Sept. 5, 1767-Aug. 26, 1769; Aug. 31, 1771-Aug. 27, 1772).
768. Publick register; or, Weekly magazine. 1741. w.
CtY (nos. 1-24, Jan. 3-June 13, 1741).
769. Publisher, containing miscellanies in prose and verse. 1745.
CtY (nos. 1-3, 1745), **ICS** (nos. 1-4).
Quadriennium annae postremum. *See* Political state of Great Britain.
770. Quiz. Charles Dibden, Sir Robert Porter, Jane Porter, etc. 1797. f.
MH.
771. Rambler. Samuel Johnson and others. Nos. 1-208, Mar. 20, 1750-Mar. 14, 1752. s. w.
CSt, **CtY** (also reps.), **DLC** (rep. 1783), **ICN**, **IU** (1751), **MB** (nos. 160-208, Sept. 28, 1751-Mar. 14, 1752), **MdBJ** (rep. 1767), **MH**, **NN** (also rep. 1785), **NNC** (reps.).
772. Ramble round the world; or, The travels of Kainophilos. 1689. w.
CSH (2 pages).
773. Ranger. Martin Hawke and Sir R. Vincent. Brentford, 1794-95. w.
DLC (nos. 1-28, Jan. 1-July 5, 1794).
774. Reader. Steele. Nos. 1-9, Apr. 22-May 10, 1714. t. w.
CSH, **CtY** (rep. 1723), **ICU** (rep. 1789), **LEN** (rep. 1723), **IU** (rep. 1789), **NIC** (rep. 1789), **NNC** (rep. 1789), **TxU** (no. 4, Apr. 28, 1712; also reps. 1715, 1789).
775. Reading mercury; or, Weekly entertainer. Reading, 1723-24(?). w.
ICN (v. 1, no. 31, Feb. 1, 1724, facsim.), **MH** (v. 1, no. 1, July 8, 1723, facsim.).
Read's weekly journal. *See* Weekly journal; or, British gazetteer.

776. Reasoner. 1784.
MIU (no. 1, Jan. 1, 1784).
777. Recreations in agriculture, natural history, the arts, and miscellaneous literature. J. Anderson. 1799+. m.
CSt, MH, NNC, WU.
778. Reformer. 1780.
CtY (nos. 1-4).
779. Register of the times; or, Political museum. 1794-96.
CtY (v. 1-8, June 11, 1794-June 1796), **DLC** (v. 1-8), **NIC** (v. 1-8), **PPL** (v. 1-8), **WH** (v. 2-4, Oct. 20, 1794-Apr. 30, 1795).
 Rehearsal. *See* *Observer*, 1704-09.
 Rehearsal of *Observer*. *See* *Observer*, 1704-09.
780. Remembrancer; or Impartial repository of public events for the year. . . . *Ed.* J. Almon. 1775-84.
CSH, CtY (v. 1-17, 1775-84; also suppl. 1777), **DLC, IU** (v. 1-7, 9-10, v. 1, 4th ed.), **MB, MH, N** (4th ed.), **NIC, NN, NNC, PPAP, PPL** (1775-82), **PU** (v. 1, rep. 1778), **WH.**
781. Repertory of arts and manufactures. 1794+. m.
CtY, DLC, ICJ, ICU, IU, MB, NcU (v. 1-4, 1794-96), **NN, NNC, PPL, WH** (v. 1-10, 1794-99).
782. Repository. 1788-89. f.
CtY (nos. 3, 5, Feb. 1, Mar. 1, 1788), **MB** (v. 2, pt. 2, Jan. 1, 1789), **MHi** (v. 2, pt. 2, 1789), **NIC.**
783. Repository: a select collection of fugitive pieces of wit. I. Reed. 1777-83.
CtY (4 v.).
784. Repository, containing a . . . view of the most considerable transactions, occurrences, etc. 1752.
CtY, NN.
785. Repository; or, Treasury of politics and literature. 1770.
MH (v. 1-2, 1770, pub. 1771), **NN** (v. 1-2, 1770).
786. Republican queries answered.
TxU (no. 2, n. d.).
787. Revenir. Edinburgh, 1737-38. w.
CtY (nos. 1-28, Nov. 18, 1737-May 26, 1738).
 Review of the affairs of France. *See* *Weekly review of the affairs of France.*
 Review of the state of the British nation. *See* *Weekly review of the affairs of France.*

- Review of the state of the English nation. *See* Weekly review of the affairs of France.
788. Review and Sunday advertiser. No. 1, June 22, 1789-1796. **IU** (no. 191, Feb. 10, 1793).
789. Robin's last shift; or, Weekly remarks. *Continued as* Shift shifted (from May 5, 1716). G. Flint. 1716. w.
DLC (Feb. 18-Apr. 28, 1716), **TxU** (Feb. 25-Apr. 14, lacking nos. for Mar. 10, 17; May 5-Aug. 25, lacking nos. for June 30, July 14, 28, 30; Sept. 29, 1716).
- 789a. Robinson Crusoe's London daily evening post. [Publisher not named.] 1742. d.
MH (4 unnumbered issues, Sept. 21, Nov. 12, 13, 18, 1742).
790. Roman post-boy; or, Weekly account from Rome. 1689.
CSH (Mar. 23).
791. Rotterdam courant. 1680.
CSH (June 7, 1680).
792. Royal college of physicians. Medical transactions. 1785+.
CSt (v. 1-3, 1785-86; v. 1, 3, 3rd ed., v. 2, 2nd ed.), **ICJ**.
793. Royal female magazine. 1759(?) -60(?).
MH (v. 2, 1760).
794. Royal gazette and universal chronicle. *Continued as* Royal chronicle (from no. 13). 1761. t. w.
WH (v. 1, nos. 1-13, May 22-June 19, 1761).
795. Royal magazine; or, Gentleman's monthly companion. 1759-71. m.
CSH (Feb. 1761), **CtY** (v. 1-13, July 1759-Dec. 1765), **DLC**, **MB** (v. 1, 1759; 6-8, 1762-63), **MBB**, **N** (v. 1-3, 1759-60; 5-18, 1761-69), **NNC** (v. 2-3, 1760), **PPL** (1759-65), **WH** (v. 1-7, 10-15, 1759-66).
796. Royal magazine; or, Quarterly bee. 1750-51. q.
CtY (v. 1-3, Oct. 1750-June 1751).
797. Royal register. 1778-83.
MB (v. 2, 2nd ed.), **WH**.
798. Royal society of London. Philosophical transactions. *Ed.* Henry Oldenburg (to 1677). Mar. 6, 1665+.
CSH (v. 1-16, 1665-86), **CSt**, **CtY** (v. 1-10, 1665-75; 13-18, 1683-94; 20-24, 1698-1705; 31-32, 1721-23; 34-35, 1727-28; 40, 1738; 43-90, 1745-1800), **CU** (v. 47+, 1751+; also abridg., v. 1-10, 1749-56), **DLC**, **ICU**, **IU** (v. 1-3, 1665-67; 58+, 1768+), **MB**, **MBB**, **MdBJ**, **MdBP**, **MiU** (abridg.), **N** (v. 1-3, no. 33, 1665-68; 8-11, 1673-76; 12, nos. 137-42, 1677-78), **NIC** (v. 1-29, 1665-1716), **NN**,

NNC (v. 1-6, 1665-71; 35 inc., 1728; 46+, 1749+), **PPL** (1733+), **PU**, **RPB** (v. 47-89, 1751-99), **TxU** (v. 47+, 1751+; also abridg. v. 1-10), **WU**.

799. Ruddiman's weekly mercury. Edinburgh, 1777-83(?). w.
CtY (Aug. 7, Dec. 31, 1777; Jan. 7-Dec. 30, 1778; Jan. 6-20, 1779).
800. St. James's chronicle; or, British evening-post. 1761+. t. w.
CtY (nos. 285-1149, Jan. 1-July 7, 1763; 1224-1537, Jan. 3-Dec. 29, 1769; 1694-1853, Jan. 2-Dec. 31, 1772; 2009-2166, Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1774; 2243-48, 2251, 2255-59, 2261-70, 2272-76, 2278-2306, 2309, 2311, 2313-18, 2320-21, July 1-Dec. 31, 1775; 2621-2933, Jan. 1, 1778-Dec. 30, 1779; 3095-3404, Jan. 2, 1781-Dec. 31, 1782; 3561-3716, Jan. 3, 1784-Jan. 1, 1785; 4398-4400, June 30-July 4, 1789), **NN** (June 6, 25, 1767; July 26, Aug. 23, 1768; Jan. 2-Feb. 29, Mar. 5-July 2, 11-Oct. 15, 20-24, 29-Dec. 31, 1772; Jan. 2-7, 14-Mar. 4, 9-May 22, 29-June 17, 22-July 1, 6-Aug. 7, 12, 17-Dec. 30, 1773; Jan. 1-Apr. 16, 21-Oct. 11, 15-Dec. 31, 1774; Jan. 3-Feb. 28, Mar. 4-Aug. 1, 5-Sept. 5, 9-21, 26-Oct. 26, 31-Dec. 16, 21-30, 1775; Jan. 2-Feb. 13, 17-Apr. 23, 27-Aug. 22, 27-Dec. 31, 1776; Jan. 2-May 31, June 5-Aug. 5, 9-Oct. 25, 30-Dec. 30, 1777; Jan. 1-July 23, 28-Oct. 1, 10, 15, Dec. 31, 1778; Jan. 2, Feb. 2, 25, 1779; Sept. 2, 1783), **TxU** (Dec. 24, 1771), **WH** (nos. 2127, 2129-30, 2133, 2135, 2137-38, 2140-42, 2146-49, Oct. 1-Nov. 22, 1774; 2164, 2166-67, Aug. 19-26, 1775; 2381, 2383, June 13, 18, 1776).
801. St. James's evening post. 1715-55(?).
CtY (1715-17, 1720, 1734-37, 1743, 1745, 1746-47, 1755), **IU** (no. 5130, Dec. 4, 1742), **MB** (nos. 1665-1815, lacking nos. 1729, 1778, 1800, Jan. 8-Dec. 27, 1726), **NN** (Jan. 23-25, 1722), **TxU** (nos. 85, Dec. 15, 1715; 118, Mar. 1, 1716; 288, Mar. 12, 1717; 467, Jan. 17, 1718).
802. St. James's journal, with memoirs of literature. Nos. 1-56, May 3, 1722-May 18, 1723. w.
CtY (July 19, Dec. 22, 27, 1722; Jan. 3-May 18, 1723), **DLC**, **TxU**.
803. St. James's magazine. R. Lloyd. 1762-64. m.
CtY (v. 1-4, Sept. 1762-June 1764), **DLC** (v. 1-3, Sept. 1762-Feb. 1764), **IU** (v. 1-3), **PPH**.
804. St. James's magazine. 1774. m.
WH (v. 1, Feb.-Dec. 1774, with supplement).
- 804a. St. James's post. 1715-34(?). t. w.
CtY (inc., "a good file").
Salisbury and Winchester journal. *See* Salisbury journal;
or, Weekly advertiser.

805. Salisbury journal; or, Weekly advertiser. *Continued as* Salisbury journal (from June 11, 1750); *as* Salisbury and Winchester journal (from Dec. 7, 1772). Salisbury, 1738+. w.
CtY (v. 12, nos. 441, 442, 446, June 30, July 7, Aug. 4, 1746; v. 44, nos. 2117, 2157, Jan. 4, Oct. 11, 1779; v. 45, no. 2197, July 17, 1780; v. 59, no. 2924, June 23, 1794), **WH** (v. 39, nos. 1898-99, 1901-03, Oct. 17-Nov. 21, 1774; v. 41, nos. 2002-10, Oct. 21-Dec. 16, 1776; v. 42, nos. 2015, 2020, 2024, 2027, 2032-34, 2036, 2062, Jan. 20-Dec. 15, 1777; v. 43, nos. 2066, 2068, 2070-78, 2080, 2112, 2116, Jan. 12-Dec. 28, 1778).
806. Satellite; or, Repository of literature. Carlisle and Newcastle, 1798-1800.
CtY (nos. 1-6, Nov. 10, 1798-June 1800).
807. Saunders' news-letter. *Continued as* Saunders' news-letter and daily advertiser (from Jan. 1, 1784). Dublin, 1755+. Possibly a continuation of no. 1353.
WH (no. 8815, June 23, 1785).
808. Scarborough miscellany. Scarborough, 1732-34.
DLC (1734).
 Scientific magazine and freemasons repository. *See* Freemason's magazine.
810. Scotch intelligencer; or, The weekly neues from Scotland and the court. 1643.
CtY (Oct. 17, 1643).
811. Scotchman. 1772. w.
CtY (Jan. 21-June 6, 1772).
 Scotch memoirs. *See* Scots memoirs.
 Scots courant. *See* Edinburgh courant.
812. Scots magazine. Edinburgh, Jan. 1739+. m.
CSt, **CtY**, **CU**, **DLC**, **ICN**, **ICU**, **IU**, **MB**, **MBB** (1759, 1793, 1795), **MH**, **MHi** (1751-57, inc.), **MnU** (v. 1-26, 28), **NcU** (v. 40, 1778), **NjP** (v. 1, 3, 6-13, 15-19, 22, 24, 30, 32-35, 37, 39-42, 44-45, 47-51, 1739-89), **NN** (v. 1-39, 1739-77), **NNC**, **TxU** (v. 1-56, 58-62, 1739-1800), **WH**.
813. Scots memoirs, by way of dialogue. *Continued as* Scotch memoirs (from no. 2). 1683.
TxU (nos. 1-3, Feb. 20-Mar. 23, 1683; 4-5, n. d. [1683]).
 Scots postman; or, New Edinburgh gazette. *See* Edinburgh gazette.
 Scots scourge. *See* British antidote to Caledonian poison.

814. Scots spy; or, Critical observer. Edinburgh, 1776. w.
NN (v. 1, no. 11, May 17, 1776).
815. Scots town and country magazine. Edinburgh, 1778-79. s. m.
MB (v. 1-2, Dec. 22, 1778-Dec. 1779).
816. Scottish dove. George Smith. 1643-46.
TxU (nos. 11, 27, 29, 36, 39, 41, 46, Dec. 29, 1643-Aug. 30, 1644).
817. Scottish mercury, relating the weekly intelligence from
Scotland and the court. 1643.
CtY (Oct. 13, 1643).
818. Scottish register; or, General view of history, politics, and
literature. Edinburgh, 1794-95(?). q.
CtY (nos. 1-6, Jan. 1794-June 1795), **MdBP** (nos. 1, 2, 4, 1794-95).
819. Scourge, in vindication of the Church of England. T.
Lewis. 1717. w.
DLC (nos. 1-43, Feb. 4-Nov. 25, 1717), **NNC** (rep. 1720).
820. Scourge. Nos. 1-81, Nov. 28, 1752-June 2, 1753. t. w.
DLC.
821. Selector. 1799-1800. s. m.
CtY (May 5, 1799-Dec. 28, 1800).
822. Senator; or, Clarendon's parliamentary chronicle. 1790+. w.
DLC, **MB**, **MH** (v. 1-8, 1790-94), **NN** (v. 1-8, inc., Nov. 25, 1790-
July 5, 1794), **NNC** (v. 1-15, Nov. 25, 1790-May 20, 1796), **WH**.
823. Sentimental magazine; or, General assemblage of science,
taste, etc. 1773-77.
CtY (v. 1-4, Mar. 1773-Aug. 1776), **DLC** (v. 1-5, 1773-77), **NN**
(v. 3, 1775), **NNC** (v. 2, 1774).
824. Sentimental and masonic magazine. Dublin, 1792-95.
CSt (v. 4, Jan.-June 1794), **MB** (v. 2-3, Jan.-Dec. 1793).
825. Severall proceedings in Parliament. *Continued as General*
proceedings of state affairs (from Apr. 28, 1653); *as*
Severall proceedings of state affairs (from Sept. 28,
1654); *as* Perfect proceedings of state affairs (from Feb.
22, 1655). Henry Scobell and Henry Walker. 1649-55.
CtY (nos. 5, 23, 28, 50, 57-58, 64, Nov. 2, 1649-Dec. 19, 1650),
DLC (12 nos., Dec. 1653-Aug. 1654), **ICN** (no. 26, Mar. 21-28,
1650), **ICU** (nos. 26, 33, 44, 53, Mar. 18-Oct. 3, 1650), **MnU** (nos.
2-166, Oct. 9, 1649-Sept. 23, 1652).

Shift shifted. *See* Robin's last shift.

Smith's currant intelligence. *See* Currant intelligence (J.
Smith).

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826. Smith's Protestant intelligence, domestick and foreign. 1681.
MnU (nos. 7-8, 11-13, 16-18, 20-22, Feb. 18-Apr. 14, 1681), **TxU** (nos. 1-12, Feb. 1-Apr. 14, 1681).
827. Snotty-nose gazette. 1679.
CSH (no. 1, Nov. 24, 1679).
 Society of antiquaries of Scotland. Transactions. *See* Archaeologia Scotica.
- 827a. Some speciall passages from London, Westminster [*sic*], Yorke, Hull, Ireland and other parts. No. 1, June 2, 1642.
MnU.
828. Some speciall passages from Westminster, Hull, Yorke, and other parts. 1642.
TxU (no. 8, July 12, 1642).
829. South Briton. 1763.
CtY (no. 1, rep. in Political controversy, May 2, 1763).
830. Sowerby's English botany. *Ed.* James Sowerby. 1790+. m.
ICU (v. 2), **MH**.
831. Speciall passages and certain informations from several places. *Printed for* H. Blunden. 1642-43. w.
CtY (nos. 32, 34, 38, 39, Mar. 21-May 9, 1643), **ICN** (nos. 13-14, Nov. 8-15, 1642), **TxU** (nos. 5, 27, 28, 33, 34, 35, 37, Sept. 13, 1642-Apr. 25, 1643).
832. Spectator. Steele, Addison, etc. Nos. 1-555, Mar. 1, 1711-Dec. 6, 1712; nos. 556-635, June 18-Dec. 20, 1714. d. (1711-12); s. w. (1714).
CSH, **CtY** (nos. 1-554), **ICN** (nos. 1-555), **ICS** (inc.), **IU**, **MB**, **MH**, **MnU**, **NIC** (nos. 1-42), **NN** (nos. 1-621, inc.), **TxU** (nos. 1-555; also rep. 1712).
833. Spectator. 1753-54. s. w.
TxU (nos. 1-19, Nov. 3, 1753-Jan. 5, 1754).
835. Speculator. N. Drake, etc. 1790. s. w.
CtY (nos. 1-26, Mar. 27-June 22, 1790, rep. Dublin, 1791), **DLC** (nos. 1-26), **RPB** (rep. 1791).
836. Spendthrift. Henry Fox, Lord Holland(?). 1766.
CtY (nos. 1-20, Mar. 29-Aug. 9, 1766).
837. *Spinster: in defense of the woollen manufacturers. Steele. No. 1, Dec. 19, 1719.
CtY (rep. in Town talk . . . , 1789), **IU** (rep. in Town talk . . . , 1790), **MB** (rep. 1790), **MBB** (rep. 1790), **TxU**.

838. Spirit of the public journals. 1797+. a.
CtY, ICN, MB, MH, NN, NNC (v. 1, rep. 1802; v. 2-3, rep. 1805;
v. 4 +, orig. issues), WH.
839. Spirit of the times. 1790. w.
MB (nos. 2, 3, 7, 8, 1790).
840. Spiritual magazine. 1761-84. Merged with Gospel maga-
zine; or, Treasury of divine knowledge (1784).
CtY (v. 1, 2 inc., 1761-62).
841. Sporting magazine; or, Monthly calendar of the transac-
tions of the turf, the chase, etc. 1792+. m.
DLC, MH (lacking v. 1, 3, 7, 12-15), NN, PU (v. 1-2, 1792-93;
7, 1795-96; 13-16, 1798-1800).
842. Spy upon the Spectator. 1711.
NNC.
- 842a. Stamford mercury. *Continued as* Howgrave's Stamford
mercury (from 1722, with new numbering); *as* Stam-
ford mercury (from 1736); *as* Lincoln, Rutland and
Stamford mercury (from 1784). Stamford and Lincoln,
1713+. w.
CtY (Jan. 24, 1794+).
843. Star and evening advertiser. *Continued as* Stuart's star
(from Apr.[?], 1789); *as* Morning star (from July[?],
1789); *as* Star (from Aug.[?], 1789). 1788+. d.
CtY (Dec. 17, 1788; Jan. 1, 17, 20, 23, Feb. 10, Mar. 11, Apr. 3,
22, July 8-11, Aug. 13, 1789; Jan. 14, 18, Oct. 5, Dec. 14, 19,
1792; Jan. 8, 28, 31, Feb. 1, 2, 1793), DLC (Oct. 9-Dec. 31, 1794),
NN (July 14, 1795), WH (nos. 162-63, 165-76, 181-88, 191, 199,
Nov. 7-Dec. 20, 1788; 217, 223-25, 228-29, 234-37, 241-42, 245-47,
Jan. 10-Feb. 14, 1789).
Stuart's star. *See* Star and evening advertiser.
844. Student; or, The Oxford monthly miscellany. *Continued*
as Student; or, The Oxford and Cambridge monthly
miscellany (from no. 6). Oxford, 1750-51. m.
CtY, DLC, IU, MB, MH, NN, NNC, RPB (v. 2, 1751), TxAG
(v. 1, 1750).
845. Sun. 1792+. d.
CtY (Aug. 4-13, Sept. 8-20, Oct. 11-13, 16, 17, 20-23, 31-Nov. 6,
8-18, Dec. 11, 1794; Aug. 1-3, 1795; Oct. 14, 1797; Sept. 21, 22,
26-29, 1798; Oct. 14-16, 18, 24, 28-31, Nov. 4, 6, 8, 11, 29, 1799;
1800+), DLC (Oct. 1, 1792+), NN (Nov. 9, Dec. 13, 1796; Jan.
5, 12, 1798; Oct. 14-Nov. 29, 1799; Jan. 1-Nov. 14, 1800).
846. Sussex weekly advertiser. Lewes, 1746+.
CtY (June 30, 1755), WH (no. 1182, Feb. 20, 1769).

847. Swedish intelligencer. Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne. 1682-35.
CtY (pts. 1-2, 8, 1632-34; pt. 1, 1632, newly revised and corrected; pt. 3, 2nd-ed.); **NN** (1632), **NNC**.
848. Swinney's Birmingham and Stafford chronicle. Birmingham, 1766(?) +.
WH (v. 9, no. 49, Dec. 14, 1775).
849. Sylph. Deptford and London, nos. 1-40, Sept. 22, 1795-Apr. 30, 1796. s. w.
CtY, **PPL**.
850. Tatler. Steele, Addison, etc. Nos. 1-271, Apr. 12, 1709-Jan. 2, 1711. t. w. The following "continuations" of the Tatler appeared during the early part of 1711: (1) one sold by John Baker, of which only two numbers—272, Jan. 4, and 273, Jan. 6—seem to be known; (2) a continuation published by John Morphew, which began on Jan. 6 with a double number, 272-273, and continued tri-weekly until no. 330, May 19; and (3) the Tatler of William Harrison. This last began on Jan. 13 with no. 1, published by Mrs. A. Baldwin, and ran semi-weekly until no. 6 as a rival publication to Morphew's. On Feb. 3, however, in consequence of a quarrel with his printer, Harrison shifted to Morphew, took over Morphew's numbering, and continued to publish through Morphew to the end of the series; so that from no. 285, Feb. 3, to no. 330, May 19, Harrison's continuation and Morphew's were one and the same paper. As reprinted in volume form Harrison's Tatler included nos. 1-6, printed for Mrs. Baldwin, and nos. 285-330, printed for Morphew, the whole renumbered 1-52.
CtY (nos. 1-330), **ICN** (nos. 1-271), **ICS** (nos. 1-271, lacking nos. 7, 28, 35, 42, 50, 59, 69, 81, 103, 138, 156, 170, 202, 211; also Baker's continuation, no. 272, and the Morphew-Harrison continuation, nos. 272-79, 282-98; also rep. of Harrison's continuation), **ICU** (nos. 1-271; also Baker's continuation, nos. 272 and 273, and the Morphew-Harrison continuation, nos. 272-290, 293-330; also James Watson's Edinburgh rep., nos. 1 [Steele's no. 130]-142 [Steele's no. 271], Feb. 13-1710-Jan. 9, 1711), **IU** (nos. 1-271), **MH**, **NN** (nos. 1-302), **TxU** (nos. 1-271; also nos. 272-73 [Baker] and nos. 274-330 [Morphew-Harrison]; also 1710 rep.).
851. Tatler, by Donald MacStaff of the North. Robert Hepburn. Edinburgh, 1711.
TxU (nos. 4-24, Jan. 24-Apr. 4, 1711).

852. *Tatler*. 1753-54.
NN (nos. 1-4, 1753-54).
853. *Telegraph*. 1794-97(?).
TxU (Sept. 28, 1794).
854. *Templar*; or, Monthly register of legal and constitutional knowledge. 1788-89. *m*.
NN (v. 1, Feb.-July 1788).
855. *Terrae filius*. N. Amhurst. Oxford, nos. 1-50, Jan. 11-July 6, 1721; rep. as *Terrae filius*; or, The secret history of the University of Oxford in several essays, 1726. *s. w*.
CtY (rep. 1726), **CU** (rep.), **ICU** (rep.), **IU** (rep.), **MB** (rep.), **MnU** (rep.), **TxU** (rep.).
856. *Test*. Henry Fox, Lord Holland. Nos. 1-35, Nov. 6, 1756-July 9, 1757. *w*.
CSH (no. 24, Apr. 23, 1757), **CtY**, **DLC**, **ICU**, **IU**, **MH**, **MnU**, **NN**, **WH**.
857. *Test-paper*. *Continued as Weekly test-paper* (from no. 2). Nos. 1-3(?), 1688.
CSH.
858. *Theatre*. Steele. Nos. 1-28, Jan. 2-Apr. 5, 1720. *s. w*.
CtY (also rep. 1791), **MB**, **MH** (rep. 1791), **TxU** (nos. 7-12, 20-21).
859. *Theatrical guardian*. 1791. *w*.
MB (nos. 1-6, Mar. 5-Apr. 9, 1791), **MH** (nos. 1-5).
860. *Theatrical register*. 1769.
MH.
861. *Theatrical register*. York, 1788.
DLC (nos. 1-18), **MH** (nos. 1-8).
862. *Theatrical review for 1757*. 1758.
CSH, **IU**, **MB**, **PPL**.
863. *Theatrical review*; or, A new companion to the playhouse. 1772.
CSH, **MH**.
864. *Theatrical review*; or, Annals of the drama. 1763. *m*.
DLC, **ICU**, **MB** (Jan. 1763), **MH** (v. 1, Jan.-June 1763).
865. *Theological miscellany, and review of books on religious subjects*. *Ed.* C. de Coetlogon. 1784-89. *m*.
CtY (v. 1-5, 1784-88).
866. *Theological repository*. J. Priestley, etc. 1769-88.
CtY, **CU** (v. 1, rep. 1773; v. 2, 1770; v. 3, 1771), **ICN**, **MB** (v. 1-3), **MH**.

867. Theosophical transactions of the Philadelphian society. 1697.
CSH (nos. 1-2, Mar.-Apr. 1697).
868. Thespian magazine, and literary repository. V. 1-3, 1792-94. m.
CSH, CtY (v. 1-2, June 1792-Dec. 1793), DLC, MB, MBB, MH, MiU, PU (v. 1).
869. Thistle. Edinburgh, nos. 1-105, Feb. 13, 1734-Feb. 11, 1736. w.
CtY, TxAG (nos. 1-7, 9-11, 14-15, 19-20, 41-42, 51-54, 57-58, 61).
870. Tickler. 1747-48. ir.
MH (nos. 1-7, 2nd ed. 1748).
871. Tickler. 1770. w.
CtY (nos. 1-5, 7-8, Oct. 20-Dec. 8, 1770).
Times. *See* Daily universal register.
872. Tomahawk; or, Censor-general. 1795-96. d.
CtY (nos. 1-113, Oct. 27, 1795-Mar. 7, 1796), DLC (nos. 1-113), MH (inc.), NN (nos. 1-75, 77-85, 100).
873. Topographer for the year . . . , containing a variety of original articles. *Continued as* Topographical miscellanies (from 1792). *Ed.* Sir E. Brydges and S. Shaw. 1789-92 (?). m.
CtY (v. 1-4, Apr. 1789-Jan. 1791), ICN (1789-91), MB (v. 1-5, 1789-June 1791; 1792), NN (v. 1-4).
Topographical miscellanies. *See* Topographer for the year. . . .
874. Town and country magazine; or, Universal repository of knowledge, instruction and entertainment. 1769-96. m.
CSH (Sept. 1777), CtY (v. 1-24, Jan. 1769-Dec. 1791), DLC, MB (1769-84), MBB, MdBp (v. 1-9, 1769-77), MH (v. 1-22, 1769-90), MHI (v. 1, 4, 6, 15, 16, 17, inc.), MiU (v. 6, 1774), N (v. 1-21, 1769-89, lacking v. 4, 10), NjP (v. 1-9, 1769-77), NN (v. 1-24), NNC (v. 1-23), PPH (v. 1, 1769), PU (v. 4, 1772), WH (v. 2-6, 9, 11-12).
875. Town and country weekly magazine. Dublin, 1785-86. w.
DLC (v. 1, nos. 4, 6, 8, 16, 19, 24, 27, 29; v. 2, nos. 1-3, May 7, 1785-Jan. 21, 1786).
876. Town-talk. Steele. Nos. 1-9, Dec. 17, 1715-Feb. 13, 1716. w.
CtY (reps. 1789, 1790), IU (rep. 1790), MB (rep. 1790), MBB (rep. 1790), TxU (no. 5; also reps. 1716, 1789).

877. *Traiteur*. 1780-81. w.
MIU (nos. 1-20, Nov. 18, 1780-Mar. 31, 1781).
878. *Tribune*. Ed. Patrick Delany. Dublin, nos. 1-21, 1729.
CtY, NNC (London rep.).
879. *Tribune*. J. Thelwall. 1795-96. w.
CtY (Mar. 14, 1795-Oct. 2, 1796), **DLC, NN** (Mar. 14-Sept. 23, 1795).
880. *Trifler*. 1762.
CtY (rep. in *Political controversy*, 1762-63).
881. *Trifler*. R. Oliphant, J. H. Allen, etc. Nos. 1-43, May 31, 1788-Mar. 21, 1789. w.
CtY, ICN, ICU, IU, MB, MH, NIC (nos. 1-41), **NN**.
882. *Trimmer*. 1762.
CtY (rep. in *Political controversy*, 1762-63).
883. *True and impartial account of the remarkable incidents . . . happening in city and country*. 1688.
CtY (nos. 9-11, July 28-Aug. 25, 1688).
884. *True Briton*. Philip, Duke of Wharton. Nos. 1-74, June 3, 1723-Feb. 17, 1724. s. w.
CtY, ICU (nos. 1-73), **IU, MBB** (nos. 1-37), **MnU, NIC, NNC, PPL, TxAG** (nos. 1-43, nos. 1-32 rep.), **TxU, WH**.
885. *True Briton*. 1792+. d.
CtY (nos. 1255-1566, Jan. 2-Dec. 30, 1797).
886. *True Briton; in which the state, constitution and interest of Great Britain will be considered*. 1751-53. w.
CtY (v. 1, Jan. 2-June 19, 1751), **NNC** (v. 2, June 26-Dec. 25, 1751), **WH** (nos. 1-25, Jan. 2-June 19, 1751).
887. *True character of Mercurius urbanicus & rusticus*. *Continued as* City and countrey mercury: for the help of trade and dealing both in countrey and city (from no. 2); *as* Mercury, publishing advertisements of all sorts: as of persons run away, lost or spirited; horses, or other things lost or stoln (from no. 14). Nos. 1-33(?), June 10-Oct. 24, 1667.
CSH (nos. 1-33), **DLC** (nos. 1-20).
888. *True diurnall of the last weeks passages in Parliament*. *Continued as* Continuation of the true diurnall of passages in Parliament (from no. 2, Jan. 17-24, 1642). *Printed for* H. Blunden. Jan. 17-Mar. 21(?), 1642. w.
Cf. *Times literary supplement*, Dec. 4, 1924, p. 823, and Apr. 9, 1925, p. 253, and no. 126a, above.
ICN (no. 6, Feb. 14-21), **TxU** (nos. 1-2, 4-8, Jan. 17-Mar. 7).

- True diurnall; or, A continued relation of Irish occurrences.
See Ireland's true diurnall.
889. True diurnal occurrences; or, Proceedings in the Parliament
 this last weeke. 1642.
 ICN (no. 3, Jan. 31).
890. True diurnal occurrences; or, The heads of the proceedings
 in both houses in Parliament. 1642.
 ICN (Feb. 7).
- 890a. True diurnall; or, The passages in Parliament. 1642.
 ICN (no. 2, Jan. 24).
 True domestick intelligence. *See* Domestick intelligence
 . . . (Thompson).
891. True informer. Henry Walley. 1643-45.
 CSH (1643), TxU (no. 42, Aug. 17, 1644).
- 891a. True informer; or, Monthly mercury, being the certain
 intelligence of Mercurius militaris, or the armies scout.
 No. 1, Oct. 7-Nov. 8, 1648. Contains nos. 1-4 of Mer-
 curius militaris, of which it is apparently a monthly
 edition. *Cf.* no. 1638.
 IWS (no. 1).
892. True intelligence from the head-quarters. 1650.
 CtY (no. 3, Aug. 7, 1650).
 True news; or, Mercurius Anglicus. *See* Mercurius Angli-
 cus; or, The weekly occurrences faithfully transmitted.
893. True patriot, and the history of our own times. 1745-46. w.
 CtY (nos. 1-32, Nov. 5, 1745-June 10, 1746, photographs).
894. True Protestant (domestick) intelligence. 1680. Pub-
 lished during the suspension of Protestant domestick in-
 telligence. *See also* Domestick intelligence (B. Harris).
 NN (nos. 1-7, Apr. 23-May 14, 1680), TxU (nos. 1-7), WH
 (nos. 4-7).
895. True Protestant mercury; or, Occurrences foreign and
 domestick. *Printed for* L. Curtiss. 1680-82. s. w.
 CSH (1681), MnU (nos. 7, 11-12, 14, 16-17, 19, 21-27, 29-50, 52-
 63, 64-108, 110-19, 121-27, Jan. 15, 1681-Mar. 25, 1682), NN
 (May 5, 16, Sept. 27, 1681; May 20, 24, 31, 1682), TxU (nos.
 1-188, Dec. 28, 1680-Oct. 25, 1682).
896. True Protestant mercury; or, Occurrences foreign and
 domestick. *Continued as* Impartial Protestant mercury
 . . . (from no. 5). *Published by* R. Janeway. 1681-
 82. s. w.

- CSH** (1682), **CtY** (nos. 8, May 19, 1681; 34, 38-115, Aug. 19, 1681-May 30, 1682), **MnU** (nos. 1-96, lacking nos. 2, 34, 67, Apr. 27, 1681-Mar. 24, 1681/2), **NN** (May 16, Sept. 27, 1681).
897. Trysorfa Ysprydol. Mold, 1799+.
ICN (v. 1, nos. 1, Apr. 1799; 4, Jan. 1800; also reps.).
898. Tunbridge miscellany. Tunbridge, 1713(?) - 39(?).
CtY (1713, 1733, 1737-39), **ICU** (1713).
899. Tuner. 1754.
CtY.
900. Universal advertiser; or, A collection of essays moral, political, etc. Dublin, 1754.
CtY, **ICU**, **IU**.
901. Universal catalogue. 1772-74.
DLC.
902. Universal historical bibliothèque; or, An account of most of the considerable books printed in all languages. . . . Jan.-Mar. 1687. m.
CtY (Jan.), **DLC**, **MH** (lacking March), **PPL** (Jan., Feb.).
903. Universal intelligence. 1688-89.
CSH, **CtY** (no. 8, Jan. 3, 1689).
- 903a. Universal London morning advertiser. *Continued as Penny London morning advertiser* (from Jan. 9, 1744); *as Penny London post*; or, *The morning advertiser* (from Aug. 15, 1744); *as London morning penny post* (from May 6, 1751). J. Nicholson. 1743-51. t. w. Cf. no. 1527.
TxU (no. 1358, Dec. 21, 1750).
904. Universal magazine and review; or, Repository of literature. Dublin, 1789-92(?). m.
CtY (v. 2, 1789, lacking some plates), **MB** (v. 1, Jan.-June 1789).
905. Universal magazine of knowledge and pleasure. 1747+. m.
CSH (v. 56-57, 1775), **CtY** (v. 1-21, 1747-57; 23-98, 1758-96; 100-06, 1797-1800), **DLC**, **ICU** (v. 1-40, June 1747-1767; v. 42+, 1768+), **MB** (1747-94), **MBB** (inc.), **MH** (v. 38 inc., 1766; 54-107, 1766-1800), **MHi** (1754-78, inc.), **MiU** (v. 2-37, 1748-65), **N** (v. 34-81, 1764-87), **NcU** (v. 74, 1784), **NIC**, **NN**, **NNC** (1747+, lacking v. 11, 27, 38-39, 50-51, 58, 64, 94, 100, 105), **PPH** (v. 14, 1754; 34, 1764), **PPL** (v. 2+, 1747+), **TxU** (v. 1-21, 1747-58), **WH** (1747-94, lacking about 42 v.).
906. Universal masquerade. 1742.
MH (v. 2, 1742).
907. Universal museum; or, Gentleman's and ladies polite maga-

- zine of history, politics and literature. *Continued as Universal museum and complete magazine of knowledge and pleasure* (from 1764). 1762-70. m.
- CtY** (v. 1-5, Jan. 1762-Dec. 1766), **MH** (Jan.-June, Aug.-Oct. 1765), **NIC** (1769), **NN** (v. 1-2, 1762-63; n. s., v. 2-3, no. 6, Jan. 1766-June 1768; v. 4-5, 1769-70), **TxU** (v. 1-3, 1762-64).
908. Universal spectator, and weekly journal. Henry Baker. 1728-46. w.
- CtY** (Jan. 30, Mar. 20, May 29, Aug. 21, Oct. 9, 1731; Jan. 20-Mar. 17, Apr. 7, May 5-12, June 16-23, July 7-21, Aug. 4-11, 25, Sept. 15-Oct. 6, Nov. 10-24, Dec. 8-15, 1733; Apr. 26, May 3, Oct. 11, 1735; also 2nd ed., 1747), **DLC**, **ICU** (3rd ed., 1756), **TxU** (1736), **WH** (nos. 97, 101, 104, 107, Aug. 15-Oct. 24, 1730; 138, 149, May 29, Oct. 23, 1731; 169-190, 193-221, Jan. 1-Dec. 30, 1732; 222-23, 226-27, 229-34, 236, 239-40, 242-49, 251-61, 264-65, 267-71, Jan. 6-Dec. 15, 1733; 273-75, 277-78, 284-89, 293-95, 299-311, 313-15, Dec. 29, 1733-Oct. 19, 1734; 325-27, 329-31, 333-41, 344-48, 351, 355, 358-60, 372, Dec. 28, 1734-Nov. 22, 1735; 392-411, 414-22, June 5-Nov. 6, 1736; 431-44, 446-70, 472-82, Jan. 8-Dec. 31, 1737; 483-89, 491-92, 496, 499-503, 505-07, Jan. 7-June 24, 1738, reps.; 535-46, 548-74, Jan. 6-Oct. 6, 1739; 576-89, 591-94, 597-610, 612, 614-19, Oct. 20, 1739-Aug. 16, 1740; 622-91, Sept. 6, 1740-Jan. 2, 1742).
909. Universal spy; or, The royal oak journal reviv'd. 1732. w.
- TxAG** (nos. 1-3, 5-8, 10, 12, Apr. 29-Sept. 22, 1732).
910. Useful transactions in philosophy. W. King. 1709.
- CtY** (pts. 1-3, Jan.-Sept. 1709).
912. Visions of Sir Heister Ryley, with other entertainments. Charles Povey(?). Nos. 1-80, Aug. 21, 1710-Feb. 20, 1711. t. w.
- CtY**, **ICN**, **ICU**, **IU**, **MH**, **MnU**, **NN**, **NNC**, **TxAG**, **TxU**.
913. Vocal magazine. 1778.
- CtY** (nos. 1-9, 1778), **DLC** (nos. 1-9), **NIC** (nos. 1-9), **NN** (nos. 1-9, words only).
914. Vocal magazine. James Sibbald. Edinburgh, 1797-99. m.
- MH**.
- Walker's Hibernian magazine. *See* Hibernian magazine.
915. Wanderer. John Fox and Daniel Hanchet. Nos. 1-26, Feb. 9-Aug. 1, 1717. w.
- CtY** (rep. 1718).
916. Watchman. S. T. Coleridge. Bristol, nos. 1-10, Mar. 1-May 13, 1796. w.
- CtY**, **DLC** (nos. 1-5, Mar. 1-Apr. 2, 1796), **MH**.

- 916a. Weekly account; or, Perfect diurnall of some passages in both Houses of Parliament and from other parts of this kingdome. No. 1, June 10, 1643.
CtY.
- 916b. Weekly account. *Continued as* Perfect weekly account (from no. 18, May 5, 1647). Sept. 6, 1643–June 23, 1647.
TxU (Nov. 20, 1644; July 2, 1645; Feb. 19, July 28, Sept. 3, 1646).
917. Weekly advertisements of things lost and stollen, with catalogue of books newly come forth. 1669. w.
CSH (nos. 1-2, Jan. 1669).
918. Weekly amusement; or, An useful and agreeable miscellany of literary entertainments. 1763-67. w.
CtY (Dec. 24, 1763–Dec. 26, 1767), **ICU** (Jan. 5, 1765–Dec. 26, 1766), **TxU** (Aug. 4–Dec. 29, 1764).
919. Weekly amusement; or, The universal magazine. 1734-35. w.
CtY (nos. 1-15, Nov. 9, 1734–Feb. 15, 1735; 31-45, June 7–Sept. 13, 1735), **ICU** (v. 1-3, Nov. 1734–Sept. 1735), **WH** (v. 1, no. 1–v. 3, no. 45, Nov. 9, 1734–Sept. 13, 1735).
920. Weekly amusement; or, Universal magazine; containing essays . . . from the Craftsman, Fog, the Grub-Street journal, Prompter, and other weekly papers. Dublin, 1735. w.
CSH (no. 1, 1735), **CtY** (nos. 1-2, 1735).
921. Weekly comedy; or, The humours of a coffee-house. Edward Ward. 1707-08. w.
MH (nos. 1-14, Aug. 13–Nov. 14, 1707).
922. Weekly discoverer stripp'd naked. B. Harris. 1681. w.
TxU (nos. 1-5, Feb. 16–Mar. 16, 1681).
923. Weekly discovery of the mystery of iniquity, in the rise, growth, methods and ends of the unnatural rebellion in England. 1681. w.
CSH (nos. 1-8, 11-30, Feb. 5–Aug. 27, 1681), **CtY** (nos. 1-30), **DLC**, **MH** (nos. 1-30), **NN** (Apr. 30–July 2, 16–Aug. 6, 1681).
924. Weekly entertainer; or, Agreeable and instructive repository. Sherborne, 1784+. w. *Cf.* no. 937.
DLC (1798-99).
925. Weekly essay; or, Middlesex journal. 1737-38. w.
CtY (nos. 1-19, Nov. 5, 1737–Mar. 11, 1738).
926. Weekly intelligencer of the Commonwealth. Richard Collings(?). July 23, 1650–Sept. 25, 1655. w.
CtY (no. 131, Aug. 9, 1653).

927. Weekly journal; or, British gazetteer, being the freshest advices foreign and domestick. *Continued as* Read's weekly journal; or, British gazetteer (from Aug. 15, 1730); as London spy and Read's weekly journal (from May 9, 1761). George Read. 1715-61. w.
CtY (Apr. 16, June 25, July 23, Aug. 20, 27, 31, 1715; Jan. 17, 1719-Dec. 31, 1720; Aug. 12, 1721; Jan. 19, Apr. 6, 1723; June 12, 1731-Dec. 30, 1732; July 18-Dec. 20, 1761), **DLC** (nos. 471-692, Mar. 30, 1734-Dec. 10, 1737), **MH** (Mar. 29, Apr. 12, 1718; Nov. 14, 1719; Jan. 9-Feb. 27, Mar. 12-Apr. 9, 23-May 7, June 11, Sept. 10-Oct. 22, Nov. 26, Dec. 31, 1720; Jan. 21, 1721), **NN** (May 7, July 30, Oct. 22, 1715; Sept. 10, 1720; Jan. 4-Feb. 15, Mar. 1-22, Apr. 5-Aug. 2, 23, Sept. 13-20, Oct. 4, 18, Nov. 1, 22-Dec. 27, 1729; Mar. 21, 1730; Jan. 2-Dec. 25, 1731; Jan. 1-Apr. 1, 1732), **TxU** (Mar. 10, May 12, 1716).
928. Weekly journal; or, Saturday's post, with fresh advices foreign and domestick. *Continued as* Mist's weekly journal (from May 1, 1725, with new numbering); as Fog's weekly journal (from Sept. 28, 1728, with new numbering). N. Mist. Dec. 15, 1716-Oct. 22, 1737. w.
 Portions reprinted in A collection of miscellany letters selected out of Mist's weekly journal, 1722, and in Select letters taken from Fog's weekly journal, 1732.
CtY (Jan. 30, 1720-Oct. 19, 1723; Jan. 11-Dec. 26, 1724; Jan. 2-Apr. 24, 1725; June 25-Oct. 29, 1726; Jan. 14, 1727-Sept. 14, 1728; Sept. 28, 1728-Dec. 27, 1729; Jan. 3-Dec. 26, 1730; Jan. 2, 1731-Dec. 30, 1732; Feb. 10, July 14, Oct. 27, 1733; Jan. 5, 1734-Dec. 25, 1736; also Select letters), **DLC** (Select letters), **ICU** (Collection and Select letters), **MB** (1716-25, 1728, 1729), **MnU** (Select letters), **NN** (Apr. 16, 1720; May 29, 1736), **PPL** (Collection and Select letters), **TxAG** (July 7, 1733-Jan. 4, 1735, inc.; also Select letters), **TxU** (Feb. 9, 1716/7-Dec. 28, 1723, almost complete; Jan. 2-Apr. 24, 1725; scattering numbers between May 1, 1725 and Dec. 28, 1728; Jan. 4-Mar. 22, 1729; also Collection).
- 928a. Weekly journal with fresh advices foreign and domestick. Robert Mawson. 1715. w.
TxU (nos. 42, Oct. 22, 1715; 46, Nov. 19, 1715; also Supplement to the Weekly journal, Nov. 16, 1715).
929. Weekly magazine; or, Gentleman and lady's polite companion. 1760. w.
CSH (nos. 1-4).
930. Weekly magazine and historical register. Dublin, 1793. w.
DLC (v. 1, no. 4, inc., n. d.; v. 1, no. 6, Mar. 9, 1793).

931. Weekly magazine and literary review. 1758. w.
CtY (nos. 1-16, Apr. 15-July 29, 1758).
932. Weekly magazine; or, Edinburgh amusement. *Continued as* Edinburgh magazine; or, Literary amusement (from Dec. 30, 1779); *as* Edinburgh weekly magazine (from July 3, 1783). *Ed.* Walter Ruddiman. Edinburgh, 1768-84. w.
CtY (v. 1-14, July 7, 1768-Dec. 26, 1771; 16-23, Apr. 2, 1772-Mar. 24, 1774; 30-60, Dec. 7, 1775-June 17, 1784), DLC (v. 1, July 7-Sept. 29, 1768; 27, Dec. 30, 1774-Mar. 23, 1775; 29-32, July 27, 1775-Apr. 11, 1776; 33, June 27-Sept. 19, 1776), NN (v. 10, Oct. 4-Dec. 20, 1770; 14-15, Oct. 17, 1771-Mar. 19, 1772; 19-20, Jan. 1-Apr. 29, 1773; 31-33, Feb. 15-July 25, 1776, inc.), PU (v. 34, Oct.-Dec. 1776), WH (v. 1-20, July 7, 1768-June 24, 1773; 23-28, Dec. 30, 1773-June 22, 1775).
933. Weekly medley; or, The gentleman's recreation. 1718-20. w.
TxU (nos. 1-27, July 26, 1718-Jan. 24, 1719, lacking no. 23).
934. Weekly memorials for the ingenious; or, An account of books lately set forth in several languages, with other accounts relating to arts and sciences. *Published by* Henry Faithorne and John Kersey. Nos. 1-50, Jan. 16, 1682-Jan. 15, 1683 (with two issues of no. 9). w.
CSH, CtY, DLC, ICN, ICU (lacking nos. 15, 19, 20), IU, IWS, MH, MHi, NjP, NIC (no. 44), NNC, PPL.
935. Weekly memorials for the ingenious; or, An account of books lately set forth in several languages, with other accounts relating to arts and sciences. *Published by* R. Chiswell, etc. Nos. 1-29, Mar. 20-Sept. 25, 1682. w.
The text of no. 1 of this periodical is the same as that of no. 10 of the preceding; nos. 2-29 constitute an independent periodical.
CSH (nos. 1-7, 10-29), NjP.
936. Weekly memorials; or, An account of books lately set forth, with other accounts relating to learning. 1688. w.
CSH (no. 1, Jan. 19, 1688).
Weekly miscellany, giving an account of the religion, morality, and learning of the present times. . . . *See* Miscellany. . . .
- 936a. Weekly miscellany of instruction and entertainment. *Continued as* Phoenix; or, Weekly miscellany improv'd (from 1792); *as* Asylum; or, Weekly miscellany (from 1794). Glasgow, 1789-96. w.
NN (v. 3-4, July 10, 1793-July 2, 1794).

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937. Weekly miscellany; or, Instructive entertainer. Sherborne, 1773-83. w. Cf. no. 924.
CtY (v. 1-5, [1773-75]).
938. Weekly museum. 1788(?) - 95(?). w.
NNC (v. 7, nos. 348-88, Jan. 10-Dec. 5, 1795).
Weekly observator. See Mercurius reformatus; or, The new observator.
939. Weekly oracle; or, Universal library. 1734-37. w.
CtY (nos. 1-2, 7-14, 16-23, 25-53, 56-58, Dec. 7, 1734-Jan. 16, 1736).
940. Weekly packet. 1712-21. w.
MH (nos. 90-443, lacking nos. 172, 315, 316, 319, 328, 329, 332, 336, 337, 432), TxU (nos. 179, Dec. 10, 1715; 451, Feb. 25, 1721).
941. Weekly packet of advice from Geneva. 1681. w.
TxU (nos. 1-2, May 20-26, 1681).
942. Weekly packet of advice from Geneva. 1683. w.
CSH (nos. 1-6, 1683).
943. Weekly packet of advice from Germany; or, The history of the reformation of religion there. 1679-80. w.
NNC (nos. 1-16, Sept. 3-Dec. 17, 1679).
Weekly packet of advice from Rome. See Pacquet of advice from Rome.
Weekly post. See Faithful post.
944. Weekly post. D. Border(?). 1659-60. w.
CtY (nos. 32-33, Dec. 13-20, 1659; 35, Jan. 3, 1660), MnU (no. 42, Feb. 21, 1660).
945. Weekly register; or, Universal journal. 1730-34(?). w.
CtY (May 22, June 5, 1731; Jan. 6, 1733).
946. Weekly remarks and political reflections upon the most material news, foreign and domestick. 1715-16. w.
TxU (nos. 1-11, Dec. 3, 1715-Feb. 11, 1716).
947. Weekly review of the affairs of France, purg'd from the errors and partiality of news-writers and petty-statesmen, of all sides. Continued as Review of the affairs of France . . . (from no. 8, Apr. 1, 1704); as Review of the affairs of France, with some observations on transactions at home (from v. 2, no. 1, Feb. 27, 1705); as Review of the state of the English nation (from v. 3, no. 1, Jan. 1, 1706); as Review of the state of the British nation (from v. 4, no. 12, Mar. 8, 1707). Daniel Defoe. V. 1-9, Feb. 19, 1704-June 11, 1713. w.; s. w. (from

v. 1, no. 7); t. w. (from v. 3, no. 1, Jan. 1, 1706). There were two important supplements: (1) A supplementary journal to the advice from the Scandal. Club (with no. 2 entitled: A supplement to the advice from the Scandal. Club), nos. 1-5, Sept. 1704-Jan. 1705; and (2) The little review; or, An inquisition of scandal: consisting in answers of questions and doubts, remarks, observation and reflection, nos. 1-23, June 6-Aug. 22, 1705. The first appeared monthly; the second semi-weekly.

CSH (v. 4, no. 6, Feb. 22, 1706; v. 6, nos. 30, 87, 148, June 11, Oct. 25, 1709, Mar. 18, 1710; v. 7, nos. 1, 8, 10, 14, 20, 47, 49, 52, 56, 61, 64-65, 67, 70-72, 74-76, 79, 80, 85, 87, 96-99, 101-02, 106-12, 114-16, 121, 123-24, 126-28, 130-31, 133-35, 137, Mar. 28, 1710-Feb. 8, 1711), **CtY** (v. 1-3, Feb. 19, 1704-Feb. 6, 1706; v. 5, no. 124, Jan. 11, 1709; v. 6-7, 1709-1711), **IWS** (v. 1-8, lacking v. 8, nos. 142, 159-61; v. 6, Edinburgh rep.; also Supplementary journal . . . and Little review, both complete), **MH** (v. 1-2, Feb. 19, 1704-Dec. 27, 1705), **TxU** (v. 1-4, 6-7; 1-4, 6, Edinburgh rep.; also Supplementary journal . . . , nos. 1-5, Oct. 1704-Jan. 1705).

Weekly test-paper. *See* Test-paper.

948. Weekly visions of the late popish plot. T. Benskin. 1681. **NN** (nos. 1-3, 5-7, Apr.-June, 1681), **TxU** (nos. 1-7, n. d. [impr. 1681]).

Weekly Worcester journal. *See* Worcester postman.

Western county magazine. *See* County magazine.

Westminster gazette. *See* English gazette.

949. Westminster journal and London miscellany. 1782-96. w. **IU** (1782, 1784-87, 1789-90, 1794-96, inc.).
950. Westminster journal; or, New weekly miscellany. 1741+. w. **CtY** (nos. 643, 644, 691, 709, 729, May 4, 1754-Dec. 27, 1755), **NN** Oct. 27, 1744).
951. Westminster magazine; or, The pantheon of taste. V. 1-13, 1773-85. m. **CtY** (v. 1-10, 1773-82; 12-13, 1784-85), **DLC** (v. 4, 6, 8 inc., 10), **MB** (v. 11), **MH** (v. 5, 12 inc.), **MHi** (Jan. 1779; July 1783), **NJP** (v. 1), **NN** (v. 4-7, 8 inc., 9 inc., 10 inc., 11 inc.), **NNC** (v. 1-9, 11), **PPL**, **PU** (v. 9-10), **WH** (v. 1, 5-6, 11 inc., 13).
952. Westminster projects. 1648. **CSH** (nos. 5-6).
953. What d'ye call it. 1733. w. **CtY** (no. 2, Dec. 1, 1733).

955. Whig examiner. Addison. Nos. 1-5, Sept. 14-Oct. 12, 1710. w.
CtY (rep. 1712), DLC, ICU (rep. 1789), IU (reps. 1712, 1789), MH (Sept. 14-Oct. 5, 1710), NIC, NNC, PPL, TxU (rep. 1789).
956. Whisperer. Ed. William Moore. Nos. 1-100, Feb. 17, 1770-Jan. 11, 1772. w.
CtY, DLC, ICU (nos. 3-38, Mar. 28-Apr. 11, 1770), IU (Feb. 17-June 30, 1770), MH, NN, NNC (nos. 1-8, Feb. 17-Apr. 7, 1770), TxU (no. 12, May 5, 1770), WH.
957. Whitehall evening-post. 1718-1800(?). t. w.
CtY (1720, 1722, 1733-34, 1736, 1746-48, 1754-55, 1765-80, inc.), IEK (1723, 1726-31, a good file), MB (Feb. 28-Sept. 2, 1721), NN (nos. 359-62, 364-65, 371, 376, 389-90, 410, 421, 465, 506-07, 509-10, 525, 527-29, 531-33, 546, 547, Dec. 29, 1720-Mar. 13, 1722; May 21, 1737), TxU (nos. 383, 506, 525, 529, 630, Feb. 25, 1721-Sept. 22, 1722; also suppl. to no. 525, Jan. 22, 1722).
958. Whitehall evening-post; or, London intelligencer. 1746+. t. w.
CtY (1747, 1748, inc.), TxU (Aug. 6, 1755; May 26, 1756; Jan. 24, Oct. 23, 1760; Jan. 8, 11, 1763).
960. Wit's magazine; or, Library of Momus. Ed. Thomas Holcroft. 1784-85. m.
CSH, CtY (v. 1-2, Feb. 1784-Apr. 1785), DLC (v. 1-2, 1784-85), ICN, ICU, MH (v. 1-2, Jan. 1784-May 1785).
961. Woman's almanack. 1731.
PPL.
962. Wonderful and lamentable newes. . . . 1624.
NN (Oct. 11, 1624, rep.).
963. Wonderful magazine and marvellous chronicle; or, New weekly entertainer. 1793-94. w.
NN (v. 1-2, 4-5, n. d.), WH.
Worcester journal. See Worcester postman.
964. Worcester postman. Continued as Worcester post; or, Western journal (from 1722); as Weekly Worcester journal (from 1725), as Worcester journal (from 1748); as Berrow's Worcester journal (from 1753). Worcester, 1709+.
TxU (no. 247, Mar. 19, 1714).
965. Works of the learned. J. de la Crose. 1691-92. m.
CtY (Jan.-Feb. 1692), DLC (v. 1, Aug. 1691-Apr. 1692), ICN (v. 1, nos. 8-10, Aug.-Oct. 1691).

966. **World.** Edward Moore, assisted by Horace Walpole, Chesterfield, R. O. Cambridge, and others. Nos. 1-209, Jan. 4, 1753-Dec. 30, 1756. w.
CSt (nos. 1-52), CtY (also rep. 1767, and A world extraordinary, n. d.), DLC, ICN, MH (lacking no. 208), NN, NNC (also reps. 1763, 1793, 1794), PP, PPAP, PU (Jan. 4, 1753-Apr. 22, 1756), TxU (rep. 1755-57), WH.
967. **World:** fashionable advertiser. *Continued as* World (from no. 272, Nov. 27, 1787). Nos. 1-2342, Jan. 1, 1787-June 30, 1794. d.
CtY (May 29, 1789; May 11, 13-15, 1790; May 7, 1792).
968. **York chronicle and weekly advertiser.** *Continued as* Etherington's York chronicle (from Jan. 1774); as Etherington's York chronicle and northern flying post (from Jan. [?] 1777); as York chronicle and general advertiser (from Feb. 1777). York, 1772+. w.
CtY (Dec. 18, 1772-Dec. 21, 1773).
969. **Young gentleman's and lady's magazine.** V. 1-2, 1799-1800. m.
CtY, DLC, MB.
970. **Young gentleman's magazine; or, Monthly repository of science, moral and entertaining matter.** 1777.
CtY (v. 1, Jan.-June 1777).

II. BRITISH PERIODICALS, 1620-1800, NOT FOUND IN AMERICAN LIBRARIES

Difficulties in numbering have caused a few items which were added after the index had been made and the bibliography put in type to be entered slightly out of alphabetical order.

- 1001. Aberdeen intelligencer. Aberdeen, Oct. 3, 1752-Feb. 22, 1757. w. Incorporated with the Aberdeen journal, 1757.
- 1002. Aberdeen's journal. *Continued as* Aberdeen journal (from no. 9). Aberdeen, 1748+. w. Absorbed Aberdeen intelligencer, 1757.
- 1003. Aberdeen magazine, literary chronicle, and review. Aberdeen, 1788-91. f. (to Dec. 30, 1790); m. (June-Nov. 1791).
- 1004. Aberdeen magazine; or, Universal repository. Aberdeen, 1796-98. m.
- 1006. Abstract and brief chronicle of the time. 1782.
- 1007. Account of the chief occurrences of Ireland. W. Bladen. Dublin, no. [5], Mar. 13-19, 1660.
- 1008. Acta Germanica; or, The memoires of Germany. 1742.
- 1009. Actor. 1789.
- 1010. Advertiser. Greenock, 1799+.
- 1010a. Advice from Parnassus, by Trojano Boccalini . . . with observations, reflections, and notes. No. 1, Mar. 1727. m.
- 1011. Adviser. 1762.
- 1012. Advocate. No. 1, Feb. 17, 1725.
- 1013. African Association proceedings. 1790.
- 1014. Agreeable companion. 1745.
- 1015. Agreeable miscellany; or, Something to please every man's taste. Kendal, 1745. f.
- 1015a. Albion and evening advertiser. No. 106, Jan. 9, 1800.
- 1016. All-alive and merry; or, The London daily post. 1741-43.
- 1017. Alston miscellany. Aldstone, 1799+.
- 1018. Amsterdam slip. 1697.

1019. *Anatomist*. 1747.
- 1019a. *Anbury's weekly journal*. Dublin, 1727.
1020. *Ancient and modern library*. 1714.
1021. *Annual anthology*. Bristol and London, 1799-1800.
1022. *Anomaliae*. Whitby, 1797-98.
1023. *Anti-aulicus*. No. 1, Feb. 6, 1644.
1024. *Anti-Gallican and anti-levelling songster*, being a selection of curious political songs. 1793.
- 1024a. *Arbroath magazine*. Arbroath, 1799.
- Archer's Bath chronicle. See Bath chronicle and weekly Gazette.
1026. *Armies intelligencer*. No. 1, Aug. 5, 1651.
1027. *Armies modest intelligencer*. Continued as *Armies weekly intelligencer* (from no. 4, Feb. 15, 1649). 1649. w.
1028. *Armies painfull-messenger*. No. 1, Aug. 2, 1649.
1029. *Armies post*. No. 1, July 8, 1647.
- Armies scout. See Faithful scout. 1651-55.
- Armies weekly intelligencer. 1649. See Armies modest intelligencer.
1030. *Army list*. 1800. m.
- 1030a. *Asiatic researches: or, Transactions of the Society, instituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the history and antiquities, the arts, sciences and literature of Asia*. 1799+.
1031. *Association papers*, for 1793. 1793(?).
1032. *Associator*. 1792.
- Astrological observator. See Infallible astrologer.
1034. *Athenian news; or, Dunton's oracle*. 1710.
1035. *Athenian spy*. 1704.
- 1035a. *Athlone herald*. Athlone, 1785+.
- 1035b. *Athlone sentinel*. Athlone, 1798+.
1036. *Aurora, and universal advertiser*. 1781.
1037. *Aurora; or, The dawn of genuine truth*. 1799-1800.
1038. *Aylesbury journal*. Aylesbury, 1762.
1039. *Ayre's Sunday London gazette*. 1795.
1040. *Baker's news; or, The Whitehall journal*. No. 1, May 24, 1722. w.

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1041. Balm of Gilead; or, The healer of divisions. 1714.
1042. Batchelor; or, Speculations of Jeoffrey Wagstaffe, Esq. 1766-68. w.
1043. Bath advertiser. *Continued as* Bath chronicle (from 1760). Stephen Martin. Bath, 1755+.
Bath and Bristol chronicle. *See* Bath chronicle and weekly gazette.
- 1043a. Bath and Bristol magazine. Bath (?), 1776.
1044. Bath and west of England Agricultural Society. Correspondence. 1780+.
Bath chronicle. 1760. *See* Bath advertiser.
Bath chronicle. 1770. *See* Bath chronicle and weekly gazette.
- 1044a. Bath chronicle and weekly gazette. *Continued as* Pope's Bath chronicle (from Nov. 1761); *as* Archer's Bath chronicle (from Aug. 1768); *as* Bath and Bristol chronicle (from Sept. 1768); *as* Bath chronicle (from Sept. 1770). Bath, 1760+.
- 1044b. Bath courant. Gye and Salmon. Bath, 1773-(?).
- 1044c. Bath gazette. Bath, 1778.
Bath herald. *See* Bath herald and general advertiser.
1045. Bath herald and general advertiser. *Absorbed* Bath register and general advertiser (in 1793); *continued as* Bath herald and register (from 1793); *as* Bath herald (from 1800). Meyler. Bath, 1792+.
Bath herald and register. *See* Bath herald and general advertiser.
1046. Bath miscellany for the year. . . . Bath, 1741.
- 1046a. Bath register and general advertiser. J. Johnson. Bath, 1792-93. *See also* Bath herald and general advertiser.
- 1046b. Bee and Sketchley's weekly advertiser. Bristol, 1777.
- 1046c. Bee. 1715.
1047. Belfast mercury; or, Freeman's chronicle. Belfast, 1784-86.
1049. Best and most perfect intelligencer. No. 1, Aug. 8, 1650.
- 1049a. Bibliotheca biblica. 1717. m.
- 1049b. Bibliotheca curiosa. 1708.
1050. Bibliotheca universalis. Edinburgh, 1688.

1051. Bingley's journal; or, The universal gazette. 1770-75.
1052. Birch. Oxford, 1795-96.
- 1052a. Birmingham journal. Birmingham, 1732(?).
1053. Birmingham register; or, Entertaining museum. Birmingham, 1764-65.
1056. Bonner and Middleton's Bristol journal. Bristol, 1774+.
1057. Bon-ton magazine. 1791-93.
- 1057b. Boston weekly journal. Boston, 1731-39.
1058. Bouquet; or, Blossoms of fancy. 1795(?)-96.
1059. Brice's weekly journal. A. Brice. Exeter, 1725-31(?).
- 1059a. Brighton guide. Brighton, 1797(?).
1060. Bristol and Bath magazine. Bristol, 1782-83.
- 1060a. Bristol, Bath, and Somersetshire journal. Bristol, no. 68, 1743.
1061. Bristol chronicle; or, Universal mercantile register [slight changes of title]. *Printed by* John Grabham and William Pine. Bristol, 1760-61.
 Bristol journal. *See* F. Farley's Bristol journal *and* Sam Farley's Bristol post man.
1062. Bristol journal extraordinary. Bristol, Apr. 8, 1776.
- 1062a. Bristol mirror. Bristol, 1773.
- 1062b. Bristol mercury, and universal advertiser. Bulgin and Rosser. Bristol, 1790+.
- 1062c. Bristol mercury. Bristol, 1747(?)-49.
- 1062d. Bristol mercury from Holland, France and Spain. Bristol, 1715-16(?).
1063. Bristol oracle, and country intelligencer. *Continued under different titles such as* Bristol oracle and country advertiser, Bristol oracle and weekly miscellany, *and* Oracle county advertiser. Andrew Hooke. Bristol, 1743(?)-49.
1064. Bristol post-boy. *Printed and sold by* W. Bonny. Bristol, no. 91, Aug. 12, 1704-1712.
1065. Bristol postman. Bristol, 1712-25. w.
- 1065a. Bristol times. Bristol, 1735.

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- 1065b. Bristol weekly intelligencer. *Printed by E. Ward.* Bristol, 1749-58(?).
- 1066. Bristol weekly mercury. Bristol, 1715-16.
- 1067. Britaines remembrancer. 1644.
- 1068. Britain's genius; or, The weekly correspondent. 1718.
- 1069. Britanicus vapulans. *Possibly continued as Mercurius urbanus* (from no. 2, Nov. 9, 1643). 1643.
- 1070. British censor. 1738.
- 1071. British chronicle. *Printed by James Palmer.* Kelso, 1783(?)+. w.
- 1072. British chronicle; or, Pugh's Hereford journal. Hereford, v. 3, 1773+.
- 1072a. British courant; or, Preston journal. Preston, 1745-(?).
- 1074. British harlequin. 1720.
- 1074a. British intelligencer; or, Universal advertiser. No. 10, May 23, 1743.
- 1075. British merchant; or, A review of the trade of Great Britain. 1719.
- 1076. British mercury. 1710-12.
- 1077. British mercury, . . . to which is now added The priests of Apollo. 1787-88.
- 1078. British miscellany. 1779-(?).
- 1079. British observator. 1733-34.
- 1080. British physician. 1716.
British spy; or, Derby postman. *See Derby postman.*
- 1080a. British spy; or, New universal London weekly journal. Nos. 234-35, Aug. 14-21, 1756.
- 1081. British spy; or, Weekly journal. 1725.
- 1082. British theatre. 1800+.
- 1083. Briton. Newark, 1793.
- 1084. Burnisher. 1800+. w.
- 1084a. Bury and Norwich post. P. Gedge. Bury St. Edmunds, 1782(?)+.
- 1085. Busy body. 1742.
- 1086. Busy body. Oliver Goldsmith and others. 1759.
- 1087. Busy body. 1787.

- 1088. *Busy body*. V. 2, 1789.
- 1089. *Cabinet*. 1792.
- 1090. *Cabinet magazine*; or, *Literary olio*. 1796-97.
- 1091. *Caledonian chronicle*. Edinburgh, 1792-93.
- 1092. *Caledonian gazetteer*. Edinburgh, 1776. t. w.
- 1093. *Caledonian magazine and review*. Perth, Mar. 1783. f.
- 1094. *Caledonian magazine*; or, *Aberdeen repository*. *Ed.* A. Leighton. Aberdeen, Oct. 6, 1786-Oct. 5, 1787. f.
- 1095. *Caledonian magazine*; or, *Aberdeen repository*. *Ed.* Andrew Shirreffs. Aberdeen, v. 1-5, Jan. 1788-Dec. 1790. m.
- 1095a. *Cambridge chronicle*. Cambridge, 1744.
- 1095b. *Cambridge chronicle and journal*. Cambridge, no. 376, Jan. 6, 1770-1792(?).
- 1096. *Cambridge journal*. Cambridge, 1746-60.
- 1096a. *Carey's Waterford packet*. Waterford, 1791.
- 1097. *Casket*; or, *Hesperian magazine*. Cork, 1797-98.
- 1098. *Casuist*. 1719-20. w.
- 1099. *Cavalier's diurnal*. 1644.
- 1100. *Censor*; or, *Mustermaster-General of all the newspapers*. No. 2, Apr. 6, 1726. w.
- 1101. *Censor*; or, *The citizens journal*; by Frank Somebody, Esq. James Esdall. Dublin, v. 1, nos. 1-27, June 3, 1749-May 5, 1750. w.
- 1102. *Certain passages of every dayes intelligence*. May 19 and July 20, 1654.
- 1103. *Certain passages of every day's intelligence*. No. 1, Sept. 7, 1655.
- 1104. *Character of Mercurius politicus*. 1650.
- 1105. *Chester chronicle*. Chester, 1775-92(?).
- 1105a. *Chester courant*. Chester, 1730-33.
- 1106. *Chester weekly journal*. Chester, no. 174, Sept. 3, 1724. Perhaps the same as no. 1107.
- 1107. *Chester weekly journal*. William Cooke. Chester, 1725(?). See no. 1106.
- 1108. *Chiefe heads of each dayes proceedings in Parliament*. No. 1, May 8-15, 1644.

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1109. Chit-chat. Steele(?). 1716. w.
1110. Christian history; or, A general account of the progress of the gospel in England, Wales, Scotland, and America, so far as the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, his fellow-labourers, and assistants are concerned. 1740-(?).
1111. Christian priest. 1720.
1112. Christian's amusement. 1740-41. w.
1113. Christian's magazine; or, Gospel repository. 1790-92.
1114. Church-man. No. 1, Oct. 29, 1718.
- 1114a. Churchman; or, Loyalist's weekly journal. 1726-27.
- 1114b. Churchman; or, Loyalist's weekly journal. 1719-20.
1115. Church Missionary Society report. 1795+.
- 1115a. Cirencester flying post and weekly miscellany. Cirencester, nos. 42-164, Oct. 5, 1741-Feb. 6, 1744.
1116. Cirencester post; or, Gloucestershire mercury. Cirencester, 1719(?)-1720(?).
1117. Citizen. *Published by* N. Mist. 1716. s. w.
1118. Citizen. *Published by* J. Roberts. 1727.
1119. Citizen. Edinburgh, 1764.
1120. Citizen. 1788. w.
1121. Citizen; or, The weekly conversation of a society of London merchants on trade and other publick affairs. 1739. w.
1122. Citties weekly post. 1645-46.
1124. City mercury: from the office at the Royal Exchange. 1680.
1125. City mercury; or, Advertisements concerning trade. 1675-76.
1126. City mercury, published (gratis) every Monday for the promotion of trade. Thomas Howkins. 1692-94 (?).
City scout. *See* Heads of some notes of the citie scout.
1127. Civic sermons to the people. Dundee, 1792.
- 1127a. Clare journal. Ennis, 1778+.
1128. Clerical review; or, Impartial report of sermons. Edinburgh, 1800. w.
1129. Club. 1723.

- 1129a. Coffee-house mercury; containing all the remarkable events that have happened. *Printed by J. Astwood.* Nov. 4, 1690.
- 1129b. Coffee-house morning post. Apr. 28, 1729.
- 1130. Colchester spie. 1648.
Collins's weekly journal. *See* Loyal observator revived; or, Gaylard's journal.
- 1131. Comical observer. No. 1, Nov. 7, 1704.
- 1132. Comick magazine; or, Compleat library of mirth. 1796.
- 1133. Commentator. 1720. s. w.
- 1133a. Compendio mercuriale. Feb. 24-29, 1691.
- 1134. Compleat courtier; or, The morals of Tacitus. 1700.
- 1134a. Compleat linguist; or, An universal grammar of all the considerable tongues in being. No. 6, for the months March, April, and May, 1720.
- 1135. Complete magazine. 1764.
- 1136. Comptroller. No. 1, Sept. 20, 1759.
- 1137. Condoler, 1709.
- 1138. Conjurer. Edinburgh, no. 11, Jan. 16, 1736.
- 1138a. Connaught gazette. Loughrea, 1797.
- 1138b. Connaught mercury; or, Universal register. Loughrea, no. 64, May 24, 1770.
- 1139. Constitutional chronicle. Bristol. 1780-82. w.
- 1140. Constitutional guardian. 1770.
- 1141. Constitutional letters. Edinburgh, 1792.
- 1142. Constitutional magazine; or, Complete treasure of politics and literature. 1768-69.
- 1142a. Continuation of certain speciall and remarkable passages, informed to the Parliament, from the army and otherwise from divers parts of the kingdome. Nos. 1-13, July 17-Sept. 17, 1647.
- 1143. Continuation of certaine speciall and remarkable passages. *Printed for Marke Wallace and later for John White.* No. 1, Oct. 14, 1642.
- 1143a. Continuation of certaine speciall and remarkable passages from both Houses of Parliament and other parts of the kingdome. *Printed for John White.* 3 nos., Nov. 11-24, 1642.

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- 1143b. Continuation of certaine speciall and remarkable passages from both Houses of Parliament and other parts of the kingdome. *Printed for I. Coule.* Nov. 24, 1642.
- 1144. Continuation of our weekly news from the 30 of December to the 5 of January, printed for Mercurius Britannicus [Thomas Archer(?)]. No. 2, Jan. 5, 1625-26. Imperial and Spanish newes, printed by Mercurius Britannicus, 1626, may be part of this journal. *Cf.* Nichols, *Literary anecdotes*, IV, 39.
Continuation of remarkable passages. *See* Remarkable passages.
- 1146. Continuation of the true diurnall. No. 1, Aug. 15, 1642.
- 1147. Continuation of the true diurnall occurrences in Parliament. Edinburgh, 1642.
- 1147a. Continuation of the weekly occurrences in Parliament. May 16-23, 1642.
- 1148. Continuation of true and special passages. *Printed for William Cook.* No. 1, Sept. 29, 1642.
- 1149. Continued heads of perfect passages. 1649.
- 1150. Controller, being a sequel to the Examiner. J. Morphew. 1714-15. w.
- 1151. Convivial magazine and polite intelligencer. 1775.
- 1152. Corante; or, News from Italy, Germany, Hungaria, Polonia, France and Dutchland. Adrian Clarke. The Hague, Aug. 10, 1621.
[Coranto]. M. H. *See* Newes from the Low Countries.
- 1153. [Corantos of various titles]. *Printed by George Veseler.* Amsterdam, 1620-21.
- 1154. [Corantos of various titles]. Nathaniel Butter, alone or in collaboration with one or more of the following: Thomas Archer, Nicholas Bourne, Bartholomew Downes, and William Sheffard. 1621-32.
- 1155. [Corantos of various titles]. Broer Jonson. Amsterdam, 1621.
- 1156. [Corantos of various titles]. Thomas Archer, alone or with either Nicholas Bourne or Bartholomew Downes. 1622.
- 1157. [Corantos of various titles]. Nath. Newbery, alone or with William Sheffard. 1622.
- 1157a. Cork news letter. Cork, 1723-25.

- 1157b. Cork advertiser; or, Commercial advertiser. Cork, 1799.
- 1157c. Cork chronicle; or, Free intelligencer. Cork, 1764-68.
- 1157d. Cork chronicle; or, Universal register. Cork, 1764.
- 1157e. Cork courier. Cork, 1794.
- 1157f. Cork evening post. *Printed by* P. and G. Bagnell. Cork, 1755-74. s. w.
- 1157g. Cork gazette. Cork, 1793-94.
- 1157h. Cork gazetteer; or, General advertiser. Cork, 1789-97.
- 1157i. Cork general advertiser. Cork, 1776-78.
- 1157j. Cork herald; or, Munster advertiser. Cork, 1798.
- 1157k. Cork journal. Cork, 1778.
- 1157l. Cork packet. Cork, 1793.
- 1157m. Cork weekly journal. Cork, 1779-80.
1158. Cornucopia. 1766.
1159. Correspondence française; ou, Tableau de l'Europe. *Continued as* Correspondence politique; ou, Tableau de l'Europe (from 1793). *Ed.* J. G. Peltier. 1793-94. t. w.
Correspondence politique; ou, Tableau de l'Europe. *See* Correspondence française; ou, Tableau de l'Europe.
1160. Correspondent. 1731.
1161. Cosmopolitan. Oxford, 1788-(?). f.
1162. Cottager. No. 1, Mar. 17, 1761.
1163. Countrey foot-post. *Continued as* Countrey messenger (from no. 2). No. 1, Oct. 2, 1644.
Countrey messenger. *See* Countrey foot-post.
1164. Country common sense. Gloucester, 1739.
1165. Country gentleman. J. Roberts. 1726. s. w.
- 1165a. Country gentleman. *Printed by* G. Faulkner. Dublin, 1726.
1166. Country gentleman's courant; or, Universal intelligence. No. 1, Oct. 12, 1706-07.
1167. Country messenger; or, The faithful foot post. No. 1, Sept. 20, 1644.
- 1167a. Country oracle. *Published by* T. Cooper. 1741. w.
1168. County chronicle. 1788+.

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- 1168a. County gentleman's courrant. *Published by Morphey.* 1685.
- 1168c. County journal. Dublin, 1735.
- 1168d. Courier de Londres [in French]. (?) - 1792(?). s. w.
- 1169. Courier politique et littéraire; or, French evening post. No. 17, Feb. 27, 1778.
- 1169a. Course of the exchange. 1720-55.
- 1169b. Court spy; including The Christian's gazette, and The lame post. John Dunton, 1713.
- 1170. Covent Garden chronicle. 1768.
- 1171. Covent Garden journal. 1749. m.
- 1171a. Covent Garden monthly recorder. 1792.
- 1172. Covent Garden magazine; or, The amorous repository. 1773.
- 1172a. Coventry mercury. Noah Rollason. Coventry, no. 2728 Apr. 16, 1792+. w.
- 1172b. Coventry, Birmingham, and Worcester chronicle. Coventry, v. 6, no. 289, Sept. 23, 1762-1763(?).
- 1173. Craftsman; or, Say's weekly journal. No. 649, Jan. 5, 1771+.
- 1176. Critical memoirs of the times. 1769.
- 1176a. Cruttwell's Sherborne journal. *Continued as Sherborne journal (from ?); as Dorchester and Sherborne journal and western advertiser (from ?).* Sherborne, 1764+.
- 1177. Cry from the wilderness. 1712.
- 1178. Culler. Glasgow, nos. 1-20, 1795. w.
- 1179. Cumberland chronicle. Whitehaven, 1776-78.
- 1180. Cumberland packet and Ware's Whitehaven advertiser. Whitehaven, 1775(?) +.
- 1181. Curiosity; or, Gentlemen and ladies repository. Lynn Regis, 1740.
- 1181a. Current domestick and foreign intelligence. *Printed by George Croom.* 1682.
- 1182. Curry-comb. Dublin, 1755.
- 1183. Daily benefactor. 1715.
- 1183a. Daily communicant. *Published by P. Gilbourne.* 1698.
- 1184. Daily intelligencer of court, city, and country. 1643.
- 1185. Daily oracle. M. Smith. Nos. 1-17, 1715. d. (to no. 10); t. w.

1186. Daily packet; or, The new London daily post. No. 1, Jan. 20, 1721.
1187. Daily proceedings [*sic*]. No. 1, June 17, 1653.
- 1187a. Dalton's Dublin impartial news-letter. *Printed by* S. Dalton. Dublin, 1734.
1188. Dawks's news-letter. Nos. 277-513, Mar. 26, 1698-Nov. 16, 1706.
1189. Declaration collected out of the journals of both houses of Parliament. No. 1, Dec. 6, 1648.
1190. Delights for the ingenious; or, A monthly entertainment for the curious of both sexes. 1711.
1191. Democritus ridens; or, Comus and Momus. 1681.
- 1191a. Dependent free-thinker. J. Roberts. 1720.
- 1191b. Derby herald; or, Derby, Nottingham, & Leicester advertiser. *Published by* Charles Sambroke Ordoyno. Derby, 1792.
1192. Derby mercury. *Continued as* Drewry's Derby mercury (from 1769?). *Printed by* S. Drewry. Derby, 1732+. w.
1193. Derby postman. *Continued as* British spy; or, Derby postman (from 1726). *Printed by* S. Hodgkinson. Derby, 1719-31 (?).
- 1193a. Derbyshire journal. Derby (?), 1738(?)-(?).
1194. Derrick's leisure hour. 1769.
Derry journal. *See* Londonderry journal.
1195. Detector. 1780.
1196. Detector. Salisbury, 1786-87.
1197. Detector. Dublin, nos. 1-36, Jan. 30-May 20, 1800.
1198. Devil. 1755.
1199. Diarie; or, An exact journall. No. 1, July 17, 1647.
1200. Diary. No. 1, Sept. 29, 1651.
- 1200a. Diary; or, An exact journall of the proceedings of the treaty betwixt the Parliament and the army. Nos. 1-2, July 17-29, 1647.
- 1200b. Dickson's news letter. *Printed for* C. Dickson. Dublin, 1727.
1201. Director. 1720-21.

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1202. Diurnall and particula [*sic*] of the last weekes daily occurrences from his Majesty, in severall places. 1642.
- 1202a. Diurnall occurrences; or, Proceedings in the Parliament the last weeke. Nos. 1-3, Jan. 17-31, 1642.
1203. Diutinus Britanicus. *Continued as Mercurius diutinus* (not Britanicus) (from no. 3). 1646-47.
- 1203a. Diverting post. *Printed by A. Rhames*. Dublin, no. 5, Oct. 1, 1709.
1204. Diverting post. *Printed by A. Rhames*. Dublin, nos. 2-6, Oct. 18-Nov. 22, 1725. w.
1205. Doctor. 1718. s. w.
- 1205a. Doncaster journal. E. Sanderson. Doncaster, (?) - 1792(?). w.
Dorchester and Sherborne journal and western advertiser.
See Cruttwell's Sherborne journal.
1206. Dramatic review; or, Mirror of the stage. 1795.
1207. Dreamer. 1754.
Drewry's Derby mercury. *See Derby mercury*.
- 1207a. Drogheda newsletter. Drogheda, 1769 or 1770(?).
- 1207b. Drogheda journal; or, Meath and Louth advertiser. Drogheda, v. 15, no. 1378, Dec. 13, 1778-1797(?).
1208. Drumfries [*sic*] mercury. Dumfries, 1721. w.
- 1208b. Dublin castle. *Printed by Edward Waters*. Dublin, 1708.
- 1208c. Dublin chronicle. Dublin, v. 3, no. 204, Oct. 7, 1762.
1209. Dublin courant. *Printed by A. Reilly*. Dublin, nos. 1-613, Apr. 24, 1744-Mar. 24, 1750. s. w.
- 1209a. Dublin courant. *Printed by Oliver Nelson*. Dublin, 1740-49(?).
1210. Dublin courant, containing news both foreign and domestick. Dublin, nos. 245-997, Sept. 27, 1718-Dec. 11, 1725. s. w.
1211. Dublin courier. *Printed by James Potts*. Dublin, nos. 201-1423, Jan. 7, 1760-Dec. 30, 1766. s. w.
1212. Dublin daily advertiser. *Printed for James Hamilton and Co., by Ebenezer Rider*. Dublin, v. 1, nos. 8-50, Oct. 14-Dec. 2, 1736. d.
1213. Dublin evening packet. *Printed by Alex McCulloch*. Dublin, v. 1-2, 1770-71.

1214. Dublin evening-post. *Printed by* S. Powell. Dublin, v. 1, no. 1, June 10, 1732+.
- Dublin evening post. *See* Independent Irishman.
- 1214a. Dublin gazette. Dublin, 1689(?).
1215. Dublin gazette. *Printed by* Edw. Sandys. Dublin, no. 129, July 16, 1706+. s. w.
- 1215a. Dublin gazette; or, Weekly courant. *Printed by* Thomas Hume. Dublin, 1703(?)-28(?).
- Dublin impartial news-letter. *See* Walsh's Dublin weekly impartial news-letter.
1216. Dublin intelligence. *Printed by* Andrew Crook. Dublin, nos. 4-152, Oct. 21, 1690-Oct. 14, 1693.
- 1216a. Dublin intelligence, published by authority. *Printed by* John Ray. Dublin, 1690.
- 1216b. Dublin intelligence. *Published by* R. Thornton. Dublin, 1691.
- 1216c. Dublin intelligence. *Printed by* James Carson. Dublin, 1724.
1217. Dublin intelligence, containing a full and impartial account of the foreign and domestick news. *Printed by* Francis Dickson (to 1712); *by* R. Dickson and G. Needham (to 1725). Dublin, nos. 491-2455, Aug. 10, 1708-Dec. 28, 1725. s. w.
1218. Dublin intelligencer. *Printed by* James Hoey. Dublin, June 17, 1756.
- 1218a. Dublin literary journal. Dublin, no. 1, Oct. 1734.
- 1218b. Dublin journal, with advices foreign and domestick. *Printed by* Edward Waters. Dublin, 1729.
- 1218c. Dublin joker. Dublin, 1753.
1219. Dublin magazine. Dublin, 1798-1800.
- 1219a. Dublin mercury. Dublin, no. 1, Jan. 1723.
- 1219b. Dublin mercury. *Printed by* S. Powell. Dublin, 1704-06.
1220. Dublin mercury. *Printed by* Thomas Bacon. Dublin, nos. 2-71, Jan. 26-Sept. 25, 1742. s. w.
1221. Dublin mercury. *Printed by* James Hoey, Jr. Dublin, nos. 1-1006, Mar. 18, 1766-Apr. 1, 1773. s. w.
1222. Dublin mercury, containing a full and impartial account of

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- the foreign and domestick news. *Printed for A. Thiboust.* Dublin, 1722(?) -24. Also supplements. 1723-24.
- 1222b. Dublin packet. *Printed by James Hoey.* Dublin, 1730.
- 1222c. Dublin post boy. *Printed by James Carson.* Dublin, 1729-30.
1223. Dublin post-boy. *Printed by James Hoey.* Dublin, July 25-Aug. 30, 1734. w.
1224. Dublin post-man, containing foreign and domestick news. *Printed by G. Needham.* Dublin, nos. 34-737, Dec. 14, 1724-Dec. 20, 1725. s. w.
- 1224a. Dublin Society. Transactions. Dublin, 1800+.
- 1224b. Dublin Society's weekly observations. Dublin, nos. 1-52, Jan. 4, 1737-Apr. 4, 1738(?).
1225. Dublin spectator. Dublin, v. 1, no. 38, June 1, 1768.
- 1225a. Dublin spy. Dublin, 1753-54.
1226. Dublin weekly intelligence, containing a full and impartial account, of the foreign and domestick news. *Printed by E. Waters.* Dublin, 1710.
1227. Dublin weekly journal. *Printed by James Carson.* Dublin. 1725-33(?).
- 1227a. Dublin weekly journal. Dublin, v. 10, no. 7, Feb. 14, 1795.
1228. Dublin weekly magazine. Dublin, 1778.
1229. Dumfries weekly journal. *Ed.* Provost Jackson. Dumfries, 1777-1800(?). w.
1230. Dumfries weekly magazine. Dumfries, v. 1-18, Mar. 16, 1773-June 24, 1777. w.
1231. Dundee magazine and journal of the times. Dundee, Jan. 1799+. m.
1232. Dundee mail. Dundee, 1798.
- 1232a. Dundee register of merchants and trades . . . for the year 1782. Dundee, 1782.
1233. Dundee repository of political and miscellaneous information. Dundee, Feb. 15, 1793-Feb. 21, 1794.
1234. Dundee weekly magazine; or, A history of the present times. Dundee, Aug. 11, 1775-1778. w.
1235. Dungannon weekly magazine. Dungannon, 1800.
- 1235a. Durham courant. Durham, (?) -1736(?).
1236. Dutch intelligencer. No. 1, Sept. 8, 1652.

1237. Dutch prophet; or, The devil of a conjuror. No. 1, Dec. 3, 1700. w.
1238. Dutch spy. No. 1, Mar. 25, 1652.
1239. East India examiner. 1766.
1240. East India observer. 1766.
- 1240a. Echo; or, Impartial repeater. J. Roberts. 1721. w.
1241. Eclipses; or, Luminaries involved in darkness: an universal repository for enigmatical . . . questions. Newmarket, 1795.
1242. Edinburgh clerical review; or, Weekly report of the different sermons preached every Sunday by the established clergy of Edinburgh. Edinburgh, 1799.
1243. Edinburgh courant. Daniel Defoe. Edinburgh, 1710.
1244. Edinburgh courant revived. Edinburgh, 1707.
1245. Edinburgh eighth-day magazine. Edinburgh, 1779-80.
1246. Edinburgh evening post. Edinburgh, 1780-81.
1247. Edinburgh flying post. Edinburgh, 1707.
1248. Edinburgh flying post. Edinburgh, 1708-10(?). t. w.
1249. Edinburgh gazette. Edinburgh, 1680-(?).
1250. Edinburgh gazette. Edinburgh, 1780.
1251. Edinburgh gazette; or, Scot's postman. Edinburgh, 1714-15.
1252. Edinburgh gazetteer. Edinburgh, 1792-93.
1253. Edinburgh herald. *Continued as Edinburgh herald and chronicle* (from Jan. 2, 1797). t. w.
1254. Edinburgh magazine. Edinburgh, 1757-62.
1255. Edinburgh monthly intelligencer. Edinburgh, no. 10 (first no.), 1792-(?).
1256. Edinburgh museum; or, North-British miscellany. Edinburgh, v. 1-2, Jan. 1763-Dec. 1764. m.
1257. Edinburgh repository for polite literature. Edinburgh, 1792.
1258. Edinburgh repository; or, Fortnight's magazine. Edinburgh, 1774.
Edinburgh weekly journal, 1757(?) - 75(?). *See Weekly journal* (no. 2128).
1259. Edinburgh weekly journal. Edinburgh, 1798+.

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- E. Johnson's British gazette. *See* British gazette and Sunday monitor.
- 1259a. England an unlucky soil for Popery. No. 1, Jan. 10, 1689.
- 1259b. England's monitor; or, The history of separation. No. 1, Mar. 30, 1682.
- 1259c. Edward Waters' Dublin intelligence. Dublin, 1708.
- 1259d. Elixir. Nos. 8-21, Jan. 26-Mar. 2, 1706.
1260. England's remembrancer. No. 1, Jan. 14, 1646.
1261. Englands remembrancer of London's integritie. No. 1, Jan. 19, 1647.
1262. English and French journal. No. 25, Aug. 15, 1723.
English and French in parallel columns.
1263. English courant. 1695.
1264. English examiner. 1715.
- 1264a. English Gusman; or, Captain Hilton's memoirs. No. 1, Jan. 27, 1683.
1265. English intelligence. Thomas Burrell. 1679-(?).
1266. English Lucian; or, Weekly discoveries of the witty intrigues, comical passages and remarkable transactions in town and country. 1698. w.
1267. English lyceum. 1787-88.
1268. English magazine, and commercial repository. 1796-97.
1269. Englishman. 1733-(?). s. w.
1270. Englishman. 1737(?) - 40(?). w.
1271. Englishman. 1762+.
1272. Englishman's journal. 1722.
1273. English Martial. 1699.
1274. English post. 1641(?).
1275. English post. 1700-08.
1276. English post, giving an authentick account of the transactions of the world, foreign and domestick. *Continued as* English post; with news foreign and domestick (from no. 28, Dec. 16, 1700). Nos. 1-383(?), 1700-03. t. w.
1277. English spy; or, The weekly observator. No. 1, Aug. 18, 1699.
- 1277a. Enniss chronicle and Clare advertiser. Ennis, 1783-1800(?)

1278. *Entertainer*. 1745.
1279. *Entertaining correspondent*. 1739.
1280. *Entertaining correspondent; or, Curious relations*. 1783.
1281. *Epitome of the weekly news*. 1679.
Esdall's news-letter. *See General news-letter*.
1284. *Essex mercury; or, Colchester weekly journal*. Colchester, no. 173, July 3, 1736.
- 1284a. *État present de l'Europe, suivant les gazettes et autres avis d'Angleterre, France, Hollande, &c.* Guy Miegé. No. 1, Sept. 25, 1682.
1285. *European repertory*. (?) - 1800.
- 1285a. *Evangelical magazine; or, Christian library*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1777-78.
1286. *Evening chronicle*. *Printed by F. Ross*. Dublin, no. 50, March 31, 1784.
- 1286a. *Evening courant*. No. 5, July 26, 1711.
1287. *Evening entertainment*. Nos. 3-4, Jan. 27-30, 1727.
Evening general post. *See General post*.
1288. *Evening herald; or, General advertiser*. *Published by R. Bett and Co.* Dublin, nos. 19-587. May 17, 1786-Dec. 31, 1789.
1289. *Evening journal*. 1727-28.
Evening post; or, The new Edinburgh gazette. *See New Edinburgh gazette*.
1290. *Evening weekly packet*. No. 9, Mar. 3, 1716.
- 1290a. *Every man's journal*. Dublin, nos. 1-5, 1765.
- 1290b. *Exact account of the daily proceedings in Parliament*. No. 56, Jan. 13, 1660.
1291. *Exact and true diurnall*. No. 1, Aug. 15, 1642.
- 1291a. *Exact coranto*. 1642.
1292. *Exact diurnal*. 1644.
1293. *Examiner*. No. 1, Sept. 14, 1715.
1294. *Exchange evening post*. 1721.
Exeter evening post; or, The west country advertiser. [Subtitle changed several times.] *See Exeter mercury; or, West-country advertiser*.

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1296. Exeter gazette. S. Woolmer. Exeter, (?) - 1792(?). w.
Exeter journal (Farley). *See* Farley's Exeter journal.
- 1296a. Exeter journal. E. Grigg. Exeter, (?) - 1792(?). w.
- 1296b. Exeter mercury; or, West-country advertiser. *Continued as* Exeter evening post; or, The west country advertiser (from no. 98, July 11, 1765); *as* Exeter evening post; or, The Plymouth and Cornish courant (from no. 99, July 18, 1765); *as* Exeter evening post; or, Plymouth and Cornish advertiser (from no. 211, Sept. 18, 1767); *as* Trewman's Exeter evening post; or, Plymouth and Cornish advertiser (from no. 293, Apr. 28, 1769); *as* Trewman's Exeter flying post; or, Plymouth and Cornish advertiser (from no. 380, Dec. 28, 1770). Exeter, no. 1, Sept. 2, 1763+.
1297. Exeter mercury; or, Weekly intelligence. S. Farley. Exeter, 1714-25(?).
- 1297a. Exeter mercury; or, West country advertiser. W. Andrews and R. Trewman. Exeter, 1763-(?).
- 1297b. Exeter post boy. Exeter, 1711.
1298. Exhortation to the inhabitants of the south parish of Glasgow, and the hearers in the college kirk. Glasgow, v. 1-2, Sept. 26, 1750-Apr. 10, 1751.
- 1298a. Express and evening chronicle. No. 439, July 6-8, 1797.
- 1298b. Express and the London herald. *Printed by* T. Smith. No. 1324, Aug. 27-29, 1799. Perhaps a continuation of no. 1298a.
1299. Exshaw's magazine. Dublin, 1741-93.
1300. Fairy tatler. No. 9, Feb. 3, 1722.
1301. Faithful collections. 1715.
1302. Faithfull scout. *Continued as* National scout (from no. [?], July 16, 1659); *as* Loyall scout (from no. [12], July 22, 1659). 1659-60.
1303. Faithful mercury, imparting news foreign and domestick, 1669.
1305. Faithful scout. *Continued as* Armies scout (from no. 115, Apr. 30, 1653?); *as* Faithful scout (from no. 115 [*sic*], June 10, 1653). 1651-55.
1306. Fall of Britain. 1776-77. w.
- 1306a. Family library. (?) - 1791(?).

1307. *Farley's Bath Journal*. Bath, 1756. w.
- 1307a. *Farley's Bristol advertiser*. *Printed by Felix Farley & Co.* Bristol, 1744(?) -46. Published alternately every other week with *Felix Farley's Bristol journal*.
Farley's Bristol journal. *See F. Farley's Bristol journal*.
Farley's Bristol news-paper. *See Sam Farley's Bristol post man*.
1308. *Farley's Exeter journal*. Exeter, 1722(?) -28. w.
- 1308a. *Farrago*. 1792.
1309. *Fashionable magazine; or, Lady and gentleman's recorder of new fashions*. 1786.
1310. *Fashions of London and Paris*. 1795-1800.
1311. *Fast*. 1757.
1313. *Faulkner's Dublin post boy*, being the most impartial advices both foreign and domestick. *Printed by George Faulkner*. Dublin, 1725-32(?).
1314. *Felix Farley's Bristol journal*. *Felix Farley*. Bristol, 1752+.
1315. *Female guardian*. 1787.
1316. *Female mentor*. 1793-98.
Ferrar's Limerick chronicle. *See Limerick chronicle*, 1768+.
- 1316a. *F. Farley's Bristol journal*. *Continued as Farley's Bristol journal* (from Jan. 16, 1748); *as Bristol journal* (from 1749); *as Sarah Farley's Bristol journal* (from 1777). Bristol, no. 17, Mar. 24, 1744-1793. Till 1746 published alternately, every other week, with *Farley's Bristol advertiser*.
1317. *First decade of useful observations*. No. 1, June 28, 1649.
1318. *Flowers of Parnassus; or, Lady's miscellany*. 1736.
1319. *Flying eagle*. 1652-53.
1320. *Flying post*. No. 1, May 10, 1644.
1321. *Flying post*. Dublin, 1722-24.
- 1321a. *Flying post*. *Printed by Edward Waters*. Dublin, 1729.
1322. *Flying post*. Dublin, 1744.
- 1322a. *Flying post and medley*. Daniel Defoe. July 27-August 21, 1714. t. w.
1323. *Flying-post from Paris and Amsterdam*. 1695-96. s. w.

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- 1323a. Flying post man; or, The Dublin post man. *Printed by* Nicholas Hussey. Dublin, 1729.
- 1323b. Flying post; or, The post master. Dublin, 1699-1709.
- 1324. Flying post; or, The post-master. *Printed by* F. Dickson and S. Powell. Dublin, 1705-10.
- 1325. Flying-post; or, The post-master's news. Dublin, 1709-10.
- 1326. Flying-post; or, The weekly medley. *Continued as* Weekly medley (from Aug. 2, 1729); *as* Weekly medley and literary journal (from Nov. 1, 1729). 1728-30. w.
- 1327. Foreign and domestick news; with the packet boat from Holland and Flanders. No. 14, July 1, 1695.
- 1328. Foreign medical review. 1779.
- 1329. Foreign post, with domestick news. 1697.
- 1331. Freeholder. No. 7, Jan. 13, 1716.
- 1333. Freeholder and weekly packet. Edinburgh, 1716.
- 1334. French intelligencer. 1651.
- 1335. French occurrences. 1652.
- 1336. Friend. 1755. w.
- 1337. Friend. 1760. s. w.
- 1339. Friend, a weekly essay. 1796.
- 1340. Friendly couriere. 1711.
- 1341. Gazette. *Continued as* Norwich gazette; or, The loyal packet (from ?). Norwich, 1706(?) -47.
- 1342. Gazette-à-la-mode; or, Tom Brown's ghost. 1709.
- 1343. Gazette de Guernsey. St. Peter Port(?), 1791+.
- 1344. Gazette de l'Île de Jersey. St. Hélier(?). 1786+.
- 1345. Geirgrawn. Chester, 1796.
- 1346. General account. No. 1, Mar. 31, 1645.
- 1346a. General advertiser. *Printed by* A. McCulloch. Dublin, 1754.
- 1347. General advertiser. *Continued as* Gore's general advertiser (from ?). Liverpool, v. 12, 1777+.
- 1348. General Baptist magazine. 1798-1800.
- 1348a. General correspondent. Dublin, 1740.
- 1349. General evening post. *Printed by* J. Cavendish (to May

- 29, 1784); by John Fleming. Dublin, v. [1], no. 107-v. 4, no. 510, Jan. 3, 1782-July 31, 1784.
1350. General history of the principal discoveries and improvements in useful arts. Defoe. 1726-27. m.
1351. General magazine; or, Epitome of useful knowledge. 1793.
1352. General news from all parts of Christendom. No. 1, May 6, 1646.
1353. General news-letter. Dublin. *Probably continued as Esdall's news-letter* (from 1746). Dublin, 1744-55. s. w. Cf. no. 807.
1354. General post. 1711-(?).
1355. General post. No. 1, Jan. 15, 1716.
1356. General post. *Continued as Evening general post* (from no. 13). No. 1, Mar. 15, 1716-(?).
1357. General post office advertiser. Dublin, 1739(?) -41.
1358. General postscript. 1709.
1359. General remark on trade. *Printed by R. Everingham*. No. 9, Nov. 20, 1705. Perhaps continued as General remark on trade, set forth by Mr. Povey.
1360. General remark on trade, set forth by Mr. Povey, undertaker of the traders exchange-house in Hatton Garden. *Continued as General remark on trade: with an extract of foreign news, and observations on publick affairs* (from no. 214); *as General remark on trade: with curious observations done by the ingenious* (from no. 240). *Printed by Matthew Jenour*. Nos. 213-50, July 7-Oct. 1, 1707. t. w. Cf. no. 1359.
1361. General review of foreign literature. 1775.
1362. Generous advertiser; or, Weekly information of trade and business. 1707. s. w. [sic]
1363. Generous London morning advertiser. *Continued as Rayner's London morning advertiser* (from 1742). 1742.
1365. Genius of Kent; or, Country magazine. Canterbury and Margate, 1792-95. m.
1367. Gentleman and lady's museum. 1777.
1368. Gentleman and lady's pocket register; or, Fortnight's [sic] intelligencer. Edinburgh, 1780.
1369. Gentleman's journal for the war. 1693.

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- 1369a. Gentleman's magazine and monthly oracle. *Printed by J. Ilive.* 1736-38(?). *Cf.* Athenæum, Oct. 26, 1889, p. 560.
1370. Gentleman's musical magazine. 1788.
1371. Geographical intelligence for the better understanding of foreign news. No. 1, June 19, 1689.
1372. Geographical magazine; or, The universe displayed. Dublin, 1790-92.
- 1372b. George Swiney's Corke journal. Cork, 1754-69.
1373. Glasgow advertiser. *Continued as* Glasgow advertiser and evening intelligencer (from ?); *as* Glasgow advertiser (from 1794). Glasgow, 1783+.
- 1373a. Glasgow advertiser. *Continued as* Glasgow advertiser and herald (from ?); *as* Glasgow herald (from ?). Glasgow, 1777-(?). s. w.
1374. Glasgow courant, containing the occurrences both at home and abroad. *Continued as* West country intelligence (from no. 3). Glasgow, no. 1, Nov. 14, 1715-16.
Glasgow herald. *See* Glasgow advertiser.
1375. Glasgow journal. Glasgow, 1729+.
1376. Glasgow magazine. Glasgow, 1770. f.
1377. Glasgow mercury. Glasgow, v. 1-20, Jan. 8, 1778-Sept. 27, 1796. w.
1378. Glasgow museum; or, Weekly instructor. Glasgow, Jan. 11-July 10, 1773. w.
1379. Glasgow united magazine. Glasgow, 1773.
1380. Glasgow universal magazine of knowledge and pleasure. Glasgow, Aug. 13, 1772-Feb. 1773. w.
1381. Glasgow weekly chronicle. Glasgow, 1766.
1382. Glasgow weekly history relating to the history of the gospel at home and abroad. Glasgow, 1743.
1383. Gleaner. Dublin, 1793.
1384. Gleaner. Edinburgh, 1795.
- 1384a. Gloucester gazette. Gloucester, 1788+.
- 1384b. Gloucester gazette; and South Wales, Worcester and Wiltshire general advertiser. Gloucester, v. 2, no. 100, July 8, 1784-1796(?).

1385. *Goggin's Ulster magazine*, a weekly journal. S. Goggin. Monaghan(?), 1798(?)-99(?).
1386. *Good news for England*. 1645.
Gore's general advertiser. *See* General advertiser.
1387. *Grand diurnall of the passages in Parliament*. No. 1, Nov. 28, 1642.
1390. *Great Britain's painful messenger*. No. 1, Aug. 16, 1649.
- 1390a. *Great news from Ireland*, being motives of encouragement for the officers and soldiers who shall serve in the present war in Ireland. No. 1, Apr. 11, 1689.
1391. *Greenwich observatory*. Astronomical observations made at the royal observatory. 1750+.
1392. *Grouler*; or, Diogenes robb'd of his tub. 1711.
1393. *Grumbler*, by Squire Gizzard. 1715. w.; s. w.
- 1393a. *Guide into the knowledge of publick affairs*. 1728.
Haerlem courant. *See* Paris gazette.
1394. *Halfpenny London journal*; or, *The British oracle*. No. 10, Jan. 10, 1725.
- 1394a. *Hampshire chronicle*; or, *Portsmouth, Winchester, and Southampton gazette*. Southampton; Portsmouth (from 1780), 1778-85.
- 1394b. *Hampshire telegraph and Sussex chronicle*, and general advertiser for Hants, Sussex, Surrey, Dorset, and Wilts. Portsmouth, 1799+.
1395. *Hampshire journal*. J. Robbins. Winchester, (?) - 1792(?). w.
1396. *Hanover journal*. 1720.
Harding's Dublin impartial news letter. *See* Harding's weekly impartial news letter.
1397. *Harding's weekly impartial news letter*. *Probably continued as* Harding's Dublin impartial news letter (from 1724). Dublin, 1723-25. s. w. [sic]
1398. *Harlem currant*. No. 2, Feb. 19, 1689.
1399. *Harlem's courant*. Haarlem, no. 1, May 28, 1695. A translation.
- 1399a. *Harrop's Manchester mercury*. *Continued as* Harrop's Manchester mercury and general advertiser (from no. 9). Manchester, no. 1, Mar. 3, 1752-64(?).

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- 1399b. Harp of Erin. Cork, 1798.
- 1399c. Harrison's Derby journal. *Continued as* Harrison's Derby & Nottingham journal; or, Midland advertiser (from Nov.[?], 1776). *Printed and published by* James Harrison. Derby, no. 1, Aug. 2, 1776-1781(?).
1400. Heads of a diarie. 1648-49.
- 1400a. Heads of all the proceedings in both Houses of Parliament. *Printed for* J. Smith and A. Coe. May 23-30, 1642.
1401. Heads of chiefe passages in Parliament. *Continued as* Kingdoms weekly account of heads (from no. 4). 1648.
1402. Heads of some notes of the citie scout. *Continued as* City scout (from no. 11). 1645.
1404. Heaven and Hell magazine. 1790-91.
1405. Help to history; or, A short memorial of the most material matters. 1711-14.
1406. Heraclitus ridens: a discourse between Jest and Earnest concerning the times. *Sold by* W. Boreham. 1718.
1407. Heraclitus ridens, in a dialogue between Jest and Earnest, concerning the times. 1703-04.
- 1407a. Herald of literature; or, A review of the most considerable publications that will be made in the course of the ensuing winter. 1784.
- 1407b. Herald. (?) - 1792(?). d.
- 1407c. Herald. Clonmel, 1800.
- 1407d. Hereford journal. Hereford, 1713-(?).
1408. Hermit. 1715.
1409. Hermit, by way of short essays upon several subjects. 1711-12.
- 1409a. Hibernian chronicle. *Printed by* William Flynn. Cork, 1768+.
1410. Hibernian journal. Dublin, v. 3, 1773+.
- 1410a. Hibernian morning post; or, Literary chronicle. Cork, 1776.
1413. Highland and agricultural society of Scotland. Transactions. 1799+.
1414. Highland gentleman's magazine. Edinburgh, 1751.
1415. Historian. 1712.

1416. **Historical** account of books and transactions in the learned world. 1688.
- 1416a. **Historical** and political mercury. 1759.
1417. **Historical** list of all horse matches . . . with a list also of the principal cock matches. J. Cheny. 1729-49.
1418. **Historical** list of horse matches. B. Walker. 1770-71.
1419. **Historical** list of horse matches . . . cock-matches. R. Heber. 1753-69.
1420. **Historical**, political, and literary register for 1769. 1770(?).
1421. **Historical** register; or, Edinburgh monthly intelligencer. *Continued as* Universal monthly intelligencer (from 1792). Edinburgh, 1791-92.
1422. **History** of cradle-convulsions, vulgarly black and white fits; or, Monthly observations on the weekly bills of mortality. No. 1, Sept. 1701.
1423. **Hive**; a hebdomadal selection of literary tracts. 1789.
1425. **Honest** true Briton. 1724.
1426. **Hue** and crie after Mercurius elencticus, Britannicus, melancholicus, and aulicus. 1651.
1427. **Hull** advertiser. Hull, 1794+.
1428. **Hull** packet. Hull, 1787+.
1431. **Humorist's** magazine. 1787-(?).
1433. **Humours** of the age; or, Dean Swift's evening post. 1738.
1434. **Hunter's** Dublin chronicle; or, Universal journal for the year 1762. Dublin, v. 3, no. 204, Oct. 7, [1762].
1435. **Hypocrite** unmasked. 1780. w.
- 1435a. **Idler**. *Printed by* George Bennett. Cork, no. 1, Feb. 1, 1714.
1436. **Impartial** intelligencer. No. 2, July 12, 1653.
Impartial occurrences foreign and domestick. *See* Pue's Occurrences.
1437. **Impartial** review; or, Literary journal. No. 1, Nov. 1, 1759.
Impartial scout. *See* Scout.
1438. **Important** Protestant mercury. No. 66, Dec. 9, 1681.
1439. **Independent** chronicle; and universal advertiser. Dublin, no. 1, Mar. 1, 1777.

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1440. Independent chronicle; or, The freeholders evening post. W. Bingley. No. 1, Sept. 29, 1769-(?). t. w.
1441. Independent Irishman. *Continued as* Dublin evening post (from 1771?). Dublin, 1770-71.
1442. Independent London journal. 1735-36. w.
1444. Infallible astrologer. *Continued as* Astrological observator (from no. 16, Feb. 17, 1701); *as* Jestling astrologer (from no. 17). 1700-01. w.
1445. Informator rusticus; or, The country intelligencer. No. 1, Nov. 3, 1643.
1446. Inquisitor. No. 1, June 26, 1711.
1447. Inquisitor. 1724.
1448. Inquisitor, containing a full answer to the Hyp-doctor. 1731.
- 1448a. Inspector. Dublin, 1748.
1449. Instructor. 1715.
1450. Instructor. 1724. w.
1451. Intelligence. J. Macock. 1666.
1452. Intelligence domestick and foreign. B. Harris. 1695.
1453. Intelligence of the civil war in France. No. 1, May 17, 1652.
1454. Investigator. No. 321, 1754.
1456. Invisible spy. 1759.
1457. Ipswich gazette. Ipswich, 1720(?) -37. w.
1459. Ipswich magazine. Ipswich, 1799.
1460. Irish courant; or, The weekly packet of advice from Ireland. No. 1, April 4, 1690.
1461. Irish mercury, monethly communicating all true intelligence within the dominion of Ireland. Cork; rep. London, 1650.
1462. Irish monthly mercury. Cork; rep. London, no. 1, Feb. 6, 1650.
1463. Januaries account, giving a full and true relation of the remarkable passages of that month. *Printed for* Richard Harper. Jan. 1645.
1465. Jester's magazine; or, The monthly merrymaker. 1765-66. Jestling astrologer. *See* Infallible astrologer.

1466. *Jesuit*. 1783.
1467. *Jesuita vapulans*; or, A whip for the fool's back, and a gag for his foul mouth. 1681.
1468. *Jesuite*. 1719.
1469. *Jockey's intelligencer*; or, Weekly advertisements of horses and second-hand coaches to be bought or sold. 1683.
1470. *Jones's evening news-letter*. No. 1, Oct. 29, 1716. t. w.
1471. *Jordan's parliamentary journal* for the year 1793. 1794(?).
1472. *Jos. Bliss's Exeter post-boy*. Exeter, no. 211, May 4, 1711. Perhaps continued as *Protestant mercury* (cf. no. 1910).
1473. *Journal Britannique*. Matthew Maty. 1750-55.
1474. *Journall of Parliament*. 1648.
1475. *Journal of a learned and political club*. 1738.
1476. *Jovial mercury*. 1693.
1477. *Juvenile library: the juvenile encyclopædia*. 1800+.
1478. *Juvenile magazine*. 1788.
1479. *Juvenile olio*. 1796.
1480. *Kelso mail*. Kelso, 1797+.
- 1480a. *Kendal courant*. Kendal, 1731.
- 1480b. *Kendal weekly mercury*. Kendal, no. 427, Mar. 5, 1742. w.
- 1480c. *Kentish herald*. Canterbury(?), 1792.
1481. *Kentish post*; or, The Canterbury news letter. Canterbury, 1717-68(?). s. w.
- 1481a. *Kerry evening post*. Tralee, 1774.
1482. *Kingdome's weekly post*. 1643-44.
1483. *Kingdom's faithful and impartial scout*. No. 1, Feb. 9, 1649.
1484. *Kingdom's faithful post*. 1649.
1485. *Kingdoms intelligencer of the affairs now in agitation in Scotland, England, and Ireland*. . . . Edinburgh, Oct. 30, 1661-1668(?). w. Started as a rep. of the London paper by that name, but apparently continued independently after 1663.
- Kingdoms weekly account of heads*. See *Heads of chiefe passages in Parliament*.
1486. *Kingdom's weekly post*. 1645.

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- 1487. Kingdom's weekly post. No. 1, Jan. 5, 1648.
- 1488. Knight-errant. 1729. w.
Lacedemonian mercury. *See* London mercury. 1692.
- 1489. Ladies journal. 1727. w.
- 1489a. Ladies' magazine. No. 1, Oct. 1759.
- 1490. Ladies mercury. No. 1, Feb. 18, 1693.
- 1491. Lady and gentleman's scientificā repository. Newark, 1782-84.
- 1492. Lady's curiosity; or, Weekly Apollo. 1752.
- 1493. Lady's drawing-room. 1744.
- 1494. Lady's magazine; or, Polite companion for the fair sex. 1760-63.
- 1496. Lady's musical magazine; or, Monthly repository of new vocal music. 1788. m.
- 1497. Lady's new and elegant pocket magazine. 1795.
- 1498. Lady's weekly magazine, published under the direction of Mrs. Penelope Pry. 1747.
- 1499. Lantern. Dublin, nos. 1-6, Feb. 26-Mar. 9, 1799. t. w.
- 1500. Latest remarkable truths. 1642.
- 1501. Laughing mercury; or, True and perfect news from the Antipodes. 1652.
Laughing mercury. *See* Mercurius Democritus, 1652-53.
- 1502. Lawyer's magazine. 1773.
- 1503. Leeds mercury. Leeds, 1718-20(?). *Cf.* no. 366.
- 1504a. Leicester chronicle. J. Ireland. Leicester, (?) - 1792(?). w.
- 1504b. Leicester herald. Richard Phillips. Leicester, 1790-95(?).
- 1505. Letters of the critical club. Edinburgh, 1738. m.
- 1506. Limerick chronicle. Ferrar. Limerick, 1768+. s. w.
- 1507. Limerick chronicle. *Continued as* Watson's Limerick chronicle (from no. 3061, Jan. 11, 1794); *as* Limerick chronicle (from 1795). Andrew Watson. Limerick, v. 23, no. 2260, Apr. 26, 1790-1796(?).
- 1507a. Limerick herald. Limerick, 1787.
- 1507b. Limerick herald and Munster advertiser. *Printed by* Robert Law. Limerick, 1788-89.

- 1507c. **Limerick** journal. *Printed by* Edward Flynn. Limerick, 1787-91(?).
- 1507d. **Limerick** magazine. Limerick, 1752.
- 1508. **Limerick** weekly magazine; or, Miscellaneous repository. Limerick, 1790.
- 1508a. **Lincoln** gazette; or, Weekly intelligencer. Lincoln, 1729.
- 1508b. **Linx** Britannicus. 1648.
- 1510. **Literary** mirror. Montrose, 1793+.
- 1511. **Literary** miscellany. 1756-57.
- 1512. **Literary** museum; a weekly magazine. Belfast, 1793. w.
- 1512a. **Literary** review. 1794-95.
- 1513. **Little-Compton** scourge; or, The anti-courant. *Printed for* J. Franklin. Boston, Aug. 10, 1721.
- 1514. **Liverpool** advertiser, Liverpool, 1756-(?).
- 1515. **Liverpool** courant. Liverpool, no. 18, July 18, 1712(?).
- 1515a. **Liverpool** general advertiser. Liverpool, no. 1, Dec. 27, 1765-92(?).
- 1515b. **Liverpool** phoenix. R. Ferguson. Liverpool, (?) - 1792(?). w.
- 1516. **Liverpool** trade list. Liverpool, 1798+.
- 1516a. **Liverpool** weekly herald. H. Hodgson. Liverpool, (?) - 1792(?). w.
- 1517. **Lloyd's** list. 1762+.
- 1519. **Lloyd's** news. 1696.
- 1520. **Loiterer**; or, Universal essayist. 1796.
- 1521. **London** daily advertiser and literary gazette. 1751-53.
- 1521a. **London** crier. 1733.
- 1521b. **Londonderry** journal and general advertiser. *Continued as* Londonderry journal, and Donegal and Tyrone advertiser (from v. 21, 1793?). Londonderry, no. 1, June 3, 1772-1800(?).
- 1521c. **London** chronicle. Dublin, 1758.
- 1522. **London** gazetteer. 1749(?) - 51(?).
- 1522a. **London** herald and evening post. Nos. 400-02, Feb. 9-16, 1799.
- 1522b. **London** journal and country craftsman. Nos. 34-46, Dec. 24, 1743-Mar. 17, 1744.

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1523. London mercury. No. 20, June 13, 1682.
1524. London mercury. *Continued as* Lacedemonian mercury (from no. 9). Thomas Brown. 1692.
1525. London mercury; or, Great Britain's weekly journal. No. 1, Mar. 14, 1719.
London mercury; or, Great Britain's weekly journal (1721).
See Penny weekly journal; or, Saturday's entertainment.
- 1525a. London mercury; or, Mercure de Londres. No. 1, June 3, 1696.
1526. London mercury, published for the promoting of trade. 1695-97.
1527. London morning penny advertiser. *Continued as* London morning advertiser (from no. 47, May 5, 1742). J. Nicholson. 1742-43. *Cf.* no. 903a.
1528. London news letter. 1695-96.
1529. London post. 1646-47.
- 1529a. London post. Nos. 18-43, Apr. 6-June 6, 1705.
1530. London post. 1715-16.
1531. London post. No. 1, Mar. 31, 1716.
1532. London post. 1722.
- 1532a. London postman; or, A supplement to the Dublin intelligence. *Printed by* J. Carson. Dublin, nos. 25-50, Mar. 21, 1722-May 21, 1724.
1533. London post; or, Tradesman's intelligencer. No. 48, July 19, 1717.
London post, with intelligence foreign and domestick. *See* London slip of news, both foreign and domestick.
1534. London post, with the best account of the whole week's news, foreign and domestick; with room left to write into the country without the charge of double postage. No. 1, Jan. 15, 1716.
1535. London post; with the newest intelligence, both foreign and domestick. No. 1, May 17, 1697.
1536. London price current. Nos. 700-1228, 1789-99.
1537. London recorder. 1783+. Amalgamated with Sunday reformer and universal register in 1796.
1538. London review. (?) -1800.
1539. London's diurnall. 1660.

1540. *London* slip of news, both foreign and domestick. *Continued as* London post, with intelligence foreign and domestick (from no. 2). 1699-1705.
1541. *London* spy reviv'd. 1736-38(?). t. w.
1542. *London* terrae filius. 1707-08.
- 1542a. *Looking-glass* for the Mirror. Dublin, no. 1, July 1751.
Cf. no. 1676a.
- 1542b. *Lord's* Munster herald or general advertiser. Cashel, 1788.
1543. *Loyal* intelligencer. No. 73, Jan. 30, 1654.
1544. *Loyal* intelligencer. 1678.
- 1544a. *Loyal* intelligencer; or, Lincoln, Rutland, Leicester, Cambridge and Stamford advertiser. Stamford, no. 65, June 10, 1794.
Loyal scout. *See* Faithfull scout, 1659-60.
1545. *Loyal* messenger. No. 1, Aug. 10, 1653.
1546. *Loyal* messenger; or, *Newes* from Whitehall. No. 4, Apr. 10, 1654.
1547. *Loyal* observator. No. 1, Jan. 12, 1704.
1548. *Loyal* observator revived; or, *Gaylards* journal. *Continued as* Collins's weekly journal (from no. 27). 1722-23.
1549. *Loyal* post; with foreign and inland intelligence. No. 1, Nov. 23, 1705.
1550. *Loyal* scout. No. 1, Dec. 26, 1659.
- 1550a. *Luckman* and *Sketchley's* Coventry gazette and Birmingham chronicle. Coventry, no. 233, Sept. 10, 1761-1763(?). w.
1551. *Ludlow* post-man; or, *The* weekly journal. Ludlow, 1719-20.
1552. *Lynx*. 1796.
1553. *Magazine a la mode*; or, *Fashionable* miscellany. 1777.
1554. *Magazin de l'Île de Jersey*. St. Hélier(?), 1784.
1555. *Magazin du monde politique, galant et littéraire*; or, *The* gentleman and lady's magazine . . . in French and English. 1776.
1556. *Magee's* weekly packet; or, *Hope's* lottery journal, of news, politics and literature. Dublin, 1777-93.
- 1556a. *Magazine* of ants; or, *Pismire* journal. James Murray. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1777.
1557. *Magazine* of female fashions of London and Paris. 1798.

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1558. Magazine of magazines, composed from original pieces. 1750-51.
1559. Magic and conjuring magazine and wonderful chronicle. 1795.
1560. Maidstone journal. Maidstone, 1737.
1561. Maidstone journal. Maidstone, 1786(?)+. w.
1562. Maidstone mercury. Maidstone, 1725.
- 1562a. Manchester chronicle. *Published by* Charles Wheeler. Manchester, (?) - 1792(?). Perhaps continued as Wheeler's Manchester guardian.
- 1562b. Manchester chronicle; or, Anderton's universal advertiser. Manchester, June 1762-(?). w.
1563. Manchester gazette. Manchester, 1730-60.
- 1563a. Manchester gazette. Manchester, no. 1, Mar. 1795.
1564. Manchester herald. Manchester, 1792-93.
- 1564a. Manchester journal. *Printed by* J. Schofield and M. Turnbull. Manchester, no. 1, Mar. 2, 1754-56. w.
Manchester magazine. *See* Whitworth's Manchester gazette.
1565. Manchester mercury and Harrop's general advertiser. Manchester, no. 774, Mar. 4, 1766+.
1566. Manchester weekly journal. Roger Adams. Manchester, 1719(?) - 25(?).
1567. Man in the moon. No. 1, Apr. 26, 1660.
1568. Man in the moon. No. 1, Aug. 20, 1660.
1569. Man in the moon. 1663.
1570. Manufacturer; or, The British trade truly stated. D. Defoe, etc. 1719. f.
- 1570a. Martin Burke's Connaught journal. Galway, 1769(?) - 79.
- 1570b. Marlborough journal. Marlborough, 1771-74.
1571. Martin Nonsense his collections. No. 1, Nov. 27, 1648.
- 1571a. Masonic mirror. Edinburgh, 1797.
1572. Masquerade. Southampton, 1798.
1573. Mathematical companion. 1798+.
1574. Mathematical magazine. G. Witchell, T. Moss, etc. 1761(?).
1575. McDonnel's Dublin weekly journal. Dublin, 1785(?) - 95.
1576. McKenzie's loyal magazine. Dublin, 1800.

1577. *Medical communications.* 1784-90.
1578. *Medical extracts.* 1796-97.
1579. *Medical magazine.* 1774.
1580. *Medicina curiosa; or, A variety of new communications in physick, chirurgery.* . . . 1684.
1581. *Meditator.* 1798.
1582. *Medley.* No. 1, July 7, 1715.
- 1582a. *Medley.* Cork, 1738.
1583. *Medley.* Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1766.
1584. *Medley.* 1797.
1585. *Medley; or, Daily tatler.* 1715.
1586. *Memoires littéraires de la Grande Bretagne.* Deyverdun and Gibbon. 1768-69.
1587. *Merchant's magazine; or, Factor's guide.* 1743.
1588. *Merchant's remembrancer.* James Whiston. 1681. Perhaps continued as Whiston's merchant's weekly remembrancer.
1589. *Mercure anglois.* Robert White and Nicholas Bourne. 1644-46.
1590. *Mercure anglois.* 1648.
1591. *Mercure de France.* 1800+.
1593. *Mercurio volpone; or, The fox.* 1648.
1594. *Mercurius academicus.* 1645-46.
1597. *Mercurius Anglicus; or, A post from the north.* 1644.
1598. *Mercurius Anglicus.* 1650.
1599. *Mercurius aulico-mastix; or, The whipping mercury.* Printed by G. Bishop. No. 1, Apr. 12, 1644.
- 1599a. *Mercurius aulicus, communicating intelligence from all parts of the kingdome, especially from Westminster and the headquarters.* Nos. 2-4, August 1648. w.
1600. *Mercurius aulicus.* Nos. 1-2, Mar. 20-27, 1654.
1601. *Mercurius aulicus.* Printed for G. Horton. No. 12, June 25, 1660.
- 1601a. *Mercurius aulicus (for King Charls II).* Nos. 1-3, Aug. 21-Sept. 4, 1649.
1602. *Mercurius belonius.* Nos. 1-4, Feb. 4-Mar. 3, 1652.

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- 1602b. *Mercurius Britanicus*, communicating the affaires of great Britaine, for the better information of the people *Printed by G. Bishop*. Nos. 27-29, Mar. 18-Apr. 1, 1644. w. A counterfeit.
- 1603. *Mercurius Britanicus*; or, A collection of such real and faithful intelligence as can be gathered from England and in Scotland concerning the present transactions in them both. Edinburgh, 1659-60.
- 1603a. *Mercurius Britanicus* representing the affaires of Great Britaine to the city and kingdome. *Printed by B. W.* Nos. 1-3, June 24-July 8, 1647. w.
- 1603b. *Mercurius Britannicus*, impartially communicating to the people, the faithful proceedings of the Lord General and his council of officers, the most remarkable passages at sea, between the English and Dutch fleets, and the most choicest and notable occurrences from Holland, France, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, and the King of Scots. *Printed for G. Horton*. Nos. 2-10, May 23-June 20, 1653. w.
- 1604. *Mercurius Britannicus*, communicating his most impartial intelligence from all parts. . . . *Printed by J. Cottrel and J. Moxon*. Nos. 1-23, July 26-Dec. 28, 1652. w.
- 1605. *Mercurius Britannicus*. 1653.
- 1606. *Mercurius Britannicus*. 1689.
- 1607. *Mercurius Britannicus*; or, The London intelligencer turned solicitor. No. 1, Nov. 11, 1690.
- 1608. *Mercurius Brittanicus*, communicating his most remarkable intelligence unto the kingdome. No. 1, Apr. 7, 1648.
- 1609. *Mercurius Caledonius*. 1648.
- 1610. *Mercurius Cambro-Britannicus*; British mercury, or Welsh diurnal. No. 1, Oct. 30, 1643.
- 1610a. *Mercurius Cambro-Britannicus*; or, News from Wales. 1652.
Mercurius Cambro-Britannus, the British mercury, or the Welch Diurnall. No. 1, Oct. 28, 1643. *See Welch mercury*.
- 1611. *Mercurius candidus*. 1646.
- 1612. *Mercurius candidus*. 1647.
- 1613. *Mercurius Carolinus*. 1649.
- 1614. *Mercurius cinicus*. No. 1, Aug. 11, 1652.
- 1615. *Mercurius civicus*. 1660.

1616. *Mercurius civicus*. No. 241, May 12, 1680.
1617. *Mercurius civicus*; or, An account of affairs domestick and foreign. 1679.
1618. *Mercurius civicus*; or, The cities intelligencer. 1660.
1619. *Mercurius classicus*. 1653.
1620. *Mercurius Democritus*. *Continued as Laughing mercury* (from no. 22); *as Mercurius Democritus* (from Nov. 3, 1653). 1652-53.
1621. *Mercurius Democritus*. No. 82, Jan. 25, 1654.
1622. *Mercurius Democritus*. John Crouch. No. 1, May 22, 1661.
- 1622a. *Mercurius Democritus*, communicating faithfully. . . . No. 2, Apr. 26-May 3, 1659.
1623. *Mercurius Democritus in querpō*. No. 9, June 14, 1660.
1624. *Mercurius diabolicus*; or, Hell's intelligencer. 1647.
Mercurius diutinus. *See* *Diutinus Britannicus*.
Mercurius elencticus. *See* *Mercurius pragmaticus revived*.
1625. *Mercurius eruditorum*; or, News from the learned world. 1691.
1627. *Mercurius helonicus*. 1650.
1628. *Mercurius Heraclitus*; or, The weeping philosopher. No. 1, June 28, 1652.
1629. *Mercurius Hibernicus*. 1645.
- 1629a. *Mercurius Hibernicus*. *Printed for Samuel Dancer*. Dublin, nos. 1-15, 1663.
1630. *Mercurius honestus*. No. 1, Mar. 21, 1660.
1631. *Mercurius Hybernicus*. No. 1, Sept. 6, 1649.
1632. *Mercurius icommaticus*. No. 5, July 8, 1651.
1633. *Mercurius jocosus*. No. 1, July 21, 1654.
1634. *Mercurius Latinus*. 1746.
1635. *Mercurius mastix*, faithfully lashing all scouts, mercuries, posts, and others. No. 1, Aug. 27, 1652.
- 1635a. *Mercurius melancholicus* for King Charls II. John Taylor. May 24-31, 1649.
1636. *Mercurius meretrix*. 1658.
1637. *Mercurius militans*. No. 1, Nov. 14, 1648.
1638. *Mercurius militaris*. Nos. 1-5, Oct. 10-Nov. 21, 1648. *Cf.* no. 891a.

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- 1638a. *Mercurius militaris*; or, Times only truth-teller. *Continued as Metropolitan nuncio* (from June 6, 1649). John Hackluyt. 1649.
- 1638b. *Mercurius nullus*; or, The invisible nuncio. No. 1, Mar. 13, 1654.
1639. *Mercurius Oxoniensis*; or, The Oxford intelligencer. 1707.
1640. *Mercurius pacificus*. 1648.
1641. *Mercurius pacificus*. No. 1, May 25, 1649.
1642. *Mercurius pacificus*. 1650.
1643. *Mercurius philo-monarchicus*. 1649.
1644. *Mercurius phreniticus*. 1652.
1645. *Mercurius populi*; or, Newes declaring plain truth to the people. No. 1, Nov. 11, 1647.
1646. *Mercurius pragmaticus*. No. 1, May 25, 1652.
1647. *Mercurius pragmaticus*. No. 1, July 6, 1652.
1648. *Mercurius pragmaticus*. No. 1, May 25, 1653.
1649. *Mercurius pragmaticus*. No. 1, June 8, 1653.
- 1649a. *Mercurius pragmaticus*. June 20, 1659.
- 1649b. *Mercurius pragmaticus*. *Printed for H. Marsh*. No. 1, Aug. 30–Sept. 6, 1659.
1650. *Mercurius pragmaticus* revived. *Continued as Mercurius elencticus* (from no. 2); *as Mercurius scommaticus* (from no. 3). 1651.
1651. *Mercurius problematicus*. 1644.
1652. *Mercurius radamanthus*. No. 1, June 27, 1653.
1653. *Mercurius rusticus*. No. 1, Nov. 3, 1643.
1654. *Mercurius rusticus*. No. 1, Nov. 12, 1647.
- 1654b. *Mercurius rusticus*; or, A countrey messenger. George Wither. No. 1, Oct. 26, 1643.
- Mercurius scommaticus*. *See Mercurius pragmaticus* revived.
1655. *Mercurius Scoticus*; or, A true character of affairs in England, Scotland, Ireland, and other forraign parts. Leith, 1651.
- 1655a. *Mercurius Scoticus*; or, The royal messenger. Eliz. Alkin. No. 2, Sept. 23-30, 1651.
1656. *Mercurius somniosus*. 1644.

Mercurius urbanus. See *Britanicus vapulans*.

1657. *Mercurius vapulans*; or, *Naworth stript and whipt.* 1644.
1658. *Mercurius vapulans*; or, *The whipping of poor British mercury*, by *Mercurius urbanus*, younger brother to *Aulicus*. No. 1, Nov. 2, 1643.
1659. *Mercurius verax.* 1649.
1660. *Mercurius veridicus.* No. 1, June 12, 1660.
1661. *Mercurius veridicus*, communicating the best and truest intelligence from all parts of England. No. 1, Jan. 7, 1681.
1662. *Mercurius veridicus*; or, *True informations.* 1645-46.
1663. *Mercurius zeteticus.* 1652.
- 1663a. *Mercury*; or, *Advertisements concerning trade.* 1668.
- 1663b. *Mercury of England*, giving an account of all publick events, with historical observations. No. 6, Aug. 25, 1704.
1664. *Mercury*; or, *Advertisements concerning trade.* No. 119, Feb. 21, 1677.
1665. *Mercury*; or, *The northern reformer.* Edinburgh. 1717.
1666. *Merlinus phanaticus.* No. 1, May 23, 1660.
- 1666a. *Merry Andrew*; or, *British Harlequin.* 1720.
1667. *Merry mercury*; or, *The farce of fools.* 1700.
1668. *Methodist monitor.* 1796.
Metropolitan nuncio. See *Mercurius militaris*; or, *Times only truth-teller.*
1670. *Microcosm.* 1757.
1671. *Microscope*; or, *Minute observer.* Belfast, 1799-1800.
1672. *Military actions of Europe*, collected weekly for the Tuesday's post. No. 1, Oct. 20, 1646.
1673. *Military magazine.* 1793.
1674. *Military scribe.* No. 1, Feb. 26, 1644.
1675. *Minerva magazine.* Dublin, 1793.
1676. *Miniature.* 1784.
- 1676a. *Mirror.* Dublin, 1750-51.
1677. *Mirrour.* 1719. w.
1678. *Mirrour.* 1733.

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- 1679. *Mirroure*. 1759.
- 1680. *Miscellanea curiosa*. 1708.
- 1681. *Miscellanæ curiosæ*; or, *Entertainments for the ingenious of both sexes*. York, 1734-35. q.
- 1682. *Miscellany*. 1711.
- 1683. *Miscellany*. 1715.
- 1684. *Miscellany*. Bishop Horne. 1768.
- 1685. *Miscellany numbers*. Edinburgh, nos. 1-29, 1712.
- 1686. *Mock press*; or, *The encounter of Harry Lungs and Jasper Hem*. 1681.
- 1688. *Moderate informer*. No. 1, May 19, 1659.
- 1689. *Moderate informer of all occurrences at home and abroad*. No. 1, May 12, 1659.
- 1690. *Moderate intelligence*. No. 1, May 24, 1649.
- 1692. *Moderate intelligencer*. 1653-54.
- 1693. *Moderate intelligencer*. 1682.
- 1694. *Moderate mercury*. No. 1, June 21, 1649.
- 1695. *Moderate messenger*. No. 1, Feb. 3, 1646.
- 1696. *Moderate messenger*. No. 22, Feb. 23, 1647.
- 1696a. *Moderate messenger*. No. 15, Aug. 6, 1649.
- 1697. *Moderate messenger*. No. 1, Feb. 7, 1653.
- 1698. *Moderate messenger*. No. 1, Feb. 27, 1653.
- 1699. *Moderate occurrences*. No. 1, Apr. 5, 1653.
- 1700. *Moderate publisher*. No. 1, Oct. 7, 1653.
- 1701. *Moderator*. 1692.
- 1702. *Moderator*. 1705.
- 1703. *Moderator*. J. Peele. 1721. t. w.
- 1704. *Moderator*. 1762.
- 1705. *Moderator*. No. 1, Nov. 19, 1763.
- 1705a. *Modern characters*. 1753.
- 1706. *Moderne intelligencer*. No. 1, Aug. 19, 1647.
- 1707. *Moderne intelligencer*. 1650.
- 1707a. *Modern intelligencer*. No. 5, Sept. 3, 1651.
- 1708. *Modern monitor*. 1770. s. w.

- 1709. **Monethly** intelligencer. No. 1, Jan. 1, 1660.
- 1710. **Monitor**. 1713.
- 1711. **Monitor**. Bristol, 1790.
- 1712. **Monitor**; or, Green-room laid open. *Continued as Theatrical monitor*; or, Stage management and green room laid open (from no. 2, Oct. 24, 1767). 1767-68. w.
- 1713. **Monstrous** magazine. Dublin, 1770.
- 1714. **Monthly** account. 1645.
- 1714a. **Monthly** account of the present state of affairs, &c. No. 3, Mar. 1700.
- 1715. **Monthly** advices from Parnassus. 1722. m.
- 1716. **Monthly** amusement. 1709.
- 1717. **Monthly** and critical review. 1756.
- 1718. **Monthly** collector of elegant anecdotes and other curiosities of literature. 1798.
- 1719. **Monthly** communications; being a collection of tracts on all subjects. 1793.
- 1720. **Monthly** intelligence, relating the affaires of the people called Quakers. No. 1, Aug.-Sept., 1662.
- 1721. **Monthly** London journal . . . by Cato Junr. No. 2, Nov. 22, 1722. m.
- 1722. **Monthly** magazine. Chelmsford, 1800.
- 1723. **Monthly** melody; or, Polite amusement for gentlemen and ladies. . . . 1760.
- 1724. **Monthly** miscellany; consisting of news, history, philosophy, poetry, music. 1692.
- 1725. **Monthly** miscellany; or, Irish review and register. Cork, 1796-97.
- 1726. **Monthly** miscellany; or, Memoirs for the curious. 1707-10.
- 1727. **Monthly** packet of advice from Parnassus, establish'd by Apollo's express authority and sent to England. 1723.
- 1728. **Monthly** preceptor. 1800+. m.
- 1729. **Monthly** record of literature. V. 4, 1767.
- 1730. **Monthly** recorder of all true occurrences both foreign and domestick. 1681-82.
- 1731. **Monthly** remembrancer; or, An historical and chronological diary of the . . . affairs of Europe. 1730.

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- 1732. Monthly transactions. 1709. m.
- 1732a. Monthly weather-paper. Feb. 27, 1711.
- 1733. Moral and entertaining magazine; or, Literary miscellany of instruction and amusement. 1777-79. m.
- 1733a. Morsel from the wolf in bloody sheep's clothing. Dublin, 1753.
- 1735. Munster journal. A. Welsh. Limerick, v. 23, no. 80, Oct. 5, 1761-v. 40, June 5, 1777.
- 1735b. Munster packet; or, General advertiser. Waterford, 1788.
- 1736. Muscovite. 1714. w.
- 1737. Musical companion; or, Songster's magazine. 1777.
- 1738. Musical magazine. 1760.
National scout. *See* Faithfull scout. 1659-60.
- 1739. Naturalist's pocket magazine. 1790-(?).
- 1740. Naval magazine; or, Maritime miscellany; containing voyages. . . . 1799.
- 1741. Needham's post-man; containing foreign and domestick news. *Printed by* G. Needham; by Richard Dickson (no. 27). Dublin, nos. 3-27, May 29-Sept. 17, 1724. t. w.
- 1742. Nettle. Dublin, 1751.
- 1742a. Newark herald. D. Holt. Newark, (?) - 1792(?). w.
- 1743. Newcastle advertiser. *Published by* Matthew Brown. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 1, Oct. 18, 1788+.
- 1743a. Newcastle gazette. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1744-55.
- 1744. Newcastle gazette; or, Northern courant. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 1710.
- 1744a. Newcastle intelligencer. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1755-59.
- 1745. Newcastle magazine. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1785-86.
- 1745a. Newcastle mercury. R. Akenhead. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1722.
- 1746. Newcastle weekly magazine. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1776.
- 1747. New Christian uses upon the weekly true passages and proceedings. No. 1, Oct. 7, 1643.
- 1748. New Edinburgh gazette. *Continued as* Evening post; or, The new Edinburgh gazette (from 1711?). Edinburgh, 1710-12.

1749. *Newes from the Low Countries. Printed by M. H. Altmore* [Alkmaar(?)], July 29, 1621.
1750. *Newes; or, The ful particulars of the last fight.* No. 1, Aug. 12, 1653.
1751. *New evening post. Printed by L. Walker.* Dublin, v. 1, nos. 1-25, Oct. 15-Dec. 10, 1782. s. w.
1752. *New express.* 1700.
1753. *New hackney coach companion.* 1779(?).
1754. *New magazine. Continued as Strabane magazine* (from 1800). D. M'Anaw. Strabane, 1799-1800.
1755. *New morning post; or, General advertiser.* No. 0010 [sic], Nov. 14, 1776.
1756. *New news-book; or, Occurrences foreign and domestic impartially related.* 1681.
1757. *New news, strange news, true news, and upon the matter no news.* No. 1, June 15, 1648.
- 1757a. *New observator.* 1691.
1758. *New observator.* 1704.
1759. *New observator on the present times.* No. 1, Jan. 1, 1701.
- 1759a. *New present state of England.* R. Baldwin. V. 1-2, 1753.
1760. *New print magazine; being a collection of picturesque views.* 1795.
1761. *New Scots spy; or, Critical observer.* Edinburgh, nos. 1-12, Aug. 29, 1777-Nov. 14, 1777. w.
1762. *News from Germany.* 1642.
1763. *News journal, in English and French.* No. 1, Feb. 28, 1723.
1764. *News letter. Printed by J. Ray for R. Thornton.* Dublin, 1685-86.
1765. *News letter.* No. 1, Jan. 7, 1716.
1766. *New spiritual magazine; or, Evangelical treasury of experimental religion.* 1783-85.
1767. *New state of Europe, both as to publick transactions and learning.* 1701.
1768. *New state of Europe; or, A true account of public transactions and learning.* 1701.
1769. *New tea-table miscellany.* 1741.
1770. *New universal magazine.* 1775.

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- 1771. New universal magazine of knowledge, pleasure and amusement; or, Gentleman's grand imperial museum. V. 2, 1788.
- 1772. New weekly miscellany. 1741.
- 1772a. Nicholas Hussey's weekly post; or, The Dublin impartial intelligence. Dublin, 1728.
- 1774a. Night post. No. 68, Jan. 1, 1712.
- 1775. Nonsense of common sense. 1737-38.
- 1776. Noon gazette and daily spy. 1781-82.
- 1777. Norfolk chronicle; or, Norwich gazette. Norwich, 1769(?) +. w.
- 1778. Norfolk poetical miscellany. Norwich, 1744.
- 1778a. Northampton journal. J. Pasham. Northampton, 1721(?).
- 1779. Northampton miscellany; or, Monthly amusements calculated for the diversion of the country and the profit of the printer. Northampton, 1721.
- 1779a. Northamptonshire journal. Northampton(?), (?)-1741(?).
- 1780. North British miscellany; or, Dundee amusement. Dundee, v. 1-2, June, 1778-June, 1780. f.
- 1780a. North country journal; or, The impartial intelligencer. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1785.
- 1780b. North country journal; or, The impartial intelligencer. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1734-39.
- 1781. Northern Atlantis; or, York spy. York(?), 1713.
- 1782. Northern gazette; literary chronicle, and review. Aberdeen, Apr. 6, 1787-Dec. 27, 1787. w.
- 1783. Northern star. *Printed by* John Rabb. Belfast, 1792-97.
- 1784. North tatler. Edinburgh, no. 1, April 1, 1710.
- 1784a. Norwich courant; or, Weekly packet. Norwich, 1714-(?).
Norwich gazette. 1706(?) - 47. *See* Gazette.
- 1785. Norwich gazette. Norwich, 1761-64.
- 1785a. Norwich gazette; or, Henry Crossgrove's news. Norwich, 1721-(?).
- 1785b. Norwich journal. Norwich, 1723.
- 1786. Norwich mercury. Norwich, 1725+.
- 1787. Norwich post. Norwich, 1701(?) - 09. w.

1788. *Norwich post man*. Norwich, 1706-09. w.
- 1788a. *Norwich weekly mercury*; or, Protestant packet. Norwich. 1721.
1789. *Nose*. 1800. m.
1790. *Nottingham chronicle*. *Published by* George Burbage. Nottingham. 1772-75.
- 1790a. *Nottingham courant*. *Continued as* Nottingham journal (from 1769). *Published by* George Ayscough (to 1769); then by Samuel Creswell; then by Creswell and George Burbage (from 1775); then by Burbage (from 1786). Nottingham, 1732+.
- Nottingham journal. *See* Nottingham courant.
1791. *Nottingham mercury*; or, A general review of the affairs of Europe. Nottingham, 1715-20. w.
1792. *Nottingham post*. Nottingham, no. 42, July 18, 1711.
1793. *Nottingham post*. *Printed and published by* John Collyer. Nottingham, no. 1, 1716.
- 1793a. *Nottingham weekly courant*. Nottingham, no. 1, Nov. 27, 1710.
1794. *Nouvelles ordinaires de Londres*. William Du Gard (to 1660); Samuel Brown (from 1660). 1650-66(?).
1795. *Novel reader*. 1800.
- 1795a. *Observations historical, political, and philosophical upon Aristotle's first book of political government*. No. 1, Apr. 11, 1654.
- 1795b. *Observations upon the most remarkable occurrences in our weekly news*. No. 1, May 31, 1693.
1796. *Observer*. 1718.
1797. *Observer*. 1724.
1798. *Observer*, being a sequel to the Englishman. 1714(?).
1799. *Observer*; or, A dialogue between a countryman and a landwart schoolmaster concerning the proceedings of the Parliament in England in relation to Scots affairs. Edinburgh, no. 1 [n. d.]-no. 9, July 23, 1705; no. 10, May 25, 1706. ir.
1800. *Observer reformed*. No. 1, Sept. 10, 1704.
1801. *Observer*, with a summary of intelligence. 1654.
1802. *Observer*. Glasgow, 1785.

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1803. Observer; or, A delineation of the times. Edinburgh, no. 1, Sept. 28, 1793.
1804. Occasional courrant: religious qualifications for civil employments candidly consider'd. 1717.
1805. Occasional historian. 1730-32.
1806. Occasional paper. 1726.
1807. Occasional paper. 1740.
1808. Occasional paper upon the subject of religion, and the church establishment. 1735-36.
1809. Occasional respondent. Cambridge, no. 1, Apr. 12, 1764.
1810. Occasional writer. No. 1, June 26, 1762.
1811. Occasionalist. 1768.
1812. Occurrences from Ireland. No. 3, Apr. 22, 1642.
1813. Occurrences of certain speciall and remarkable passages. 1644-46.
- 1814a. Old British spy. No. 2255, Jan. 4, 1783-1792(?). w.
1815. Old English journal. 1743-46. w.
1816. Old English journal; or, National gazette. 1751.
1817. Old Englishman, and anti-Jacobin examiner. Nos. 1-14, Dec. 5, 1798-Feb. 10, 1799. s. w.
1818. Old post-master. 1696.
1819. Olio. 1792.
1820. Olio; or, Anything Arian magazine. Dublin, 1800.
1821. Oracle. No. 1, Aug. 1, 1715.
Oracle county advertiser. *See* Bristol oracle, and country intelligencer.
1822. Oracle; or, Sunday gazette. *Printed by* J. Henshall. Dublin, v. 2, no. 3, Oct. 22, 1797.
- 1822a. Orange intelligence. *Printed by* George Croom. 1688.
1823. Orator's miscellany. J. Henley. 1731.
1824. Original London post; or, Heathcote's intelligence. 1718-
(?).
- 1824a. Original star, and grand weekly advertiser. No. 5, May 7, 1788.
Original York journal. *See* York mercury.
1825. Orphan. No. 1, Mar. 21, 1716.

1826. *Oxford gazette*, and *Reading mercury*. *Continued as Reading mercury and Oxford gazette* (from 1767). Reading, no. 420, Nov. 26, 1753+. w.
1827. *Oxford mercury and Midland County chronicle*. Oxford, 1795.
1828. *Packet of letters*, No. 1, June 26, 1646.
- 1828a. *Packet of letters from Sir Thomas Fairfax his quarters*. . . . No. 1, Oct. 30, 1645.
1829. *Pacquet-boat from Holland and Flanders*. 1695.
1830. *Pacquet of advice from France; or, The historical and political account of the French intrigues*. 1691.
- 1830a. *Pacquets of advice from Ireland, with the Irish courant*. J. Hunt. 1690.
1832. *Paris gazette*. Edinburgh, 1708. Supplementary section entitled *Haerlem courant*.
- 1832a. *Paris gazette*, English'd. No. 17, Jan. 10, 1705.
1833. *Parliamentary register*. John Almon. 1774- (?). m.
1834. *Parliament scout*. 1643-45.
1835. *Parliament's scout's discovery*. No. 1, June 16, 1643.
1836. *Parlour window*. Dublin, 1795.
1837. *Parrot*. 1728. w.
- 1837a. *Particular relation of the most remarkable occurrences from the united forces in the north*. No. 3, June 10, 1644.
- 1837b. *Passages concerning the King, the army, city, and kingdom*. No. 1, Dec. 6, 1648.
1838. *Passatempo Italico*. 1795-96.
1839. *Passenger*. 1766.
1841. *Patriot*. No. 1, Mar. 6, 1720.
1842. *Patriots' weekly chronicle*. Edinburgh, 1794-96 (?).
1844. *Penny medley; or, Weekly entertainer*. 1746.
1845. *Penny post*. No. 1, July 19, 1715.
1846. *Penny post; or, Tradesman's select packet*. No. 1, Mar. 13, 1717.
1847. *Penny weekly journal; or, Saturday's entertainment*. *Continued as London mercury; or, Great Britain's weekly*

- journal (from no. 15, Feb. 11, 1721). Oct. 19, 1720-1721.
1848. Perfect account. No. 3, Jan. 29, 1651-1655.
1849. Perfect declaration of the proceedings in Parliament and true information from the armies. *Continued as True informer: containing a perfect collection of the proceedings in Parliament (from no. 2).* 1645-46.
1850. Perfect diary of passages of the King's army. No. 1, June 26, 1648.
- 1850a. Perfect diurnall of the passages in Parliament. *Printed for Robert Williamson.* Nos. 1-5, June 20-July 18, 1642. w.
- 1850b. Perfect diurnall; or, The proceedings in Parliament. No. 1, July 11-19, 1642.
- 1850c. Perfect diurnall; or, The proceedings in Parliament. *Printed for John Thomas.* No. 1, July 18-25, 1642.
1851. Perfect diurnall occurrences of certain military affairs. . . . *Continued as Perfect diurnall; or, Occurrences of certain military affairs. . . . (from no. 2, May 15).* *Printed for F. Coles.* Nos. 1-28, May 8-Oct. 30, 1654. w.
- 1851a. Perfect diurnall of passages in Parliament, wherein is communicated the chiefest intelligence from . . . the Lord Gen. Fairfax and his army. . . . *Printed by Robert Wood.* Nos. 1-2, July 16-23, 1649. w.
- 1851b. Perfect diurnall of some passages and proceedings of and in relation to the armies in England, Ireland, and Scotland. *Printed by John Field.* Nos. 138-40, Aug. 2-16, 1652. w. Distinct from no. 699.
1852. Perfect diurnall; or, The daily proceedings in the conventicle of the phanatiques. No. 1, March 19, 1660.
- 1852a. Perfect diurnal of the passages in Parliament. *Printed by Andrew Coe, R. Austin, and John Clowes.* 1642-43.
- 1852b. Perfect narrative of the whole proceedings of the High Court of Justice in the tryal of the King. John Playford. Nos. 1-3, Jan. 20-27, 1649.
1853. Perfect occurrences of every daies journall in Parliament. 1647-49.
1854. Perfect occurrences. 1653.
1855. Perfect occurrences. No. 1, Feb. 6, 1654.
1856. Perfect occurrences. No. 41, May 18, 1660.
1857. Perfect occurrences of both houses of Parliament. 1646.

- 1857a. *Perfect occurrences of every dayes journall in Parliament, and other moderate intelligence. Printed for I. Coe and A. Coe, and later for Robert Ibbitson and John Clowes. Jan. 8, 1647–Oct. 12, 1649.*
1858. *Perfect passages of proceedings in Parliament. No. 2, Oct. 22, 1644.*
1859. *Perfect relation; or, Summary. Printed for Francis Coles. No. 1, Sept. 19-29, 1642.*
1860. *Perfect summarie of the chiefe passages in Parliament. No. 1, Feb. 19, 1648.*
1861. *Perfect summary. No. 1, July 26, 1647.*
1862. *Perfect summary. No. 1, Oct. 9, 1648.*
1863. *Perfect summary of exact passages. No. 1, Jan. 29, 1649. See Williams, History, p. 242.*
1864. *Periodical accounts of the United Brethren missions. 1790+.*
1865. *Peripatetic. 1793.*
1866. *Perth magazine of knowledge and pleasure. Perth, 1772-73. w.*
1867. *Phanatick intelligence. 1681.*
1868. *Phanatique intelligencer. No. 1, Mar. 24, 1660.*
1869. *Philosophical herald. 1795.*
1870. *Philosophical observator. No. 1, Jan. 22, 1695. w.*
1872. *Phoenix of Europe. No. 1, Jan. 16, 1646.*
1873. *Pianoforte magazine. 1796+. w.*
1874. *Pilgrim. No. 1, June 22, 1711.*
1875. *Pilgrim. Dublin, 1775.*
1876. *Plain dealer. 1717. w.*
1878. *Plain Scottish; or, News from Scotland. 1690.*
1880. *Play house journal. Dublin, 1749-50.*
1881. *Plymouth magazine. Plymouth, 1772.*
1882. *Plymouth weekly journal; or, General post. Plymouth, 1718-25.*
- 1882a. *Poetical entertainer. J. Morphew. Nos. 1-5, 1712-13.*
1883. *Poetical magazine. 1779.*
1884. *Poetical magazine; or, The muses monthly companion. 1764.*
1885. *Poetical observator. Printed by D. Edwards. 1702-03.*

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- 1885a. Poetical observator revived; to be continued monthly. 1703.
- 1886. Political history of Europe; with an account of new books. 1697.
- 1887. Political magazine. 1794.
- 1888. Political mercury. No. 1, Jan., 1727. m.
- 1889a. Political monitor. 1796.
- 1890. Political tatler. No. 1, Jan. 19, 1716.
- 1891. Political touchstone. 1782.
- 1892. Politick commentary upon the life of Caius July Caesar. No. 1, May 23, 1654.
- 1893. Politick spy; or, The weekly reflexions on the state and present dangers of Christendom. 1701. w.
- 1894. Politique informer. No. 1, Jan. 30, 1654.
- 1895. Polyhymnia. Glasgow, nos. 1-20, 1799.
- 1895a. Poor Robin's intelligence; or, News from city and country. *Printed for W. Brown.* Nos. 1-2, July 8-17, 1691.
Pope's Bath chronicle. *See* Bath chronicle and weekly gazette.
- 1896. Popish mass display'd; or, The superstitions and fopperies of the Roman church discovered. 1681.
- 1897. Porcupine. 1800+.
- 1898. Portsmouth gazette. Portsmouth, 1793+.
- 1899. Portsmouth telegraph. Portsmouth, 1799+.
- 1900. Post-boy. *Printed by* John Harding. Dublin, 1718-24.
- 1901. Post-man: and the historical account. *Printed by* Edw. Sandys; *by* Thos. Hume (from 1717). Dublin, nos. 19-331, Sept. 15, 1708-Jan. 9, 1723. w.
- 1902. Postmaster; or, The loyal mercury. A. Brice. Exeter, nos. 6-220, Sept. 2, 1720-Apr. 9, 1725.
- 1903. Practical reflexions, moral, satirical, etc. 1709.
- 1904. Prattler. No. 1, Dec. 30, 1740.
- 1904a. Prescott's Manchester journal. Manchester, no. 1, Mar. 23, 1771-1774. w.
- 1904b. Preston review and county advertiser. Preston, June 1, 1793-(?).
- 1904c. Preston journal. W. Smith. Preston, 1742(?).

- 1904d. *Proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland*. Edinburgh, no. 1, Apr. 18, 1693.
1905. *Projector*. No. 1, Feb. 6, 1721.
1906. *Protestant advocate*, with remarks upon popery, serious and comical. 1724. s. w.
1907. *Protestant intelligence*. No. 1, Jan. 1, 1724.
- 1907a. *Protestant intelligence*, with news foreign and domestick, by a society of gentlemen. Nos. 21-23, Feb. 13-27, 1725.
1909. *Protestant medley*; or, *Weekly courant*. W. Boreham. No. 1, Aug. 17, 1717-1720.
1910. *Protestant mercury*; or, *The Exeter post-boy*. Jos. Bliss. Exeter, no. 4, Oct. 7, 1715. Cf. no. 1472.
1911. *Protestant packet*. *Contrib. by Steele* (?). 1716.
1912. *Protestant packet*; or, *British monitor*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1780-81.
1913. *Protestant pacquet*. No. 1, Jan. 21, 1716.
1914. *Protestant's magazine*. 1761.
1915. *Protestant York courant*. York, no. 224, Mar. 6 (and other numbers that year), 1749.
1916. *Public advertiser*; or, *The theatrical chronicle*. Printed by James Parker. Dublin, v. 1, nos. 67-68, Feb. 14-16, 1774.
1917. *Public adviser*. No. 1, May 26, 1657.
1918. *Public journal*. Printed by Peter Hoey. Dublin, no. 214, Feb. 27, 1771.
1919. *Public advertisements*. Sir Roger L'Estrange. No. 1, June 25, 1666.
1920. *Public intelligencer*. 1660.
1921. *Public magazine*. 1760. f.
1922. *Public prompter*, and *Irish journal*. Printed by Bart. Gorman. Dublin, v. 1, nos. 1-9, Nov. 1-22, 1765. s. w.
1923. *Pue's occurrences*. Printed by James Pue. Dublin, 1704-92. First published under the title *Impartial occurrences foreign and domestick* (?).
1924. *Quotidian occurrences*. 1642.
1925. *Racing calendar*. 1774-84. f.
1926. *Rambler*. No. 4, Mar. 19, 1712.
- Rayner's London morning advertiser*. See *Generous London morning advertiser*.

- Reading mercury and Oxford gazette. *See* Oxford gazette and Reading mercury.
1928. Reasoner and free enquirer. No. 1, Oct. 17, 1761. w.
1929. Reconciler. Nos. 1-25, Apr. 30-June 22, 1713.
1930. Records of love; or, Weekly amusements for the fair. 1710. w.
1932. Reflector, reflecting human affairs. 1750.
- 1932a. Reformer. Edmund Burke. Dublin, nos. 1-13, Jan. 28, 1747/8-Apr. 21, 1748. w.
1933. Reformer. 1756. w.
1934. Regal rambler, for 1793. 1793(?).
1935. Rehearsal rehearsed; in a dialogue between Bayes and Johnson. No. 1, Sept. 27, 1706.
- Reilly's weekly oracle. *See* Weekly oracle; or, universal library.
1936. Relationes extraordinariae. 1679.
- 1936a. Relation of the particulars of the reduction of the greatest part of the province of Munster in Ireland to the obedience of the commonwealth of England. . . . Matthew Simmons. No. 14, Dec.[?], 1649.
1937. Religious magazine; or, Christian's storehouse. Edinburgh, 1760.
1938. Remarkable occurrences. No. 1, Feb. 19, 1716.
- 1938a. Remarkable occurrences from the High Court of Parliament. I. Smith and And. Coe. May 16-23, 1642.
1939. Remarkable occurrences of news. 1630.
1940. Remarkable passages. *Continued as* Continuation of remarkable passages (from Dec. 29, 1643). 1643-44.
1941. Remarkable passages; or, A perfect diurnall. No. 1, Sept. 12, 1642.
1942. Remembrancer. James Ralph. 1748-51.
1943. Remembrancer: essays and dissertations. Bath, 1771.
1944. Reporter; or, The general observer. 1797. f.
1945. Repository; containing various political, philosophical, . . . and miscellaneous articles. 1782-89.
1946. Repository; or, Library of fugitive pieces. Dublin, 1763.
1947. Reprisal. 1717. w.

- 1948. Restorer. No. 1, Aug. 17, 1711.
- 1949. Restorer. 1715.
- 1950. Re-tatler. 1709.
- 1951. Retrospector. 1754-55. w.
- 1952. Rhapsodist. 1757. w.
- 1953. Rhapsody. 1712.
- 1954. Rights of Irishmen; or, National evening star. *Printed by R. M'Allister.* Dublin, nos. 214-15, Mar. 21-23, 1793.
- 1954a. Robin Snap. Norwich, 1770. w.
- 1955. Royal diurnal. No. 1, July 31, 1648.
- 1956. Royal diurnall. No. 4, March 19, 1650.
- 1957. Royall diurnall. No. 1, Apr. 22, 1650.
- 1958. Royal Irish academy. Transactions. Dublin, 1787+.
- 1959. Royal magazine. 1788.
- 1960. Royal-oak journal. 1732.
- 1961. Royal Society of Edinburgh. Transactions. Edinburgh, 1788+.
- 1962. Royal Westminster journal. 1762-63.
- 1963. St. Ives mercury. *Printed by William Dicey.* St. Ives, 1719-20.
- 1964. St. Ives post. St. Ives, 1717-18.
- 1965. St. Ives post boy; or, The loyal packet. St. Ives, 1718-19. w.
- 1966. St. James's evening post. *Printed by Corn. Carter.* Dublin, 1719-25. w.
- 1967. St. James's weekly journal. 1717.
- 1968. St. James's weekly journal; or, Hanover postman. 1719.
- 1968a. Salisbury journal. Salisbury, no. 58, July 6, 1730. Possibly continued as no. 805.
- 1969. Salisbury post-man. Sam Farley. Salisbury, No. 1, Sept. 27, 1715.
- 1970. Salmon's mercury. *Continued as Salmon's mercury and general advertiser (from no. 4); as Salmon's mercury; or, Entertaining repository (from no. 22).* J. Salmon. Bath, 1777-81 (?).
- 1971. Salopian journal and courier of Wales. Shrewsbury, 1794+.
- 1972. Sam Farley's Bristol post man. *Continued as Farley's*

Bristol news-paper (from 1725); *as* Sam Farley's Bristol newspaper (from 1737?); *as* Bristol journal (from 1749); *as* Sarah Farley's Bristol journal (from 1777). Bristol, 1715-93.

Sarah Farley's Bristol journal. *See* F. Farley's Bristol journal *and* Sam Farley's Bristol post man.

- 1974. Saturday's post. No. 1, Sept. 29, 1716.
- 1975. Schemer, for 1753. 1753(?).
- 1976. Schofield's Middlewich journal; or, General advertiser. Middlewich, 1756-57.
- 1977. Scientific receptacle; containing problems . . . anagrams . . . selected by T. Whiting. 1795+.
- 1978. Scotch mercury. No. 1, May 8, 1692.
- 1979. Scotch mercury, communicating the affairs of Scotland. No. 1, Oct. 5, 1643.
- 1980. Scots antiquarian miscellany. Glasgow, 1784.
- 1981. Scots chronicle. Edinburgh. 1796+.
- 1982. Scots courant. 1705.
- 1983. Scots farmer. Edinburgh, 1772.
- 1984. Scots observator. 1708.
- 1985. Scots weekly magazine; or, Grand repository. Edinburgh, no. 1, Oct. 3, 1775.
- 1985a. Scottish chronicle. Edinburgh, 1788.
- 1986. Scottish mercury, giving a true account of the daily proceedings and most remarkable occurrences in Scotland. 1692.
- 1987. Scourge. 1771.
- 1988. Scourge. 1780.
- 1989. Scout. *Continued as* Impartial scout (from no. 53, June 28, 1650). 1649-50.
- 1990. Scout of cockney. Edinburgh, 1661.
- 1991. Scrutator. 1764.
- 1992. Seasonable writer. No. 2, Sept. 15, 1727.
- 1993. Second character of Mercurius politicus. 1650.
- 1994. Secret mercury; or, The adventure of seven days. 1702.
- 1995. Selector. 1776-77.

- 1996. Senator. 1728.
- 1996a. Serio-jocular medley. Cork, 1738.
- 1996b. Several letters from Scotland, of the proceedings of the army. F. Neile. No. 1, July 8-15, 1651.
- 1996c. Several proceedings of Parliament. John Field. Nos. 1-21, July 4-Dec. 13, 1653.
- 1997. Serious thoughts; or, A golden chain of contemplations. 1710.
- 1997a. Shamroc. Waterford(?), 1799.
- 1997b. Sheffield advertiser. William Ward. Sheffield, (?) - 1792(?). w.
Sheffield iris. *See* Sheffield register.
- 1997c. Sheffield register. *Continued as* Sheffield iris (from ?). Joseph Gales; later James Montgomery. Sheffield, no. 1, June 1787-92(?).
- 1997d. Shepherd. *Published by* N. Crook. Dublin, 1759.
Sherborne journal. *See* Cruttwell's Sherborne journal.
- 1998. Sherborne mercury; or, Weekly advertiser. *Continued as* Western flying-post; or, Sherborne and Yeovil mercury (from Jan. 30, 1749); *as* Western flying post or Sherborne and Yeovil mercury and general advertiser (from Sept. 23, 1765). Sherborne, 1737+.
- 1999. Shopkeeper and tradesman's assistant. 1773+.
- 2000. Shrewsbury chronicle. Shrewsbury, 1771(?) +.
- 2000a. Shuffler. 1727.
- 2000b. Shropshire journal. London, no. 73, Feb. 12, 1739.
- 2001. Silent monitor. 1711.
- 2001a. Silver court gazette. *Printed by* Richard Dickson. Dublin, 1726.
- 2002. Skeptic; or, Unbeliever. 1773.
- 2002a. Sligo journal. Sligo, 1800.
- 2002b. Sligo morning herald. Limerick, 1793.
- 2003. Social magazine; or, Monthly cabinet of wit. 1800.
- 2004. Soldier's pocket magazine. 1798.
- 2005. Society for the improvement of medical and chirurgical knowledge. Transactions. 1793-1800.

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2006. Society for the encouragement of arts, manufacturers, and commerce. Transactions. 1783+.
2007. Some special and considerable passages from London, Westminster. . . . No. 1, Aug. 16, 1642.
2008. Special and considerable passages. No. 1, Aug. 16, 1642. Special passages continued. *See* Wednesday's mercury.
2009. Special passages from divers parts. No. 2, Aug. 23, 1642.
2010. Spectator. W. Bond and George Sewel. 1715.
2011. Speculatist. Matthew Concanen. 1730.
2012. Speedy post, with more news from Hull. 1642.
2013. Spring-Garden journal. 1752. w.
2014. Spie, communicating intelligence from Oxford. 1644.
2015. Sportsmans and breeders vade mecum. York, 1786-97.
2016. Spy, 1720-21. w.
2017. Spy on the conjuror. 1725.
2018. Staffetta Italiana; or, The Italian post. Nos. 3-7, Jan. 2-30, 1729.
2019. Statesman; or, The constitutional advocate. 1761.
2020. Stockton bee. Stockton-on-Tees, 1793-95.
2021. Storm, being a periodical paper containing . . . no name . . . but such as are notoriously known to be of that exterminating banditti called Orange-men. [Dublin, 1798.]
- 2021a. Strabane journal; or, The general advertiser. Strabane, 1771-(?). w.
Strabane magazine. *See* New magazine.
- 2021b. Strabane news-letter. Strabane, 1788-(?).
2022. Strange and wonderful news from Norwich. 1681.
2023. Student. Liverpool, 1798.
- 2023a. Suffolk mercury; or, St. Edmunds Bury post. Bury St. Edmunds. No. 43, Feb. 3, 1717-1731(?).
- 2023b. Sunday chronicle. 1788-90.
- 2023c. Sunday reformer and universal register. 1793-95.
2024. Sunday London gazette. 1783+.
- 2024a. Sunday observer. (?) -1792(?). w.

- 2024b. *Sunday reformer and universal register. Amalgamated with London recorder* (in 1796). 1793-96.
- 2024c. *Supplement*. No. 1, Jan. 19, 1708-1712 (?).
- 2024d. *Supplement*, by way of postscript to the *Weekly journal*, and other weekly accounts. No. 1, Jan. 4, 1716.
2025. *Supplement to the Dublin impartial news-letter. Printed by Samuel Dalton*. Dublin, Sept. 12, 1734.
2026. *Surprise*. Oxford, 1711.
2027. *Surprize*. No. 4, Sept. 6, 1711.
2028. *Sylphid*. 1799.
2030. *Tatler* reviv'd. 1727-28.
2031. *Tatler* revived. 1750.
2032. *Tatling harlot*. 1709.
2033. *Tea-table. Attributed to Steele*. 1716.
2034. *Tea table*. Eliza Haywood. 1724. s. w.
2035. *Tell-tale*. 1709.
2036. *Tell-tale*, being a conversation piece on the fears of popery. 1734.
- 2036a. *Tell-tale*, No. 1, 1783 (or 1784).
2037. *Templar*. 1731.
2038. *Templar* and literary gazette. 1773. s. w.
- 2038a. *Temple—Oge intelligencer. Printed by S. Powell*. Dublin, 1728.
2039. *Terræ filius*. Oxford. 1763. d.
2040. *Terræ-filius*. No. 11, Mar. 17, 1764.
2041. *Terræ-filius*. J. Scott (?). Nos. 1-3, Mar. 15-29, 1764. w.
- 2041a. *Terræ filius*. Nos. 1-5, Mar. 16-Apr. 6, 1764.
2042. *Theatrical magazine*. 1800 (?). m.
- Theatrical monitor. See Monitor; or, Green-room laid open.*
2044. *Theme; or, Scoto-Presbyter*. 1652.
2045. *Thespian telegraph*. 1796.
2046. *Titt for tatt*. 1710.
2047. *Topics of the day*. 1764.
2048. *Torch; or, A light to enlighten the nations of Europe in their way towards peace and happiness*. [Dublin, 1798].

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- 2049. Torch; or, Glasgow museum. Glasgow, 1796.
- 2050. Tory tatler. 1710-11. t. w.
- 2050a. Town and country magazine and Irish miscellany. Dublin, 1784-85.
- 2051. Town spy. 1704.
- 2052. Trance; or, News from hell, brought fresh to town, by Mercurius Acheronticus. No. 1, Dec. 11, 1648.
- 2053. Traveller. 1731.
- 2054. Travellers magazine; or, Gentleman and lady's agreeable companion. 1749.
- 2055. Treaty traverser. No. 1, Sept. 26, 1648.
 Trewman's Exeter evening post. *See* Exeter mercury; or, West-country advertiser.
 Trewman's Exeter flying post. *See* Exeter mercury; or, West-country advertiser.
- 2055a. Trifler; by Timothy Scribbler, Esq. *Printed for J. Peele.* No. 6, Nov. 28, 1722.
- 2056. Trifler. Edinburgh, 1795-96. w.
- 2056a. Trifler. Dublin, Jan. 1754.
- 2057. True and perfect diurnal. No. 1, Dec. 27, 1652.
- 2058. True and perfect diurnall of all chiefe passages in Lancashire. No. 1, July 19, 1642.
- 2059. True and perfect diurnall of the passages in Parliament. No. 11, Sept. 6, 1642.
- 2060. True and perfect Dutch diurnall. 1653-54.
- 2062. True and perfect journal of the warres in England. 1644.
- 2062a. True British courant; or, Preston journal. Preston, 1745-(?).
- 2063. True collection of weekly passages. 1645.
 True informer. 1645-46. *See* Perfect declaration.
- 2064. True informer: of the actions of the army in England, Scotland, and Ireland. *Printed for F. N.* No. 1, Aug. 28, 1651.
- 2066. True informer: comprizing several proceedings of state affairs, in England, Scotland and Ireland. *Continued as* True and perfect informer: comprizing several proceedings of the armies (from no. [3]). *Printed by T. Lock.* Nos. [2]-[3], Jan. 13-20, 1654.

- 2068. True newes from our navie now at sea. 1642.
- 2069a. True Protestant domestic intelligence. S. Crouch. No. 1, July 9, 1679-(?).
- 2070. True Protestant mercury; or, An impartial history of the times. No. 1, Dec. 6, 1689.
- 2070a. True Protestant mercury. No. 2, Jan. 10, 1689(?). Perhaps an issue of no. 2070.
- 2071. Trysorfa Gwybodaeth. Carmarthen, 1770.
- 2072. Tuesdaies journall. No. 1, July 1, 1649.
- 2073. Tuesdaies journal of perfect passages in Parliament. No. 1, July 23, 1649.
- 2073a. Tuner. Paul Hiffernan. Dublin, 1754-55.
- 2074. Tuner. No. 1, Dec. 9, 1769.
- 2074a. Ulster miscellany. Belfast(?), 1753.
- 2075. Union star. [Dublin, 1798].
- 2075a. Universal advertiser. *Published by M. Williamson.* Dublin, 1731-66.
- 2076. Universal chronicle; or, Weekly gazette. John Newbery. 1758-60.
- 2077. Universal intelligence. 1679.
- 2078. Universal intelligence. 1681.
- 2078a. Universal intelligence. John Wallis. 1688-89.
- 2079. Universal intelligence; or, General collection of advertisements. 1707.
- 2080. Universal intelligencer. No. 12, Feb. 13, 1689.
- 2081. Universalists' miscellany; or, Philanthropist's museum: intended chiefly as an antidote against the Antichristian doctrine of endless misery. 1797+.
- 2082. Universal journal. 1723-24.
- 2083. Universal journal. *Printed by Halhed Garland.* Dublin, no. 174, Feb. 17, 1746.
- 2084. Universal journalist. Dublin: printed for the Spectator Club, June 1, 1768.
- 2085. Universal librarian. 1751.
- 2086. Universal magazine and review. Dublin, 1789-92.
- 2088. Universal mercury. J. Roberts. 1726. m.

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- Universal monthly intelligencer. *See* Historical register; or, Edinburgh monthly intelligencer.
2089. Universal museum; or, The entertaining repository, for gentlemen and ladies. Coventry, 1765.
2090. Universal politician. 1796.
2091. Universal review; or, A critical commentary on the literary productions of these kingdoms. 1760.
2093. Universal spy; or, London weekly magazine. 1739.
2094. Universal visiter and memorialist, for the year 1756. Christopher Smart, Samuel Johnson, etc. 1756. m.
- 2094a. Universal weekly journal. 1739.
2095. Unsuspected observer. 1792.
2096. Urbanicus and Rusticus; or, The city and country mercury. 1691.
2097. Useful intelligencer. No. 39, July 10, 1711. s. w.
- 2097a. Useful intelligencer for promoting trade. Nos. 7-10, Jan. 1-11, 1712.
2098. Verity; or, Facts and queries. Glasgow, 1785.
2099. Visiter. 1723-24. w.; s. w.
- 2099a. Vocal magazine. 1781.
2100. Volunteer evening post. *Printed by* W. Bulmer. Dublin, nos. 1-357, Nov. 11, 1783-Feb. 18, 1786. t. w.
2101. Volunteers journal; or, Irish herald. *Printed by* William Corbett. Dublin, nos. 2-170, Oct. 15, 1783-Nov. 10, 1784. s. w.
2102. Votes of both Houses. No. 1, June 20, 1660.
2103. Votes of the House of Commons in Ireland. Dublin; rep. London, 1692.
- 2103a. Waies of literature. 1714.
2104. Walsh's Dublin weekly impartial news-letter. *Printed by* Thomas Walsh. Dublin, 1729(?).
2105. Wandering spy; or, The merry observator. 1729.
2106. Wandering spy; or, The way of the world enquired into. No. 1, June 9, 1705.
2107. Wandering whore. 1660.
2108. Warranted tidings from Ireland. 1641.

- 2108a. Warwick and Staffordshire journal. London, nos. 13-149, Nov. 12, 1737-June 18, 1740.
- 2108b. Waterford chronicle. Waterford, 1765+.
- 2108c. Waterford flying post. Waterford, 1729.
- 2109. Waterford herald. Waterford, no. 567, Sept. 16, 1794-1796. t. w.
- 2109a. Waterford journal. Waterford, 1765.
Watson's Limerick chronicle. *See* Limerick chronicle.
- 2110. Weaver; or, The state of our home manufacture considered. No. 1, Nov. 23, 1719.
- 2111. Wednesday packet. Edinburgh, 1798+.
- 2112. Wednesday's journal; being an auxiliary packet to the Saturday's post. 1717.
- 2113. Wednesday's mercury; or, Special passages and certain informations from severall places. *Continued as* Special passages continued (from no. 2, July 22); *as* Wednesday's mercury; or, The speciall passages and certain informations from severall parts of the kingdome (from no. 4, Aug. 2). *Printed by* T. P. and M. S. No. 1, July 19, 1643.
- 2114. Weekly abstract: presenting to the eye the most remarkable passages throughout the most noted parts of Christendome. Nos. 1-3, June 3-19, 1654.
- 2114a. Weekly accompt of certain special and remarkable passages from both Houses of Parliament and other parts of the kingdome. *Printed for* B. Alsop. No. 1, July 27-Aug. 3, 1643.
- 2114b. Weekly account, faithfully representing, the most remarkable passages in Parliament; and proceedings of the armies. *Printed by* E. Alsop. No. 1, May 25-June 1, 1659.
- 2115. Weekly account, on the establishment of a free state. No. 1, May 25, 1659.
- 2116. Weekly advertisement of books. 1680.
- 2116a. Weekly amusement. No. 1, 1784.
- 2117. Weekly character; being the character of a pope. 1679.
- 2118. Weekly comedy. 1699.
- 2118a. Weekly courant. Nottingham, 1722.

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- 2119. Weekly entertainment. 1700.
- 2120. Weekly history; or, An account of the most remarkable passages relating to the present progress of the Gospel. 1741-42.
- 2121. Weekly information. No. 1, July 20, 1657.
- 2122. Weekly intelligence. 1642.
- 2123. Weekly intelligence. No. 1, May 10, 1659.
- 2124. Weekly intelligence; or, News from city and country. 1679.
- 2125. Weekly intelligencer of the commonwealth. No. 1, May 10, 1659.
- 2126. Weekly intelligencer of the commonwealth. No. 1, July 26, 1659.
- 2127. Weekly journal. *Printed for* Robert Harrison. 1714-15.
- 2128. Weekly journal. Edinburgh, 1757(?) - 75(?).
- 2128a. Weekly journal. Manchester, 1719.
- 2129. Weekly journal from London. Edinburgh, no. 4, May 30, 1688.
- 2130. Weekly journal; or, General post. 1720.
- 2131. Weekly magazine and literary review. Dublin, 1779.
Weekly medley. *See* Flying-post; or, The weekly medley.
- 2132. Weekly memorial; or, Political observations on England's benefits by the war with France. 1692.
- 2133. Weekly mercury; or, The Protestant's packet. Norwich, 1721-23.
- 2134. Weekly mirror. Edinburgh, 1780-81. w.
- 2135. Weekly miscellany. No. 3, Feb. 22, 1701.
- 2136. Weekly miscellany. *Printed by* S. Powell for Edward Exshaw. Dublin, v. 1, nos. 1-52, Jan. 10, 1734-Jan. 4, 1735. w.
- 2137. Weekly miscellany for the improvement of husbandry, trade, arts, and sciences. R. Bradley. 1727-40(?).
- 2138. Weekly news from forraigne parts beyond the seas. 1644.
- 2139. Weekly news-letter. 1695.
- 2140. Weekly newspaper. Dundee, 1778. w.
- 2141. Weekly observator. 1716.
- 2142. Weekly oracle; or, Universal library. *Continued as* Reilly's weekly oracle (from v. 2, no. 1, Mar. 2, 1736). *Printed by* R. Reilly. Dublin, v. 1, no. 1-v. 2, no. 53, May 3, 1735-Aug. 31, 1736.

- 2143. *Weekly packet*. 1743(?)–44.
- 2143a. *Weekly packet*, with the price courant. Mar. 22, 1718.
- 2144. *Weekly post*; or, A just account of all the principal news, both foreign and domestic. No. 1, Dec. 1, 1711.
- 2145. *Weekly post master*. 1645.
- 2146. *Weekly register*. 1798+.
- 2147. *Weekly remarks on the transactions abroad*. Nos. 1–5, Mar. 25–May 13, 1691. ir.
- 2148. *Weekly remembrancer*. 1702.
- 2149. *Weekly repository for 1792*. 1792(?).
- 2150. *Weekly review*. Ed. James Tytler. Edinburgh, 1780.
- 2151. *Weekly review*; or, Literary journal. 1799.
- 2152. *Weekly review*; or, The Wednesday's post. No. 1, Aug. 14, 1717.
- 2153. *Weekly survey of the world*; or, The gentleman's solid recreation. No. 1, Oct. 29. 1696.
- 2153a. *Weekly Worcester journal*. Worcester, no. 144, Mar. 28, 1712.
- 2155. *Weepers*; or, Characters of the diurnals. 1652(?).
- 2156. *Welch mercury*, communicating remarkable intelligences and true newes to awle the whole kingdome. *Continued as* Mercurius Cambro-Britannus, the British mercury, or the Welch diurnall (from no. 4). *Printed by* W. Ley and G. Lindsey; *by* Bernard Alsop (from no. 4). No. 1, Oct. 28, 1643–1644.
- West country intelligence*. See Glasgow courant, containing the occurrences both at home and abroad.
- Western flying-post*. See Sherborne mercury; or, Weekly advertiser.
- 2157. *Western informer*. No. 1, Mar. 7, 1646.
- 2158. *West Indian monthly packet of intelligence*. No. 1, Nov. 30, 1745.
- 2158a. *Westmeath journal*. Mullingar, 1783+.
- 2158b. *Westminster gazette*; or, Constitutional evening post. Nos. 1 16–24, Aug. 14–30, 1777.
- 2159. *Westminster magazine*. 1750.
- 2159a. *Wexford chronicle*. Wexford, 1782.
- 2159b. *Wexford herald*. Wexford, 1788–89.

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- 2159c. Whalley's news letter. Dublin, 1714.
- 2160. What'd ye call it. 1724.
- 2160a. Whigg. W. Chetwood. 1718.
- 2161. Whig magazine; or, Patriot miscellany. 1779.
- 2162. Whipping post; a new session of oyer and terminer for the scribblers. John Dunton. 1705.
- 2163. Whisperer. No. 1, Oct. 11, 1709.
- 2165. Whiston's merchants weekly remembrancer. 1689-98. w.
Cf. no. 1588.
- 2166. Whitby spy. Whitby, 1784.
- 2167. Whitehall courant. No. 1, May 2, 1716.
- 2168. Whitworth's Manchester gazette. *Continued as Manchester magazine* (from 1737). Manchester, 1730-57(?).
- 2169. Wife. 1756.
- 2170. Wilkinson's wanderer. 1795.
- 2171. Williamson's Liverpool advertiser. Liverpool, v. 11, 1766.
- 2171a. Wolverhampton chronicle. Wolverhampton, (?) -1792(?). w.
- 2171b. Winchester journal; or, Weekly review. Reading and Winchester, 1743-45(?).
- 2172. Wonder; a mercury without a lie in's mouth. No. 1, July 6, 1648.
- 2173. Wonderful magazine; or, Marvellous chronicle. 1764-66.
- 2173a. York courant. York. 1719.
- 2174. York courant. York, 1725+. w.
- 2174a. York gazetteer, with news both foreign and domestick. York, 1740(?) -45(?). w.
- 2174b. York herald. York, no. 79, July 2, 1791-1792(?). w.
- 2175. York journal. York, 1724-25.
- 2176. York mercury. York, 1718-40. Perhaps continued as Original York journal.
- 2177. Yorkshire freeholder. York, 1780.
- 2178. Yorkshire magazine. York, 1786.
- 2179. Young gentleman's and ladies' magazine. Dublin, 1760(?).
- 2180. Young lady. 1756. w.
- 2181. Youth's calendar, for 1750. 1750(?).
- 2182. Zion's triumph. Bristol, 1798+.

These two lists contain a total of 2426 periodicals—981 located and 1445 not located in America.

III. CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX

In this and the following index the numbers refer to the items in the two preceding lists. In the Chronological Index *italics* are used to indicate that no issues of the periodical in question for the year under which the number occurs are known to exist in America. Conversely, the absence of *italics* means that some—not necessarily all—issues for the year are available in one or more of the libraries which have reported their holdings.

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1743. 3, 27, 45, 53a, 65, 70, 79a, 86, 142, 163, 165, 186, 195, 261, 262, 274, 277, 281, 284, 336, 339, 343, 355, 375, 393, 394, 397, 398, 430, 547, 555, 598, 599, 600, 629, 648, 658, 665, 798, 801, 805, 812, 842a, 846, 870, 903a, 905, 927, 950, 957, 958, 964, 1002, 1062c, 1063, 1096, 1169a, 1192, 1209, 1209a, 1214, 1215, 1299, 1316a, 1353, 1375, 1417, 1448a, 1481, 1563, 1743a, 1786, 1790a, 1923, 1932a, 1942, 1972, 1998, 2075a, 2168, 2174.

1749. 3, 27, 45, 53a, 65, 79a, 86, 142, 163, 186, 195, 261, 262, 274, 277, 281, 284, 336, 343, 355, 356, 375, 393, 394, 397, 398, 430, 547, 555, 580, 598, 599, 600, 629, 648, 665, 798, 801, 805, 812, 842a, 846, 903a, 905, 927, 950, 957, 958, 964, 1002, 1062c, 1063, 1065b, 1096, 1101, 1169a, 1171, 1192, 1209, 1209a, 1214, 1215, 1299, 1316a, 1353, 1375, 1417, 1481, 1522, 1563, 1743a, 1786, 1790a, 1880, 1915, 1923, 1942, 1972, 1998, 2054, 2075a, 2168, 2174.

1750. 3, 27, 44, 45, 53a, 65, 86, 142, 163, 185, 186, 195, 261, 262, 274, 277, 281, 284, 336, 343, 347, 355, 356, 384, 393, 394, 397, 398, 430, 542, 555, 580, 598, 599, 600, 629, 648, 665, 771, 796, 798, 801, 805, 812, 842a, 844, 846, 903a, 905, 927, 950, 957, 958, 964, 1002, 1065b, 1096, 1101, 1169a, 1192, 1209, 1214, 1215, 1298, 1299, 1316a, 1353, 1375, 1391, 1473, 1481, 1522, 1558, 1563, 1676a, 1743a, 1786, 1790a, 1880, 1923, 1932, 1942, 1972, 1998, 2031, 2075a, 2159, 2168, 2174, 2181.

1751. 3, 27, 45, 53a, 86, 142, 163, 181, 185, 186, 195, 261, 262, 274, 277, 281, 284, 331, 336, 343, 347, 355, 356, 393, 394, 397, 398, 422, 542, 555, 580, 598, 599, 600, 622, 629, 648, 665, 771, 796, 798, 801, 805, 812, 842a, 844, 846, 886, 903a, 905, 927, 950, 957, 958, 964, 1002, 1065b, 1096, 1169a, 1192, 1214, 1215, 1298, 1299, 1316a, 1353, 1375, 1391, 1414, 1473, 1481, 1521, 1522, 1542a, 1558, 1563, 1676a, 1742, 1743a, 1786, 1790a, 1816, 1923, 1942, 1972, 1998, 2075a, 2085, 2168, 2174.

1752. 3, 4, 27, 45, 53a, 86, 142, 148, 149, 150, 163, 185, 186, 195, 261, 262, 268, 271, 274, 277, 281, 284, 295, 336, 343, 355, 356, 393, 394, 397, 398, 422, 542, 580, 598, 599, 600, 618, 622, 629, 648, 665, 771, 784, 798, 801, 805, 812, 820, 842a, 846, 886, 905, 927, 950, 957, 958, 964, 1001, 1002, 1065b, 1096, 1169a, 1192, 1214, 1215, 1299, 1314, 1316a, 1353, 1375, 1391, 1399a, 1473, 1481, 1492, 1507d, 1521, 1563, 1743a, 1786, 1790a, 1923, 1972, 1998, 2013, 2075a, 2168, 2174.

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1754. 3, 4, 27, 45, 53a, 86, 110, 119, 135, 142, 150, 163, 186, 195, 214, 220, 261, 262, 271, 274, 277, 281, 284, 289, 336, 343, 355, 365, 367, 393,

394, 397, 398, 422, 580, 598, 599, 600, 618, 622, 629, 655, 665, 666, 715, 798, 801, 805, 812, 833, 842a, 846, 852, 899, 900, 905, 927, 950, 957, 958, 964, 966, 1001, 1002, 1065b, 1096, 1169a, 1192, 1207, 1214, 1215, 1225a, 1299, 1314, 1316a, 1346a, 1353, 1372b, 1375, 1391, 1399a, 1419, 1454, 1473, 1481, 1563, 1564a, 1743a, 1786, 1790a, 1826, 1923, 1951, 1972, 1998, 2056a, 2073a, 2075a, 2168, 2174.

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1757. 3, 27, 45, 53a, 86, 97, 120, 121, 135, 142, 151, 156, 163, 186, 195, 220, 261, 262, 266, 271, 274, 277, 281, 284, 298, 323, 336, 343, 355, 365, 367, 381, 385, 389, 393, 394, 397, 398, 422, 439, 543, 566, 580, 598, 599, 600, 618, 622, 629, 665, 666, 798, 805, 807, 812, 842a, 846, 856, 905, 927, 950, 957, 958, 964, 1001, 1002, 1043, 1065b, 1096, 1157f, 1192, 1214, 1215, 1254, 1299, 1311, 1314, 1316a, 1372b, 1375, 1391, 1399a, 1419, 1481, 1511, 1563, 1670, 1744a, 1786, 1790a, 1826, 1923, 1952, 1972, 1976, 1998, 2075a, 2128, 2168, 2174.

1758. 3, 27, 45, 53a, 86, 135, 142, 156, 163, 186, 195, 220, 261, 262, 266, 271, 274, 277, 281, 284, 288, 298, 336, 343, 355, 365, 367, 381, 385, 389, 393, 394, 397, 398, 422, 423, 439, 566, 580, 598, 599, 600, 618, 622, 623, 629, 665, 666, 761, 798, 805, 807, 812, 842a, 846, 862, 905, 927, 931, 950, 957, 958, 964, 1002, 1043, 1065b, 1096, 1157f, 1192, 1214, 1215, 1254, 1299, 1314, 1316a, 1372b, 1375, 1391, 1399a, 1419, 1481, 1521c, 1563, 1744a, 1786, 1790a, 1826, 1923, 1972, 1998, 2075a, 2076, 2128, 2174.

1759. 3, 16, 27, 41, 45, 53a, 86, 135, 142, 156, 163, 186, 193, 195, 261, 262, 266, 271, 274, 277, 281, 284, 288, 336, 343, 355, 365, 367, 385, 389, 393, 394, 397, 398, 422, 423, 439, 566, 580, 598, 599, 600, 618, 622, 623, 629, 665, 666, 761, 793, 795, 798, 805, 807, 812, 842a, 846, 905, 927, 950, 957, 958, 964, 1002, 1043, 1086, 1096, 1136, 1157f, 1192, 1214, 1215, 1254, 1299, 1314, 1316a, 1372b, 1375, 1391, 1399a, 1416a, 1419, 1437, 1456, 1481, 1489a, 1563, 1679, 1744a, 1786, 1790a, 1826, 1923, 1972, 1997d, 1998, 2075a, 2076, 2128, 2174.

1760. 3, 16, 27, 45, 53a, 69, 86, 108, 135, 142, 156, 163, 186, 193, 195, 261, 262, 266, 271, 274, 277, 281, 284, 288, 328, 336, 343, 355, 365, 367, 385, 389, 393, 394, 397, 398, 422, 439, 566, 580, 598, 599, 600, 623, 629, 665, 666, 761, 764, 793, 795, 798, 805, 807, 812, 842a, 846, 905, 927, 929, 950, 957, 958, 964, 1002, 1043, 1044a, 1061, 1096, 1157f, 1192, 1211, 1214, 1215, 1254, 1299, 1314, 1316a, 1337, 1372b, 1375, 1391, 1399a, 1419, 1481, 1494, 1563, 1723, 1738, 1786, 1790a, 1826, 1921, 1923, 1937, 1972, 1998, 2075a, 2076, 2091, 2128, 2174, 2179.

1761. 1, 3, 16, 27, 45, 53a, 69, 86, 108, 135, 142, 145, 156, 163, 186, 195, 247, 261, 262, 266, 271, 274, 277, 284, 328, 336, 343, 355, 363, 365, 367, 369, 385, 389, 393, 394, 397, 398, 422, 439, 566, 580, 598, 600, 623, 629, 665, 666, 712, 761, 764, 794, 795, 798, 800, 805, 807, 812, 840, 842a, 846, 905, 927, 950, 957, 958, 964, 1002, 1043, 1044a, 1061, 1157f, 1162, 1192, 1211, 1214, 1215, 1254, 1299, 1314, 1316a, 1372b, 1375, 1391, 1399a, 1419, 1481, 1550a, 1574, 1785, 1786, 1790a, 1826, 1914, 1923, 1928, 1972, 1998, 2019, 2075a, 2123, 2174.

1762. 3, 16, 27, 35, 37, 40, 45, 53a, 60a, 69, 81, 86, 108, 135, 142, 145, 156, 163, 186, 187, 195, 244, 258, 261, 262, 266, 271, 274, 277, 284, 328, 336, 343, 355, 363, 365, 367, 369, 385, 389, 393, 394, 397, 398, 409a, 439, 566, 580, 598, 600, 623, 629, 632, 665, 666, 691, 727, 734, 761, 764, 795, 798, 800, 803, 805, 807, 812, 840, 842a, 846, 880, 882, 905, 907, 950, 957, 958, 964, 1002, 1011, 1038, 1043, 1044a, 1157f, 1172b, 1192, 1208c, 1211, 1214, 1215, 1254, 1271, 1299, 1314, 1316a, 1372b, 1375, 1391, 1399a, 1419, 1434, 1481, 1517, 1550a, 1562b, 1704, 1785, 1786, 1790a, 1810, 1826, 1923, 1962, 1972, 1998, 2075a, 2128, 2174.

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1768. 3, 8, 16, 27, 37, 45, 53a, 57, 86, 102, 135, 142, 147, 156, 163, 186, 192, 195, 210, 228, 239, 261, 262, 271, 274, 277, 284, 286, 336, 343, 349, 351, 355, 365, 366, 367, 385, 389, 393, 394, 397, 398, 439, 580, 597, 598, 600, 629, 632, 665, 666, 667, 730, 761, 764, 767, 795, 798, 800, 805, 807, 812, 840, 842a, 846, 848, 905, 907, 932, 950, 957, 958, 964, 1002, 1042, 1043, 1044a, 1142, 1157c, 1157f, 1170, 1176a, 1192, 1214, 1215, 1221, 1225, 1271, 1296b, 1299, 1314, 1316a, 1372b, 1375, 1391, 1409a, 1419, 1481, 1506, 1515a, 1517, 1565, 1586, 1684, 1712, 1786, 1790a, 1811, 1826, 1923, 1972, 1998, 2084, 2108b, 2128, 2174.

1769. 3, 8, 16, 27, 37, 45, 53a, 57, 86, 102, 135, 142, 147, 156, 163, 186, 192, 195, 228, 239, 251, 261, 262, 271, 274, 277, 284, 286, 336, 343, 349, 351, 355, 365, 366, 367, 383, 385, 389, 393, 394, 397, 398, 439, 541, 580, 584, 597, 598, 600, 629, 632, 665, 666, 667, 679, 730, 761, 764, 767, 795, 798, 800, 805, 807, 812, 840, 842a, 846, 848, 860, 866, 874, 905, 907, 932, 950, 957, 958, 964, 1002, 1043, 1044a, 1142, 1157f, 1176, 1176a, 1192, 1194, 1207a(?), 1214, 1215, 1221, 1271, 1296b, 1299, 1314, 1316a, 1372b, 1375, 1391, 1409a, 1419, 1440, 1506, 1515a, 1517, 1565, 1570a, 1586, 1777, 1786, 1790a, 1826, 1923, 1972, 1998, 2074, 2108b, 2128, 2174.

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1772. 3, 16, 24, 27, 37, 45, 53a, 57, 67, 86, 102, 135, 142, 156, 163, 186, 192, 195, 223, 239, 261, 262, 271, 274, 277, 284, 286, 294, 301, 311, 336, 343, 349, 351, 355, 358, 365, 366, 367, 383, 385, 389, 393, 394, 397, 398, 408, 421, 439, 541, 549, 580, 584, 586, 597, 598, 600, 629, 665, 666, 667, 730, 761, 764, 767, 798, 800, 805, 807, 811, 812, 840, 842a, 846, 848, 863, 874, 901, 905, 932, 950, 956, 957, 958, 964, 968, 1002, 1043, 1044a, 1051, 1095b, 1157f, 1176a, 1192, 1214, 1215, 1221, 1271, 1296b, 1299, 1314, 1316a, 1375, 1380, 1391, 1409a, 1506, 1515a, 1517, 1521b, 1565, 1570a, 1570b, 1777, 1786, 1790, 1790a, 1826, 1866, 1881, 1904a, 1923, 1972, 1983, 1998, 2000, 2108b, 2128, 2174.

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CONCERNING NATURE IN *THE COUNTESSE OF PEMBROKES ARCADIA*

BY LOIS WHITNEY

Among the less happy interpretations of M. Jusserand is his remark about Sidney's motive in writing the *Arcadia*, that he "loosed the rein of his imagination, and, without concerning himself with a critical posterity for whom the book was not destined, he only wished, like Lyly, to write a romance for ladies, or rather for one only lady, his sister."¹ Professor Greenlaw in his article on "Sidney's *Arcadia* as Elizabethan Allegory"² has ably refuted such an interpretation by showing first that Sidney thought of his poem as an heroic poem, and second, that in his conception an heroic poem embodied all the author's best wisdom in many departments of life. It is hardly possible to brush aside as lightly as does M. Jusserand³ the testimony of Fulke Greville: "... (I know) his purpose was to limn out such exact pictures, of every posture in the minde, that any man being forced, in the straines of this life, to pass through any straights, or latitudes of good, or ill fortune, might (as in a glasse) see how to set a good countenance upon all the discountenances of adversitie, and a stay upon the exorbitant smilings of chance."⁴ Nor can one suppose that the person whose talk, even as a boy, was "ever of knowledge, and his very play tending to enrich his mind"⁵ would be likely to compose

¹ *The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, London, 1890, p. 234.

² *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, Boston, 1913, pp. 327 ff.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 245.

⁴ *Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, London, Clarendon Press, 1907, p. 16.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

as idle a romance to beguile a summer's day as Jusserand has supposed.

As a matter of fact, a survey and interpretation of the many scattering and often seemingly incidental references to nature alone show that underlying the bizarre pageantry of courtly figures and pastoral life lies a very definite, if somewhat eclectic, reading of the universe and of human relationships. Nor need we be surprised that so small a thing as the word nature should be an open sesame to Sidney's philosophy, for not only in his writing but in that of most of the thinkers of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries a large share both of metaphysical and moral thought centers in conceptions expressed by that term. A careful analysis of such a writer's use of the term, therefore, is necessary to a correct interpretation of his philosophy.⁶ In fact, so many ramifications does the interpretation of "nature" in the *Arcadia* assume, that I shall neglect entirely in this paper the whole question of natural justice, the tangle of *jus naturale* and *lex naturalis* as they are developed chiefly in the last book, nor shall I go into the antithesis, constantly referred to in the *Arcadia*, between art and nature, a subject better dealt with in connection with the *Defence of Poesie*. I shall confine myself to Sidney's various answers to the two questions: first, "what is nature?" and second, "what is ethically right 'according to nature'?"

Sidney's thinking in general is very largely colored by Aristotelianism and the familiar tenets of Renaissance Stoicism, and theologically he leans toward the Thomistic school rather than that of Duns Scotus. We have very emphatic evidence in Sidney's letters of his admiration for Aristotle. In 1574 he writes to Hubert Languet: "Of Greek literature I wish to learn only so much as shall suffice for the perfect understanding of Aristotle. For though translations are made almost daily, still I suspect they do not declare the meaning of the author plainly or aptly enough."⁷ In this particular letter he mentions the *Politics* as the most important of Aristotle's works in his estimation; but a few years later in a letter of advice to his brother Robert he remarks of the *Ethics*:

⁶ I am making use in this paper of Professor A. O. Lovejoy's classification (unpublished) of the uses of the term nature.

⁷ Wm. A. Bradley, ed., *The Correspondence of Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet*, Boston, 1912, p. 33.

"I think you have read Aristotle's Ethics; if you have, you know it is the beginning and foundation of all his works, the end, to which every man doth and ought to bend his greatest and smallest actions."⁸ In another letter to Languet, Sidney, after making a characteristic Stoic remark, says somewhat disparagingly, "Do you not see that I am cleverly playing the Stoic?"⁹ The widespread knowledge of Stoicism and the popularity of Stoic ideas in the sixteenth century has been so clearly established¹⁰ that it need not surprise us to find in a person of Sidney's temperament a strong leaning toward Stoicism. Sidney was also undoubtedly very much influenced, as Professor Greenlaw has pointed out,¹¹ by his French friends — scholars and Huguenots — especially Hubert Languet, Banosius, Ramus, and Duplessis-Mornay. Sidney was apparently interested enough in the work of Banosius and Ramus for the former to dedicate his translation of the Commentaries of Ramus to Sidney, and he was sufficiently interested in Duplessis-Mornay's *Woorke concerning the Trewnesse of the Christian Religion* to translate the first six chapters of it.¹² Curiously enough practically all of the borrowings from this book in the *Arcadia* are from these first six chapters, although they form but a small fragment of the book as a whole.

In the field of metaphysics then, Sidney offers, as we might expect, a rather vague mixture of Christian, Stoic, Aristotelian, and Neoplatonic ideas interesting chiefly for their opposition to Lucretian materialism. Nature in the *Arcadia*, when Sidney uses the term in the sense of the sum of things, is presided over by a God of reason. Concerning the old dispute as to whether this God is to be regarded as a creator or not, Sidney is fairly positive, although he offers, in a sentence strikingly parallel, the same alternative to be found in a sentence of the *Tusculan Disputations* of Cicero: "This world," writes Sidney, "therefore cannot otherwise

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

¹⁰ Léontine Zanta, *La Renaissance du Stoicisme au XVI Siècle*, Paris, 1914, esp. p. 75 ff.; and Pierre Villey, *Les Sources et l'évolution des essais de Montaigne*, Paris, 1908, esp. I, 108, 14-30.

¹¹ "The Captivity Episode in Sidney's *Arcadia*," in *Manly Anniversary Papers*, Chicago, 1923, pp. 59-60.

¹² See Malcolm William Wallace, *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, Cambridge 1915, pp. 118, 162, 183, 197.

consist but by a minde of Wisedome, whiche governes it, which whether you wil allow to be the Creator thereof, as undoubtedly he is, or the soule and governour thereof, most certaine it is that whether he governe all, or make all, his power is above either his creatures, or his government."¹³ The passage in Cicero reads, "And so, when we contemplate these and countless others [natural phenomena] can we doubt that there is in charge of them some creator, if, as Plato thinks, they have been created, or perhaps some governor of the great structure of the universe [*tanti operis et muneris*] if, as Aristotle holds, they have always existed."¹⁴ All nature, at any rate, is impregnated by the reason and goodness of God. Pamela, for instance, in her argument with the materialistic Cecropia in regard to the nature of the universe, says: "But you may perhaps affirme, that one universall Nature (which hath bene for ever) is the knitting together of these many partes to such an excellent unitie. If you meane a Nature of wisdom, goodness, & providence, which knowes what it doth, then say you that, which I seeke of you. . . . But if you meane a Nature, as we speake of the fire, which goeth upward, it knowes not why: and of the nature of the Sea which in ebbing and flowing seemes to observe so just a daunce, and yet understands not musicke, it is but still the same absurditie subscribed with another title" (I, 408-9). In other words "nature" to Pamela, and to Sidney, was more than a mere accidental concourse of atoms devoid of reason, as Cecropia, following Lucretian physics, would have it; it comprised all things, was characterized by wisdom and goodness, and tended to assume a vague personification.

Much of the discussion of the constitution of universal nature occurs in the argument between Cecropia and Pamela, referred to above. Cecropia upholds the Lucretian doctrine of the origin of the world. As Professor Greenlaw has already pointed out many of the parallels between this passage and *De rerum natura*,¹⁵ I shall

¹³ *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*, edited by Albert Feuillerat, in "The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney," Vol. I and II, Cambridge, 1922, I, 410. My references are all to volume and page number in this edition.

¹⁴ *Tusc. Disp.*, I, 70.

¹⁵ "The Captivity Episode in Sidney's *Arcadia*," *op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff.

confine myself to certain statements of Pamela's refutation of the atomic theory and the doctrine of chance.

"If nothing but Chaunce had glewed those pieces of this All," says Pamela, "the heavie partes would have gone infinitely downwarde, the light infinitely upwarde, and so never have mett to have made up this goodly bodie. For before there was a heaven, or a earth, there was neyther a heaven to stay the height of the rising, nor an earth, which (in respect of the round walles of heaven) should become a centre" (I, 408). This is a rather interesting objection to the theory of the formation of the world by a chance collision and cohesion of atoms, interesting for the reason that it does not show a very clear conception of the Lucretian theory. Epicurus, followed by Lucretius, had presupposed a downward fall of the atoms with a slight curve in the line of movement of each atom to account for the collision of atom with atom. Cicero, in his attack on the atomic theory, had put his finger on the weakest spot—the arbitrary curve in the fall of the atom.¹⁶ There is no hint in Sidney's reply of this particular difficulty. He seems to have confused two passages in Lucretius, the one about the collision of the atoms (*De rer. nat.*, II, 216 ff.) with the passage describing the sinking of the heavier concretions to form the "centre" and the forcing outward to the periphery of the lighter atoms to form the heavens (V, 432 ff.), and supposes that the collision took place between the upward and downward moving atoms.

Sidney is in agreement with Cicero, however, in his assumption that the "perfect order, perfect beautie, perfect constancie," of the universe argue not a "chaunceable" concourse of atoms as their source but a controlling power above matter, "For that contrary things should meete to make up a perfection without a force and Wisedome above their powers, is absolutely impossible" (I, 408). As Cicero puts it "this riotous hurly-burly of atoms could not possibly result in the ordered beauty of the world we know."¹⁷ The universe, says Pamela, is a unity and "unexpressable harmonie" in spite of the fact that it is made up of contrarieties: "For the worde, one, being attributed to that which is All, is but

¹⁶ *De natura deorum*, I, xxv; *De finibus*, I, vi.

¹⁷ *De finibus*, I, vi. Cf. *De natura deorum*, II, v, vii, xxi, xxx ff.

one mingling of many, and many ones; as in a lesse matter, when we say one kingdome which conteines many citties; or one cittie which conteines many persons, wherein the under ones (if there be not a superior power and wisdom) cannot by nature regarde to any preservation but of themselves: no more we see they doo, since the water willingly quenches the fire, and drownes the earth; so farre are they from a conspired unitie: but that a right heavenly Nature indeed, as it were unnaturing them, doth so bridle them."¹⁸

I would suggest an emendation in punctuation to clear up the difficulty of interpretation in a certain passage in this discussion of the unity of the universe. The sentences as they stand in the Feuillerat edition and in all the early quartos except that of 1599 read as follows: "Againe, it is as absurde in nature that from an unitie many contraries should proceede still kept in an unitie: as that from the number of contrarieties an unitie should arise. I say still, if you banish both a singularitie, and pluralitie of judgement from among them, then (if so earthly a minde can lift it selfe up so hie) doo but conceave, how a thing whereto you give the highest, and most excellent kinde of being (which is eternitie) can be of the base and vilest degree of being, and next to a not-being; which is so to be, as not to enjoy his owne being?" (I, 409). Obviously there is something wrong here, for the first thing that Sidney offers as an absurdity is thoroughly orthodox from his point of view; the idea of plurality as coming from unity and still kept in a unity was the accepted theological doctrine of his time. The second sentence baffles analysis altogether. In the 1599 quarto, however, there is only a comma at the end of the first sentence. While this is probably only a typographical error, since this is the only quarto, as I have said, in which this punctuation occurs, it does give us a clue for the interpretation of the passage. Reading with the first sentence the qualifying clause of the second sentence, "I say still, if you banish both a singularitie, and pluralitie of judgement from among them," the meaning becomes this: It is as absurd in nature to suppose that contraries should come from a unity as that unity should arise from diversity, unless you admit that there is among them and over them a mind which both dis-

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, I, 409. See *Trewnesse of the Christian Religion*, in "The Complete Works," III, 267, 280; for the analogy of the city or realm, III, 284. Cf. Philo Judaeus, *On the Creation of the World*, II, IV.

criminate and unites, a mind which is capable of thinking things as at once harmonious and contrasted. The second sentence, relieved of the incubus of the first clause, becomes a quite different argument for the same conclusion and is a reaction against the Epicurean conception of the atom as eternal but at the same time unconscious of even its own existence. Eternity, Sidney is saying, is the most excellent kind of being; unconsciousness of one's own existence is the lowest kind, next door to actual non-existence. Hence the two qualities cannot be predicated of the same entity, and the atomists' view is therefore absurd.

Not only is nature an orderly and unified whole, but, says Pamela, "we know that each effect hath a cause. . . . For this goodly worke of which we are hath not his being by Chaunce" (I, 407.) "Againe, if it were chaunceable, then was it not necessarie; whereby you take away all consequents. But we see in all thinges, in some respect or other, necessitie of consequence: therefore in reason we must needs know that the causes were necessarie" (I, 408.) Similarly Cicero, in his criticism of the Lucretian doctrine, attacks its disregard of causal relationships, and says, "this is the capital offence in a natural philosopher, to speak of something taking place without cause."¹⁹ This argument from effect to cause is of course a commonplace in philosophy.

Nature, in the *Arcadia*, is not only thought of as the sum of the elements and cosmic processes with the characteristics above described, but it is constantly referred to as itself the originating power and the bestower of gifts. The phrasing is almost never "God created . . ." or "God gave . . .," but "nature created . . ." and "nature gave. . . ." Nor can we suppose from the many instances of this use of the term nature that it is a mere circumlocution for the word God. It seems to be the *natura naturans* conception familiar in medieval discussion and prevalent, though not with the same terminology, in the second book of Cicero's *De natura deorum*. Following are a few examples from the *Arcadia*: ". . . these diamonds of the worlde whom Nature had made to be preciously set in the eyes of her creatures, to be the chief workes of her workmanship"; (I, 474.) "the fairest Princesse Nature in that time created"; (I, 161.) and "O Lorde, sayde

¹⁹ *De finibus*, I, vi.

hee to himselfe, what wonders doth nature in our tyme, to set wickednesse so beawtifully garnished?" (II, 114.)²⁰ Nature, in this respect, is not always thought of as the perfect creator, as the following quotation indicates: "being indeed such a right manlike man, as Nature often erring, yet shewes she would faine make" (I, 222-3; cf. I, 212-3.) This notion that nature is not always successful is Aristotelian.²¹

Turning to the ethical implications of the term nature in the *Arcadia*, we are greeted with such a profusion of different kinds of "natures," invoked for such a variety of ethical purposes, many of them diametrically opposed to each other, that the tangle might at first seem hopeless. It is said to be in accordance with nature, for instance, that reason should rule over the will and the passions, but it is also said to be according to nature that the affections and instincts should rule; nature is invoked in defence of chastity, but she is also called into court to defend free love; the law of nature is linked with that of nations in the defense of law and order, but nature is also pleaded against tradition and convention in defense of antinomianism. Clearly there is no consistency here in the use of the term nature—nature means a multitude of different things—but that Sidney had in the midst of this confusion a fairly consistent ethical point of view becomes evident when we consider these contradictory remarks about nature in connection with the characters who utter them, for Sidney quite clearly indicates his own ethical preferences by his implied moral judgments of the men and women who people his *Arcadia*.

To begin with, because of the last mentioned conception of nature as the originating power and bestower of gifts on man, gifts not only of physical characteristics such as beauty and strength, but qualities of character as well, man's individual

²⁰ See also I, 20, 79, 106, 218, 226, 292; II, 53. Cf. E. E. Kellett, *Suggestions*, Cambridge, 1923, pp. 20 ff. for the Elizabethan distinction between Nature and Fortune in this respect. Mr. Kellett traces this distinction between Nature as the bestower of gifts of feature, character, etc. and Fortune as the bestower of material gifts back through the middle ages to Seneca.

²¹ Zeller, *Aristotle and the Earlier Peripatetics*, trans. by B. F. C. Costelloe and J. H. Muirhead, London, 1897, I, 361; 465-8. See also Elsa Berndt, *Dame Natur in der englischer Literatur bis herab zu Shakespeare*, Leipzig, 1923, p. 76.

"nature" comes to mean often that which is given, that which is innate, in contrast to qualities and abilities that are acquired. "What is given or innate" in a man's nature may apparently be either good or bad. Concerning the two princes, Musidorus and Pyrocles, for instance, Sidney writes, "Nature having done so much for them in nothing as that it made them Lords of truth, whereon all the other goods were builded"; (I, 190) but concerning another he says, "For certainly so had nature formed him, and the exercise of craft conformed him to all turnings of sleights, that though no man had lesse goodnes in his soule then he, no man could better find the places whence arguments might grow of goodness to another."²² In at least one passage, however, Sidney gives a quite definite expression to the doctrine of the *bonté naturelle* of man, sometimes represented as an innovation of eighteenth century sentimentalists. The grief of the shepherds for Basilius Sidney cites as "generallie geving a true testimonye, that men are loving creatures when injuries put them not from their naturall course"²³ (II, 100.)

The line of distinction between what is given by nature and what is acquired is usually sharply drawn. Although, as we have just seen, Sidney tends toward the belief that man is naturally good, this does not on the whole imply for him that nature is enough, or, indeed, is more than a mere foundation to which education and discipline are indispensable supplements. Pyrocles and Musidorus, to use them again as examples, are said to be "the onely yong Princes in the world, formed by nature, and framed by education" (I, 77), and "were so brought up, that all the sparkes of vertue, which nature had kindled in them, were so blowne to give forth their uttermost heate." (I, 189.) Strephon and Claius "are beyond the rest by so much, as learning commonlie doth adde to nature." (I, 27.) In Sidney, as in Aristotle, this learning is usually spoken of as confirming but not changing the essential character given by nature. "Whatsoever good disposition nature hath bestowed upon me, or howsoever that disposition hath been by bringing up confirmed," writes Sidney; and Aristotle: "Nature's

²² I, 212-3. Cf. I, 204, 267, 283, 319, 385.

²³ Another generalization about human nature is interesting as an echo of the first line of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*: "the general nature of man is desirous of knowledge." (I, 10.)

part evidently does not depend on us, but as a result of some divine causes is present in those who are truly fortunate; while argument and teaching, we may suspect, are not powerful with all men. . . . The character then must somehow be there already with a kinship to virtue, loving what is noble and hating what is base." (1179b.) According to Sidney, "No love, daunger, nor discipline can sodainly alter an habite in nature" (I, 374), "for," says Aristotle, "nothing that exists by nature can form a habit contrary to its nature." (1103a.)

This idea that man's nature is confirmed by education merges—inconsistently—into the idea that the "natural" in man is the rational, that it is according to nature that reason should rule over the other faculties and that sensual weakness, therefore, is an unnatural rebellion. Sidney tells us, for instance, that love "utterly subverts the course of nature in making reason give place to sense" (I, 78), for, we are told in another passage, "By nature you to Reason faith have sworne." (I, 339.) Reason then, man's distinctively human characteristic, should dominate over the will and the passions. "Remember (for I know you know it)," says Musidorus, "that if we wil be men, the reasonable parte of our soule, is to have absolute commaundement; against which if any sensual weaknes arise, we are to yeelde all our sounde forces to the overthrowing of so unnaturall a rebellion, wherein how can we wante courage, since we are to deale against so weake an adversary, that in it selfe is nothinge but weakenesse? Nay we are to resolve, that if reason direct it, we must doo it, and if we must doo it, we will doo it; for to say I cannot, is childish, and I will not, womanish." (I, 77.) This idea that reason should be the dominating force in man is a favorite one with the Stoics and received especial emphasis by the neo-Stoics.²⁴ Sidney, however, seems again to be particularly close to the Aristotelian phrasing in the *Nichomachean Ethics*. Aristotle, for instance, defines virtue as "not only the moral state which is in accordance with right reason but the moral state which is under the guidance of right reason." (1144b.) Compare with Sidney's "so all passions generally have power toward some good by the direction of right Reason." (I, 78.)

²⁴ Zanta, *op. cit.*, p. 84. See Marcus Aurelius, III, 9, 16; V, 9, etc.; Epictetus, I, vi; Cicero, *De finibus*, II, xii, xiv; V, ix, xiii, xiv; Seneca, *Of a Happy Life*, ii; Plutarch, *Of Moral Virtue*.

In the *Defence of Poesie* is a passage which is at once a qualification of this idea of reason as the all-controlling force and an elucidation of the idea of *bonté naturelle* referred to above: "Nay, truly, learned men have learnedly thought, that where once reason hath so much overmastered passion as that the mind hath a free desire to doo well, the inward light each mind hath in itself is as good as a philosopher's book; since in nature we know it is well to do well, and what is well and what is evil. . . . But to be moved to do that which we know, or to be moved with desire to know, *hoc opus, hic labor est.*"²⁵

Following is a remark in the *Arcadia* which seemingly contradicts the idea that it is "according to nature" that reason should prevail: "But in Gynecia nature prevailed above judgement." (II, 97.) Here, however, Sidney is using the term nature in the sense of the natural instincts, in this case the instinct of self-preservation.²⁶ Here is a tangle of "natures" indeed. The gifts of nature, which form a man's "nature," are of little use unless supplemented by a trained and instructed faculty of reason; nevertheless it is "according to nature" that reason should thus dominate over the other faculties; nevertheless, again, this faculty of reason which dominates in accordance with nature is sometimes subverted by nature herself, this time in the guise of the natural instincts!

We need scarcely be surprised, in view of the nature of the foregoing doctrine of the function and importance of disciplined reason, that Sidney was not an enthusiast for the "natural man," nor a primitivist in any sense. That nature was often lavish with her gifts he was willing to grant; that one might have "naturally" many of the virtues, he would admit; but that natural innocence and goodness were as trustworthy and valuable as the goodness and wisdom acquired by training, self-discipline, and experience, he would not allow. Ignorant innocence may even, according to him, be a positive evil. "It comes of a very evil ground," he remarks, "that ignorance should be the mother of faithfulness." (I, 26.) And, "O no; he cannot be good, that knowes not why he is good,

²⁵ This idea that reason is not a moving force, that the origin of action must be sought in reason qualified by desire, goes back, like so many of Sidney's ethical ideas, to the *Ethics* of Aristotle. See 1139a-1139b; 1179b.

²⁶ For other examples of this use, see I, 223, 306.

but stands so farre good, as his fortune may keepe him unassailed: but comming once to that, his rude simplicitie is either easily changed, or easily deceived: & so growes that to be the last excuse of his fault, which seemed to have been the first foundation of his faith." (I, 26.) One need go no further than the *Nicomachean Ethics*, again, to find a close parallel to this idea: "For it seems," writes Aristotle, "that the various moral qualities are in some sense innate in everybody. We are just, temperate, courageous, and the like, from our very birth. Nevertheless, when we speak of the good, properly so called, we mean something different from this, and we expect to find these qualities in another form; for the natural moral states exist even in children and the lower animals, but apart from reason they are clearly hurtful. However this at least seems evident, that, as a strong body, if it moves without sight, stumbles heavily, because it cannot see, so it is with natural virtue; but let it acquire reason, and its action becomes excellent. When that is the case, the moral state which before resembled virtue will be virtue properly so called." (1144b.) The idea had been, of course, repeated many times since the time of Aristotle. Sidney could have found the same conception in Cicero's *De finibus* (especially in V, xxi, 59-60), and there is a particularly close parallel in the ninetyeth epistle of Seneca:

It was by reason of their ignorance of things that the men of those days [the Golden Age] were innocent, and it makes a great deal of difference whether one wills not to sin or has not the knowledge of sin. . . . Virtue is not vouchsafed to a soul unless that soul has been trained and taught, and by unremitting practice brought to perfection. For the attainment of this boon, but not in the possession of it, were we born; and even in the best of men, before you refine them by instruction, there is but the stuff of virtue, not virtue itself.*

In spite of the fact that Sidney thus believed that ordinarily a person "cannot be good, that knowes not why he is good," one of his characters, Philoclea, is clearly a portrait of a "schöne Seele," the soul that is so fully endowed with virtue by nature that it approximates the state of self-knowing virtue acquired by wisdom. He has presented an interesting contrast in the two sisters, Pamela and Philoclea. Pamela, who with such youthful severity criticizes

* *Ep.* XC, 46. Loeb Classical Library edition, London, 1925, II, 429-30. Cf. *Ep.* CXXIV, II, 439.

her aunt's Lucretian cosmology and metaphysics, represents the person "in whose mind Vertue governed with the scepter of Knowledge" (I, 438); while Philoclea represents natural goodness and demonstrates "what smal difference in the working there is, betwixt a simple voidnes of evill, & a judicial habit of vertue." (II, 107.) Pamela's resolution was "built upon so brave a Rocke, that no shot . . . could reach it"; Philoclea was "invironed with sweete rivers of cleere vertue." (I, 469-70.) However beautiful the soul of Philoclea might be, Sidney was not quite ready to admit that her type of virtue is as trustworthy and desirable in all emergencies as the knowing type: "The sweete minded *Philoclea* was in their degree of well doing, to whom the not knowing of evill serveth for a ground of vertue, and hold their inward powers in better forme with an unspotted simplicitie, then many, who rather cunningly seeke to know what goodnes is, then willingly take into themselves the following of it. But as that sweet & simple breath of heavenly goodnesse, is the easier to be altered, because it hathnot passed through the worldlie wickednesse nor feelingly found the evill, that evill caries with it; so now the Ladie *Philoclea* (whose eyes and senses had receaved nothing, but according as the naturall course of each thing required; . . .) when now she came to appoint, wherin her judgement was to be practized, in knowing faultines by his first tokens, she was like a young faune, who coming in the wind of the hunters, doth not know whether it be a thing or no to be eschewed." (I, 169.) The contrast between the two sisters is somewhat reinforced by that between their lovers, Musidorus, whose countenance is "severe, and promising a minde much given to thinking," and Pyrocles, whose features are "gentle and bashful, which bred the more admiracion, having shewed such notable proofes of courage." (II, 170.) Pyrocles, however, does not represent so much natural goodness, for he had been initiated into the "sweete mysteries of Philosophy" in the home of Musidorus, as partly tutored wisdom.

In the portrayal of Philoclea, Sidney was making use of a conception which, while not new indeed in his day, was still not frequent, but which was to become increasingly important in later philosophical thought. He might have found a suggestion for the conception of the beautiful soul in Aristotle himself: "He who naturally possesses this noble judgment will be Nature's noble; for

he will possess the greatest and noblest of all gifts . . . and to possess this natural gift in virtue and honour is to have a perfect and sincere nobility of nature." (1114b.) The idea was more fully developed, however, in the medieval mystics, such as Saint Francis, Suso, and especially Meister Eckhart with the doctrine of the "uncreated light" in the soul—"Ye have all truth essentially within you."²⁸ After Sidney, the Pietists of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries contributed to the development of the conception of the beautiful soul, but it reached its highest growth in the romantic thought of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in such writers as Richardson, who was probably influenced by Sidney, Rousseau in the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, Klopstock, Wieland, Schiller, Goethe especially in *Wilhelm Meister*, Schleiermacher, and Hegel.³⁰

If Sidney uses Philoclea, Pamela, Musidorus, and Pyrocles to represent degrees and kinds of virtue, he also offers a Cecropia, a Basilius and Gynecia to represent varying kinds of self-indulgence and wickedness; and the wickedness of these characters is no less linked with conceptions of nature than is the virtue of the others. To digress for a moment, there is in the *Arcadia* a recognition, somewhat vague, it is true, that there are certain "laws of nature," that is, certain principles of conduct that have an objective validity and are right by nature. The contrast between what is right, objectively and impersonally considered from the point of view of universal nature, and what is subjectively to be desired, is interestingly brought out in the following quotation. Pyrocles is arguing with Philoclea that it is ethically right for him to commit suicide: "No, no, most faultlesse, most perfect Lady, it is your excellencie that makes me hasten my desired end, it is the right I owe to the generall nature, that (though against private nature) makes me seek the preservation of all that she hath done in this age." (II, 107.) As to the content of the law of nature, Sidney gives us only scattering hints. "Nature," he says, "gives not to us her degenerate children, any more general precepte, then one

²⁸ Quoted in R. A. Vaughan, *Hours with the Mystics*, London, 1879, p. 192.

²⁹ See, however, George R. Havens, "The Theory of 'Natural Goodness' in Rousseau's 'Nouvelle Héloïse,'" *Modern Language Notes*, XXXVI, 385 ff.

³⁰ Max Wundt, *Goethes Wilhelm Meister und die Entwicklung des modernen Lebensideals*, Berlin u. Leipzig, 1913, p. 216.

to helpe the other, one to feele a true compassion of the others mishappe." (II, 45.) And also:

Nature above all things requireth this,
That we our kind doo labour to maintaine. (I, 139.)

Now Cecropia and Basilius, on the other hand, use what they call laws of nature, to defend an ethical naturalism. Basilius, for instance, defends his love for Zelmane, by asking, "Should . . . opinion of I know not what promise binde me from paying the right duties to nature and affection? (II, 92.) The course of free love for him is "natures course."

Thy yonger shall with Natures blisse embrace
An uncouth love, which Nature hateth most. (I, 327.)

Here we have two antithetic conceptions of nature in successive lines. The first nature is clearly the nature that favors unrestricted spontaneity, impulsive and unreflective action. The second is the nature that is to be equated with the controlling force of reason.

Further, Basilius and Cecropia invoke nature in defense of a naturalistic antinomianism that is opposed to custom and convention. The antithesis of nature and custom goes back to the Sophists⁵¹ and was revived and amplified in Sidney's time by Montaigne.⁵² There is no proof, however, that Sidney was familiar with the *Essais* at the time he was writing the *Arcadia* and he makes use, not of the more usual antithesis between custom and an objective, rational, and universally valid "law of nature," but of the special and extreme antithesis between custom and antinomianism. "Alas," sighs the love-sick Basilius, "let not certaine imaginatife rules, whose trueth stands but upon opinion, keepe so wise a mind from gratefulness and mercie, whose never fayling laws nature hath planted in us." (II, 43.)⁵³ Zelmane fights fire with fire in her reply to this appeal, for she also invokes the magic name of nature and assures him that chastity is "the truest observaunce of nature."

⁵¹ See the speeches of Callicles in Plato's *Gorgias*, 482-3.

⁵² See *Essais*, I, 31.

⁵³ Cf. Cecropia's "But in you (Neece) whose excellencie is such, as it neede not be held up by the staffe of vulgar opinions." (I, 406.) See also I, 379.

Cecropia reinforces her argument of ethical naturalism by yet another standard of what is "right by nature," namely, the analogy with physical nature. She is trying to persuade Pamela that it is right for her to let herself love and be loved, for "Do you see how the spring-time is ful of flowers, decking it self with them, & not aspiring to the fruits of *Autumn*? what lesson is that unto you, but that in the april of your age, you should be like *April*?" (I, 405.) Again she goes into the very camp of her enemies and borrows their doctrine that it is "right by nature" to maintain one's characteristically human nature: "it is manifest inough, that all things follow but the course of their own nature, saving only Man, who while by the pregnancie of his imagination he strives to things supernaturall, meane-while he looseth his owne naturall felicitie." (I, 406.) With this antinomian tendency of Cecropia Sidney shows little sympathy.

Nature, then, is used in the *Arcadia* as both the occasion and justification for many diverse and often contradictory points of view and many ways of meeting life. But if Sidney has permitted himself to use a great profusion and even confusion of interpretations of "nature," he could have quoted chapter and verse in classical philosophy for every meaning which he uses. And if he seems unaware of many of the contradictions in his use of the term, he was not more so than many a scholar has been since his time. The important point for our purposes is the richness of philosophical background displayed in the *Arcadia*. Sidney has amply justified his description of the function of the poet: "with a tale, forsooth, he cometh unto you, . . . and, pretending no more, doth intend the winning of the mind from wickedness to virtue."

Vassar College.

STRUCTURAL UNITY IN THE TWO PARTS OF *HENRY THE FOURTH*

BY ROBERT ADGER LAW

That each of the two parts of *Henry the Fourth*, particularly the *Second Part*, utterly lacks unity of plot-structure has been asserted or tacitly assumed by many Shakespeare critics of the past half-century, wherein so much stress has been laid on dramatic technique.¹ It is the object of this paper to show that each of the two plays is carefully planned as an organic unit, and that the lack of sequence noted by Brooke,² when the two parts are taken together as the first two members of a trilogy, is the natural result of the entirely new framework that is employed for an "unpremeditated addition" to *Part I*.

I

The First Part of Henry the Fourth is built up around a conflict between protagonist and antagonist, Prince Hal and Percy, better known as Hotspur, which culminates in the Battle of

¹ See Woodbridge, E., *The Drama: Its Law and Its Technique*, 1898, p. 158; Dowden, E., *Shakspeare* (Literature Primers), n. d., p. 96; Baker, G. P., *Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist*, 1907, pp. 156-157; MacCracken, Durham, and Pierce, *An Introduction to Shakespeare*, 1910, p. 157; Matthews, B., *Shakspeare as a Playwright*, 1913, p. 122. Recently H. T. Baker in *The English Journal* (April, 1926) has dissented strongly from Matthews's dicta, but his answer is concerned with characters and particular scenes rather than with the structure of the play. Moorman in the Arden Shakespeare, *Henry the Fourth, Part I*, p. 197, believes, like Dowden, that "the two parts of Henry IV form only one play, which the limitations of time divided into two halves."

See, also, Tolman, A. H., "Why Did Shakespeare Create Falstaff?" (first printed in *P. M. L. A.*, XXXIV, 1-13; reprinted in *Falstaff and Other Shakespearean Topics*, 1926, pp. 5 ff); Neilson, W. A., *Shakespeare's Complete Works* (Cambridge Poets), 1906, p. 536; Brooke, Tucker, *The Tudor Drama*, 1911, p. 333 (cf. Brooke's Introduction to *Henry the Fourth, Part II*, in Brooke, Cunliffe, and MacCracken's *Shakespeare's Principal Plays*, p. 221); Schelling, F. E., *English Literature During the Lifetime of Shakespeare*, 1910, p. 161.

² In *The Tudor Drama*, 1911, p. 333. Brooke, who believes that "the

Shrewsbury when Hal slays Hotspur. To this battle, which marks the one meeting between the two Harries, the first scene of the play definitely looks forward, and we are frequently reminded of the conflict in every act.⁸ This can be brought out more clearly by briefly summarizing each act of the *First Part*.

In Act I, scene i, King Henry discusses with his nobles news of the defeat of Mortimer, Hotspur's brother-in-law, by the Welsh under Glendower, and of Hotspur's notable victory over Douglas at Holmedon. Sir Walter Blunt brings report of Hotspur's triumph, but the King learns to his annoyance that Hotspur refuses to surrender his prisoners to his sovereign. For this attitude Westmoreland blames Worcester, and King Henry has summoned the Percies for conference. Here is not only the beginning of the Percy rebellion, but the names of all but one of the leaders in the future Battle of Shrewsbury. The one missing name is mentioned by the King when he laments the striking contrast between young Percy and his own riotous Harry. He wishes that it could be shown that some fairy exchanged the two in infancy, implying that they are of the same age, contrary to history. Neither Hal nor Hotspur appears in person. Scene ii shows Hal in an Eastcheap tavern, planning with his low companions a highway robbery. In the final twenty lines of the scene he promises the audience to repent after a season. Scene iii details the stormy interview between King Henry and the Percies, at the end of which Worcester lays down the plan of the rebellion. To this plan Hotspur assents, expressing his willingness, if he did not think such an event would please the King, to poison Hal "with a pot of ale," symptom of the Prince's low associations. Most of Act I is pure exposition, but protagonist and antagonist are twice sharply contrasted.

Henry IV and Henry V plays form a closely connected series," holds that "the second part of *Henry IV*, like the second part of *Tamburlaine*, seems to be an originally unpremeditated addition, occasioned by the enormous effectiveness of the by-figure of Falstaff."

⁸ "In the first part the Battle of Shrewsbury forms the catastrophe, the centre and aim of the action." Ulrici, *Shakespeare's Dramatic Art*, 1904, p. 241. Neilson holds a slightly different view, looking on the culmination, so far as any exists, as "the emergence of Prince Henry from his low surroundings as a brilliant warrior, who slays Hotspur at Shrewsbury." (*Op. cit.*, p. 536.) This view makes the play an epic and subordinates Hotspur.

Act II, scene i, shows Gadshill preparing for the robbery and practically boasting aloud that the Prince will protect his companions in crime. This brief scene is one of only three in the play into which neither Hal nor Hotspur enters; even here Hal's riotous life and his position as prospective king are unmistakably stressed. Scene ii pictures the robbery of the travelers by Falstaff and his companions, with the subsequent robbery of the thieves by Hal and Poins. Scene iii presents Hotspur at home with his lady, progressing with his conspiracy, but refusing to trust his wife with news of it. Scene iv carries us back to the tavern, where Hal and Poins trip Falstaff in his lies about the robbery. Hal learns about the rebellion and is summoned to his father's presence, and Falstaff and he act out the prospective interview. Meanwhile Hal takes time to comment on several of Hotspur's habitual tricks, declaring, "I am not yet of Percy's mind" in killing "some six or seven dozen of Scots at a breakfast." Thus throughout the Act we have contrasted the life of the two Harries.

Act III, scene i, pictures the tripartite division of the kingdom by the conspirators, foreshadowing their certain failure owing to Hotspur's irascibility and impatience. By contrast scene ii represents Hal's reconciliation with his father; his resentment when the King, in contrasting him with Hotspur, insinuates that he would fight in Percy's pay; his declaration that Percy is merely his factor "to engross up glorious deeds on my behalf," which he will be called on to pay whenever the two meet; and the King's reply, "A hundred thousand rebels die in this." Scene iii returns to the tavern, where Falstaff quarrels with the Hostess, and then welcomes back the Prince, when he comes with news of plans for the approaching war on Percy, who is already at Shrewsbury. The second scene of Act III certainly contains the turning-point of the play in the self-discipline exercised by the protagonist, resulting in his resolution to overcome his enemies, both real and spiritual. That it should follow a scene depicting the probable defeat of the antagonist forces and be followed by another scene bringing Falstaff and his troop into the war, is no less significant. Every scene looks forward to the battlefield at Shrewsbury, where the two armies and the two Harries are to meet.

Act IV, scene i, portrays Hotspur in camp near Shrewsbury receiving letters stating that his father is too sick to fight, and a

report that Glendower is not ready to come, together with a message that the King with strong forces is approaching. Inquiring flippantly about Hal, Hotspur gets unexpected praise of the Prince's horsemanship. Irritably he silences the speaker and then longs to meet Harry, "hot horse to horse." The second scene has to do mainly with Falstaff's misuse of "the King's press" to line his own pockets. The Prince and he are hastening towards Shrewsbury. Scene iii returns to Hotspur, who receives a message from the King, desiring a statement of his reasons for fighting, and promises to reply. Scene iv is the third and last brief scene that presents neither Hotspur nor the Prince. The Archbishop of York, one of the conspirators, anticipates with misgiving the result at Shrewsbury next day, for he knows Hotspur's weakness and the strength of the King with the Prince of Wales, Lancaster, Westmoreland, and Blunt. Thus he discusses protagonist and antagonist, though neither is present. The entire Act looks forward to the coming fight at Shrewsbury.

The opening scene of Act V gives the interview between Hotspur's embassy, Vernon and Worcester, and King Henry with Prince Hal on the eve of Shrewsbury. After charges and counter-charges Hal sends to Hotspur a personal challenge for a single fight next day, his father assenting. The King also offers grace to the rebels, but this offer is never reported to Hotspur. Scene ii relates Hotspur's reception of his embassy on the return, especially of his receipt of Prince Harry's challenge. This pleases him, but on hearing Vernon praise Hal he is again irritated, recalling Hal's "follies." Scene iii presents several incidents of the Battle of Shrewsbury, the King marching, Douglas killing Blunt for the King, Hotspur identifying the corpse, and Falstaff jesting with the Prince, who censures him for idling and goes off to seek Percy. Scene iv similarly shows Douglas fighting against the King, who is rescued by Hal. Then follows the long expected meeting of Hal and Hotspur. Hal declares, "Two stars keep not their motion in one sphere," and Hotspur replies that the hour is come "to end the one of us." Hotspur goes down, but before dying, he has opportunity to make formal lament for the loss of "those proud titles thou hast won of me." Hal delivers the customary Elizabethan eulogy over the dead body of his enemy. Then come some comic lines and incidents on the part of Falstaff, but the real play

is over. It ends in the next scene with a conventional speech from the King after he has sentenced Worcester and Vernon to death.

The fact that the author keeps so definitely before us the figures of Hal and Hotspur and the name of Shrewsbury, that he stresses so the contrast between the two Harries in the mouth of the King and those of the rivals themselves, that in defiance of history he makes Hotspur and Hal of the same age and stresses this point also, and that the catastrophe of the play is the long-anticipated duel to the death between them on the field of Shrewsbury—all this signifies what Shakespeare conceived to be the central theme of the *First Part*.

II

An oft-quoted paragraph from Holinshed's *Chronicle*, in description of the Battle of Shrewsbury, deserves careful analysis. The paragraph reads:

The prince that daie holpe his father like a lustie yoong gentleman: for although he was hurt in the face with an arrow, so that diuerse noble men that were about him, would haue conueied him foorth of the field, yet he would not suffer them so to doo, least his departure from amongst his men might happilie haue striken some feare into their harts: and so without regard of his hurt, he continued with his men, and neuer ceased, either to fight where the battell was most hot, or to incourage his men where it seemed most need. This battell lasted three long houres, with indifferent fortune on both parts, till at length, the king crieng saint George victorie, brake the arraie of his enimies, and aduentured so farre, that (as some write) the earle Dowglas strake him downe, and at that instant slue sir Walter Blunt, and three other apparelled in the kings sute and clothing, saieng: I maruell to see so many kings thus suddenlie arise one in the necke of an other. The king in deed was raised, and did manie a noble feat of armes, for as it is written, he slue that daie with his owne hands six and thirtie persons of his enimies. *The other on his part* incouraged by his doings, fought valiantlie, and slue the lord Persie, called sir Henrie Hotspurre. To conclude, the kings enimies were vanquished, and put to flight, in which flight, the earle of Dowglas, for hast, falling from the crag of an hie mountaine, brake one of his cullions, and was taken, and for his valiantnesse, of the king frankelie and freelie deliuered.

In copying this passage I have italicized five words, but otherwise have attempted to make a literal transcription. If one will

* Holinshed's *Chronicles*, 1587, II, 523.

analyze Holinshed's account of the battle for comparison with Shakespeare's, one will notice that to Holinshed Shakespeare seems to be indebted for the statements (1) that the Prince fought valiantly at Shrewsbury, and when seriously wounded refused to be led from the field; (2) that the King, likewise fighting valiantly, was struck down by Douglas, but was rescued and continued to fight; (3) that Douglas slew Sir Walter Blunt and others disguised in suits like the King's; (4) that Hotspur was slain in the battle; (5) that Douglas was captured, but was afterward pardoned for his valor.

Shakespeare's most important change in this account, generally speaking, was to diminish the part played by the King, while magnifying the Prince's part. More specific changes were (1) to bring Prince John into the fight, his valor serving as a foil to set off the greater valor of Prince Henry; (2) to bring Falstaff in for the comic effect; (3) to make Hal rescue his father; (4) to make Hal set Douglas free; (5) to make Hal slay Hotspur.

But are we certain that in making Hal slay Hotspur, the culminating incident of the entire plot, Shakespeare was changing Holinshed? To be sure, this is the unquestioned view of the critics. As one of them puts it: "Here once more Shakespeare deviated from his sources; Hotspur fell by an unknown hand."⁵ Yet let us examine again the five words that I have italicized in Holinshed's account. Now I believe that the first interpretation that an intelligent reader would put upon the sentence so beginning would be that *other* refers to the Prince, whose valor is so praised at the first of the paragraph, and that *on his part* is a connective phrase, contrasting the King with his son. We may compare a somewhat similar phrase used by Holinshed in a sentence a page or two later: "Serlo knowing there was no waie with him but death, would not utter any other, but confessed *for his owne part*, he was worthie for that wicked deed to die ten thousand deaths."⁶

In other words, I believe one's first impression would be that

⁵ Brother Leo, *Contrast in Shakespeare's Historical Plays*, p. 87.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 525. Cf. *The Comedy of Errors*, III. i. 91: "Plead *on her part* some cause to you unknown." Perhaps it should be added that Holinshed in this whole account is closely following his predecessor Halle, who, however, at this point uses a less ambiguous phrase, "The other of his part."

Holinshed is telling us that the Prince, emulating his father's brave example, slew Hotspur. But this first impression is incorrect. Closer examination convinces one that *other* is plural, and *on his part* means *of the King's side*. But as Shakespeare actually makes Hal slay Hotspur, is it reasonable to suppose that on first reading Holinshed he was misled into thinking that Hotspur was slain by Prince Hal? If so, we have in this error the germ of the whole plot. In passing we may remark that each one of Shakespeare's changes in this account, with a single exception, tends to exalt the character of Prince Hal, and so is consistent with his purpose in the entire play.⁷

III

The Second Part of King Henry the Fourth pushes into the foreground neither King Henry IV nor yet Prince Hal, but rather the humorous knight, Sir John Falstaff. This can be shown in a number of ways. First let us note the number of scenes in which each of these characters appears: the King is present in only three, the Prince in five, while Falstaff comes into eight.⁸ Besides Sir John speaks far more lines than any other character in the play, and a larger proportion of the lines than he does in the *First Part*. The number of lines spoken by each of the principal characters in the two plays, based on figures given by Paul Kaufman,⁹ follows:

Characters	1 <i>Henry IV</i>	2 <i>Henry IV</i>
King Henry IV	341	294
Prince Hal	616	308
Falstaff	688	719
Hotspur	566	...

Again, closer examination will show that in the scenes in which Falstaff appears, with the possible exception of the coronation

⁷ I am aware of the fact that Shakespeare had other sources to use besides the Holinshed, especially the old play, *The Famous Victories*, and, as Moormann points out, Samuel Daniell's *Civil Wars*. But this fact does not affect the argument. See also Morgan, A. E., *Some Problems of Shakespeare's "Henry the Fourth."* (The Shakespeare Association), London, 1924.

⁸ The King in III. i, IV. iv, and IV. v; the Prince in II. ii, II. iv, IV. v, V. ii, and V. v; Falstaff in I. ii, II. i, II. iv, III. ii, IV. iii, V. i, V. iii, and V. v.

⁹ *Outline Guide to Shakespeare*, 1924, "Index to Characters."

scene, he is always the central figure. Even in one scene where he does not appear (II. ii), he is the theme of conversation between Prince Hal and Poins, who mention him, by name or without, just eleven times. This means that Shakespeare has deliberately managed to bring Falstaff to the front and subordinate Prince Hal along with his father. The *Second Part*, then, does not stress any conflict between King or Prince and any of the rebels, but does magnify the unhistorical, comic character of Falstaff. What is the theme of the incidents related in the play?

In reality there seem to be three themes, or at least, three lines along which the action develops. Two of these three are historical, having to do (1) with the Northumberland-York rebellion, and (2) with the death of King Henry IV and the accession of Hal as Henry V; one is entirely imaginative, recounting (3) Falstaff's relations with his friends and his enemies. As will be brought out later, there is definite effort to link together these three themes, but they remain distinct and to that extent interfere with the structural unity of the play.

The Northumberland-York rebellion, one of three armed disturbances that King Henry has simultaneously to quell, but the only one that Shakespeare is interested in, is anticipated in the Prologue, where Rumour tells of the false reports emanating from the Battle of Shrewsbury, a conscious effort on the dramatist's part to join more closely the two plays. Act I, scene i, develops the same theme, showing how Northumberland first receives reports of a great victory for Hotspur at Shrewsbury, and later learns that the facts are the very opposite. Such prolonged harking back to *Part I* interferes with the exposition and confuses the reader as to the purpose of the play. Yet Morton informs Northumberland that the King has sent out an army against him "under the conduct of young Lancaster and Westmoreland" (II.134-135), leaders that we are to hear of frequently, and that "the gentle Archbishop of York is up;" thus the two leaders of the rebellion are connected. Act I, scene iii, shows the attitude of York, towards the rebellion; he wastes no time ruminating over what has already taken place, but takes active measures to meet the foe. The next scene to carry forward the same line of action is II. iii, wherein Northumberland is finally persuaded by his family to desert his fellow-rebels and flee for his own safety to

Scotland. Finally, the story of this rebellion is ended in the closely connected scenes i and ii of Act IV, where Prince John treacherously persuades the rebel leaders to throw down arms and disperse their soldiers under promise of redressing their wrongs. Then he immediately arrests these leaders, York, Hastings, and Mowbray, on charge of capital treason, and they are led away to certain execution, while armed soldiers are pursuing their followers. From first to last the leader in putting down this rebellion is Prince John of Lancaster.

About the middle of the play, just before the actual surrender of the rebel forces, we have, in III. i, a scene intimating the early death of the King. He reviews his past life in such a manner that we feel sure the end is approaching. Then, in IV. iv, he becomes "much ill" just as he learns of the rebels' defeat. In the next scene he is "exceeding ill," and Prince Hal believes his father dead when he enters the sick room. So he takes away the crown under the belief that it has come to him by due inheritance, whereupon the father awakes, misses the crown, and blames Hal for so hungering for the empty throne. But the Prince tactfully wins his father over. At the end of the scene King Henry is about to be removed to the Jerusalem chamber of Westminster that he may die there. Two scenes later comes the definite announcement of the King's death, and Prince Henry enters as King. He chooses counselors for his reign, and prepares for the coronation, which has already been celebrated in the closing scene of the drama when Falstaff is cast away.

Thus nine scenes, or nearly half of the play, are devoted primarily to actual history, covering the rebellion of York and Northumberland, and the death of King Henry IV, with the accession of his son. The remaining ten scenes have to do chiefly with Falstaff, who, though always a comic figure, is pictured consistently in these scenes as a man of war. In I. ii, he appears first, successfully parrying the Chief Justice's charge of failure to heed court summons by the plea of privilege due to army service. Next, in II. i, comes the famous incident of Falstaff's arrest for debt at the suit of Mistress Quickly, aided by the Chief Justice, and its result in the Hostess's discharging her bailiffs and lending him more money. The following scene shows Poins and Prince Hal plotting to be present in the disguise of waiters at a supper given

by Falstaff in honor of two of his female friends. They carry out this plan to surprise Falstaff in II. iv, but meanwhile Falstaff has to drive out of doors the "swaggering Pistol" for his drunken brawling. The Prince, after a very brief conversation, is summoned to his father's bedside at Westminster, while Falstaff is called to colors. Hal bids Falstaff good night for the last time. This point seems to be the climax of the plot, where all three lines of action meet. It certainly marks a turning-point in Falstaff's fortunes. On his leisurely way to the front Falstaff, in III. ii, visits a former schoolmate, Justice Shallow, in Gloucestershire, there to gather soldiers for his company, and to gather money improperly for their discharge. He has to journey on to his commander, Prince John, but plans another visit to Shallow on the return trip. Next, in IV. iii, he captures one of the fleeing rebels after John's treacherous behavior, and surrenders him in person to his commander, who seems rather niggardly of his gratitude. Then he returns to Gloucestershire in V. i, and apparently borrows from Justice Shallow a thousand pounds in expectation of his influence with the incoming monarch. After the intermission of one more serious scene, Falstaff is shown again with Justice Shallow, in whose company he learns with unbridled joy of the accession to the throne of his erstwhile playmate, and he hastens to London for the coronation. There follows a grimly prophetic scene portraying the downfall of Falstaff's female friends, when Mrs. Quickly and Doll Tearsheet are dragged to prison, and the officers care not for the threat of Falstaff's reprisals. The final scene, as already mentioned, combines serious and comic elements in the coronation of Henry V, with his pitiless condemnation and punishment of Falstaff and his crew. Here from Falstaff's standpoint the comedy becomes tragedy.

Thus the play turns chiefly on the fortunes of Falstaff, but he is consistently portrayed against a background of history. The first half of the drama presents the rebellion which Falstaff helps to quell. The second half looks forward to, and then shows the accession of the new King, who is to break Falstaff's heart in the moment of his triumph. Such a unifying purpose is indicated more clearly if we notice certain definite linkings between the scenes.

We have observed that the Prologue and the opening scene hark

back to Shrewsbury, the largest single event in the *First Part*. Again, in the comic scene ii of the same Act, Falstaff is credited with having "since done good service at Shrewsbury" (ll. 70-71); the Chief Justice declares, "Sir John, I sent for you before your expedition to Shrewsbury" (ll. 115-116); and again, "Your day's service at Shrewsbury hath a little gilded over your night's exploit on Gadshill" (ll. 167-170). In the next scene the Archbishop and Lord Bardolph spend much time discussing "young Hotspur's case at Shrewsbury" (ll. 25-33). Surely such repeated references in every scene of the first Act are not accidental.

Again, we are constantly reminded in the first three Acts of the play that King Henry is having to send three armies in as many directions to fight his enemies. Of these three, Shakespeare focuses our attention on that led by John of Lancaster against York and Northumberland, the army to which Falstaff is attached, rather than that directed by the King himself and Prince Hal. So, in I. ii, the Chief Justice tells Sir John:

"Well, the king hath severed you and Prince Harry; I hear you are going with Lord John of Lancaster against the Archbishop and the Earl of Northumberland" (ll. 227-230).

Further details are given in the next scene when Hastings informs the rebel leaders about the King's forces:

For his divisions as the times do brawl,
Are in three heads: one power against the French,
And one against Glendower: perforce a third
Must take up us; so is the infirm king
In three divided (ll. 70-74).

Lord Bardolph inquires as to the leadership of the army against them, and Hastings replies:

The Duke of Lancaster and Westmoreland;
Against the Welsh, himself and Harry Monmouth;
But who is substituted 'gainst the French,
I have no certain notice (ll. 82-85).

Once more, in the next scene, where the Chief Justice is talking with Gower, says Gower:

The king, my lord, and Harry, Prince of Wales,
Are near at hand . . .
Chief Justice. Come all his forces back?

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Gow. No; fifteen hundred foot, five hundred horse,
Are marched up to my lord of Lancaster,
Against Northumberland and the Archbishop.
Fal. Comes the king back from Wales, my noble lord?
(ll. 146-7; 186-90.)

So when the Prince appears in the old tavern, in II. iv, the Hostess asks, "O Jesu, are you come from Wales?" (ll. 317-318). Finally, the sick King, in III. i, reports:

They say the bishop and Northumberland
Are fifty thousand strong (ll. 95-96).

But Warwick does not accept the rumor, and, to comfort the sleepless monarch, asserts that he has received "a certain instance that Glendower is dead" (l. 103). Thus the division of the royal forces is brought to our attention in scenes primarily concerned with one of the other lines of action.

Sir John Falstaff is pictured to us in the *First Part* chiefly as a tavern loungee who is caught up in the maelstrom of war; in the *Second Part* he is by vocation a soldier, who sometimes dallies with other business or pleasure. In II. iv, Doll Tearsheet promises, "I'll be friends with thee, Jack; thou art going to the wars; and whether I shall ever see thee again or no, there is nobody cares" (ll. 71-73). In the same scene Pete relates that he "overtook a dozen captains . . . asking every one for Sir John Falstaff" (ll. 387-389), and later "a dozen captains stay at door" to take him to the wars. On his way thither in Gloucestershire Falstaff "comes . . . about soldiers" (III. ii. 30-31), is heralded by Bardolph as "my captain, Sir John Falstaff, a tall gentleman, by heaven, and a most gallant leader" (ll. 66-68), and spends the rest of the scene misusing the King's press damnably. After the two scenes relating to the betrayal of the rebel leaders in Galtres Forest (IV. i. ii), Falstaff comes forward again (IV. iii) to capture "Sir John Coleville of the dale, a most furious knight and valorous enemy," whom he surrenders to Prince John. Thus even the comic scenes keep reminding us of the war and the forces led by John of Lancaster.

About the middle of the play, it has been noted, the theme of the serious scenes shifts from the wars to the dying King. But this note, dominant henceforth, has been sounding as an undertone for some time. In I. ii, Falstaff remarks, "I hear, moreover his

highness is fallen into this same whoreson apoplexy" (ll. 122-123). Act II, scene ii, gives us more definite information:

Poins. Tell me, how many good young princes would do so, their fathers lying so sick as yours is? . . .

Prince. Marry, I tell thee, it is not meet that I should be sad, now my father is sick. . . . But I tell thee, my heart bleeds inwardly that my father is so sick: and keeping such vild company as thou art hath in reason taken from me all ostentation of sorrow" (ll. 32-34, 42-43, 51-54).

The announcement to Prince Hal in I. iv that "your father is at Westminster" seems to indicate illness of the King, and in III. i, which follows, Warwick warns King Henry:

Your majesty hath been this fortnight ill,
And these unseason'd hours must add
Unto your sickness (ll. 104-106).

The more and more serious development of this illness in several scenes of Act IV has already been discussed.

It will be seen that while Shakespeare stresses in this play mainly incidents connected with Falstaff, he emphasizes only to a less degree the two serious themes of the York-Northumberland rebellion and the death of King Henry as historical background for Falstaff, who serves in the army of Lancaster and who is tremendously affected by the death of the King. Indeed, the chief topic of conversation in the new King's household immediately before and after the older King's death is whether Hal will "cast off his followers" (IV. iv. 75), or "assemble . . . the apes of idleness" (IV. v. 123), by whom "all will be overturn'd" (V. ii. 19). Even the new King's brothers fear the worst, and advise the Chief Justice to "speak Sir John Falstaff fair" (V. ii. 33).

All these links serve to unify the genuine history of the *Second Part* around the comic adventures of Falstaff, and perhaps justify applying the title, "The Second Part of Henry the Fourth, Containing His Death and the Coronation of Henry the Fifth," to what is really an historical comedy. But one other device for connecting the serious with the lighter scenes should not be overlooked. Act III, scene i, is given up to King Henry IV's reminiscences over his past life, particularly the reign of Richard II. This is immediately followed by the comic scene relating Justice Shallow's reminiscences over the same period, when Mowbray and John of Gaunt, Richard's uncle, were in power. One is reminded of the

similar trick of having Henry V in the play of that name make his famous eloquent speech beginning, "Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more" (III. i. 1), only to be echoed by Bardolph in the very next scene, "On, on, on, on, on! to the breach, to the breach!" (III. ii. 1). Again, where, in V. i, Davy asks Justice Shallow to "countenance" a knave "at his friend's request," he is similarly parodying the offence of Prince Hal against the Chief Justice, an offence which finally sent Hal to prison, and which is so often mentioned in the play.¹⁰ Shall we not believe that these represent efforts on Shakespeare's part to unify material that of itself appears heterogeneous?

IV

The one scene that tends more strongly than any other in the drama to give unity to all this heterogeneous material, particularly to unite the serious and the comic lines of action, is, of course, the final scene. Here Henry IV is dead, but his son and successor, his younger sons, and the Chief Justice, all meet Falstaff, Shallow, Pistol, and Bardolph, to the utter humiliation and disgrace of Hal's ertswile merry companions. Although this episode of the rejection of Falstaff has caused more dissension among the critics than has any other part of the play,¹¹ it has been carefully prepared for throughout the *Second Part*. Moreover, it closely follows Holinshed's account of Henry V:

But this king euen at first appointing with himselfe, to shew that in his person princelie honors should change publike manners, he determined

¹⁰ In an unpublished thesis for the Master of Arts degree, presented at the University of Texas in August, 1926, and now deposited in the University Library, Miss Ellen Douglas May, a former student of mine, discusses "The Plot-Structure of *Henry the Fourth, Part II*," mentioning, among other matters, all the points discussed in this paragraph. In detail, however, both the treatment and the conclusions reached in the present paper differ considerably from those of Miss May.

¹¹ See particularly A. C. Bradley, "The Rejection of Falstaff" in *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, 1909, pp. 247 ff.; J. Masfield, comment in *William Shakespeare* (Home University Library), 1911, p. 118; E. E. Stoll, "Falstaff," *Modern Philology*, xii, 197-240; E. C. Knowlton, "Falstaff Redux," *Journal of English and German Philology*, xxv, 193-215; and the other references cited by Knowlton.

to put on him the shape of a new man. For whereas aforetime he had made himselfe a companion vnto misrulie mates of dissolute order and life, he now banished them all from his presence (but not vnrewarded, or else vnpreferred) inhibiting them upon a great paine, not once to approach, lodge, or sojourne within ten miles of his court or presence: and in their places he chose men of grauitie, wit, and high policie, by whose wise counsel he might at all times rule to his honour and dignitie; calling to mind how once to his offense of the king his father he had with his fist striken the cheefe iustice for sending one of his minions (vpon desert) to prison, when the iustice stoutlie commanded himselfe also streit to ward, & he (then prince) obeyed. The king after expelled him out of his priuie councill, banisht him the court, and made the duke of Clarence (his younger brother) president of councill in his stead.¹²

Shakespeare's Henry, it will be observed, follows this account (1) in banishing the riotous companies ten miles from his presence; (2) in allowing them certain rewards or preferment; (3) in choosing "men of grauitie, wit, and high policie" to counsel him in their stead. For these men Shakespeare specifically designates the Chief Justice, who acts as the King's counselor and agent in punishing the wicked. Indirectly this is another echo of Holinshed, who recalls Prince Hal's former attitude toward the Chief Justice at this very point in the narrative. If there is one incident related by Holinshed that influenced most the composition of the *Second Part*, I am inclined to think it is this one.¹³ The germ of the plot lies here.

We have already alluded to the fact that the struggle that chiefly concerns us in this story is not between the King, or the Prince, and any or all of the rebels, as in the *First Part*. It is between the Chief Justice and the royal household on one side, and Sir John Falstaff on the other. And the theme of dispute is the person of the future King.

This struggle comes to the fore in the second scene of Act I where the Chief Justice gloats over the King's separation of Hal from Falstaff, by assigning them to different armies, and Falstaff quickly rejoins, "I thank your pretty sweet wit for it" (l. 231).

¹² Holinshed's *Chronicles*, 1587, p. 543.

¹³ The incident is also found in *The Famous Victories*, and the play, rather than Holinshed, may be Shakespeare's immediate source. But the older play does not mention the Chief Justice in this connection, and the whole question does not affect the argument. Shakespeare undoubtedly read both the chronicle and the play.

The Chief Justice again meets Sir John in II. i, denounces him for mistreating the Hostess and for dawdling about his military duties, receives a sharp reply, and exchanges with him the dangerous appellation of "fool." At their next meeting, in the closing scene, the Chief Justice condemns his enemy to the Fleet.

Prince Hal does not enter the play until we are well into Act II. Then, in the company of Poins, he seems more or less conscience-stricken and continually mentions it:

"By this hand," he says to Poins, "thou thinkest me as far in the devil's book as thou and Falstaff for obduracy and persistency: let the end try the man" (II. ii. 48-51). And again: "Well, thus we play the fools with the time, and the spirits of the wise sit in the clouds and mock us." (II. ii. 154-156). Once more, "From a prince to a prentice! a low transformation! that shall be mine; for in everything the purpose must weigh with the folly" (II. ii. 193-196). Finally:

"By heavens, Poins, I feel me much to blame,
So idly to profane the precious time" (II. iv. 390-391).

Now Poins is fully aware of the Prince's "folly," and of the King's opposition to it. He mildly rebukes Hal: "You have been so lewd and so much engrafted to Falstaff" (II. ii. 66-67). Nor is Falstaff deceived, for concluding a most uncomplimentary sketch of Poins, he adds: "And such other gambol faculties a' has, that show a weak mind and an able body, for the which the prince admits him; for the prince himself is such another" (II. iv. 272-275). Again Falstaff declares of the Prince: "I dispraised him before the wicked, that the wicked might not fall in love with him; in which doing I have done the part of a careful friend, and thy father is to give me thanks for it" (II. iv. 346-350).

In opposition to Falstaff because of his supposed evil influence over the Prince, are, besides King Henry and the Chief Justice, all the younger brothers of Hal. Sir John has in mind their attitude towards him when he exclaims of Prince John, who does not touch sherris sack, "There's none of these demure boys come to any proof. . . . They are generally fools and cowards. . . . Hereof [that is, by drinking sack] comes it that Prince Harry is valiant" (IV. iii. 96 ff.). For his part, Prince John in this last scene seems singularly unwilling to accord justice to Falstaff, who has just brought in a noted prisoner. Lancaster first wishes to know "Where have you been all this while?" (I. 29). Then he declares that Coleville's surrender "was more of his courtesies than your

deserving" (l. 47). Finally he responds to Falstaff's request for honorable mention in his report by promising only that he will "better speak of you than you deserve" (l. 91). Their enmity, like that between Malvolio and Sir Toby, is temperamental.

Throughout the latter part of the play the conflict becomes more acute on the part of the righteous. The dying King, learning that Hal is in London, at once inquires, "And how accompanied?" Clarence, this time, replies, "With Poins and other his continual followers" (IV. iv. 52-53). Warwick feels sure that "in the perfectness of time" the Prince will "cast off his followers" (ll. 74-75); but King Henry is not so optimistic, and in the next scene he laments to Prince Hal:

O my poor kingdom, sick with civil blows!
When that my care could not withhold thy riots,
What wilt thou do when riot is thy care? (ll. 134-136).

He dies reassured by Hal's words of promise, but the other sons and the Chief Justice are apparently uneasy as to their own positions under the new monarchy up to the very moment when Hal rejects Falstaff and delegates to the Chief Justice the duty of seeing "perform'd the tenour of our word" (V. v. 75). Then it is that the Chief Justice orders Falstaff and all his friends to the Fleet, and the phlegmatic Lancaster observes, "I like this fair proceeding of the king's" (V. v. 103). Well he may, for his party has won.

On the side of the old knight and his intimates there has come no realization of their weakening hold. Falstaff, lingering in Gloucestershire in the critical days of the King's illness, soliloquizes: "I will devise matter enough out of this Shallow to keep Prince Harry in continued laughter the wearing out of six fashions" (V. i. 86-89). On hearing of Henry's death he exults: "I know the young king is sick for me. Let us take any man's horses; the laws of England are at my commandment. Blessed are they that have been my friends; and woe unto my lord Chief Justice!" (V. iii. 141-145). The Hostess, haled to prison with Doll Tearsheet, holds a like opinion: "O the Lord that Sir John were come! He would make this a bloody day to somebody" (V. iv. 13-14). As the royal party returns from the coronation, Falstaff gives direction: "Stand here by me, Master Robert Shallow; I will make the king do you grace: I will leer upon him

as he comes by" (V. v. 5-7). After all these fond hopes have toppled over in the King's terrible rebuke, Sir John acknowledges the blow in muttering to his late host the very secret he wishes him to forget: "Master Shallow, I owe you a thousand pound" (V. v. 78). When Falstaff himself so fumbles with his wit, verily the catastrophe has come.

V

If the plot of the *Second Part*, then, centres about Falstaff, and its main theme is the struggle between Falstaff and his enemies for the favor, or the very soul, of Prince Hal, a struggle that begins in the second scene of the play and ends with the Chief Justice's notable victory in the last scene, on what type of framework is the plot built? This question has already been answered, I believe, by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, in discussing "The Story of Falstaff." Concluding his study of the two Parts, and noting particularly the Prayer for the Queen at the end of the *Second Part*, a device he attributes to the interlude, inherited from the morality, Sir Arthur adds:

The whole of the business is built on the old Morality structure, imported through the Interlude. Why, it might be labelled after the style of a Morality title *Contentio inter Virtutem et Vitium de anima Principis*.¹⁴

To a similar conclusion, at least, so far as Falstaff is concerned, comes a young American scholar, Mr. J. W. Spargo. Dwelling on the popularity of the Morality type of play even during Elizabeth's reign, and the resemblance of Sir John to the Morality figure, Spargo sums up his contention:

To recapitulate, then, I believe that Falstaff was understood by Shakespeare's audience as representing a combination of Gluttony and Lechery, and that the Chief Justice was equally understood as Justice, or Virtue in general, with Hal as the bone of contention, because (1) of the strong morality play tradition extant in England; (2) of the evidence in Hal's first speech (*1 Hy. IV. I. ii. 1-13*); (3) of the evidence in Hal's first soliloquy (*1 Hy. IV. I. ii. 218 ff.*); (4) of the reciprocal relationships between Hal, Falstaff, and the Chief Justice, which are paralleled in many Moralities, as noted above; (5) of the final fate of Falstaff.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Shakespeare's Workmanship*, 1918, p. 127.

¹⁵ "An Interpretation of Falstaff," in *Washington University Studies*, ix, 133, April, 1922. Spargo mentions Sir Arthur's article, but not his

One more piece of evidence that Shakespeare was thinking of the Moral Plays in the writing of the *Second Part* is overlooked by both Quiller Couch and Spargo: the list of characters that Shakespeare uses that are not to be found in Holinshed and are not taken over from the *First Part*. These are:

Rumour,	Davie,
Pistol (the fiery),	Mouldy,
Shallow,	Wart,
Silence,	Feeble,
Fang,	Bullcalf, and
Snare,	Doll Tearsheet

With the single exception of Davie, do not these names step straight out of the Moralities? No other history play of Shakespeare do I recall in which this descent is so clear.

My own position is somewhat different from that of either critic just quoted. I am not contending that Falstaff was considered by the Elizabethan audience as a definite incarnation of Sin, deadly or otherwise, though I believe certain elements inherited from the Morality figures went into the creation of his uncommonly real character. Nor do I see clear traces of the Morality influence in the *First Part* save in Hal's characterization of Falstaff as "that reverend Vice, that grey Iniquity, that father Ruffian, that Vanity in years."¹⁶ But throughout that play Prince Hal is entirely too active to be Man's Soul, or a mere "bone of contention." Moreover, the delightfully romantic Hotspur belongs not at all to the Morality atmosphere. Again, it must be remembered that the entire plot turns on Hal and Hotspur.

But the *Second Part* tells another story. Hal is remarkably passive until the very last Act. Falstaff, though still real, seems the lineal descendant of Gluttony and Lechery, intensified more than ever; of Sloth, in his tardiness to fight;¹⁷ of Avarice, in his

suggestion of Morality influence. It is only fair to add that I started out to prove Morality influence in the *Second Part* before I was aware that I had been anticipated by each of these scholars.

¹⁶ *First Part*, II. iv. 498-499. Cited by Spargo.

¹⁷ Compare the Chief Justice's words to Sir John, II, i. 73-74:

"Doth this become your place, your time and business?

You should have been well on your way to York."

Note also that despite the haste of the "dozen captains," they are kept

financial dealings with the Hostess, the drafted soldiers, and Master Shallow; of Pride, in his talk immediately before his fall. Although no one could so misjudge the old knight as to find in him personified Envy or Wrath, he may well enfigure just five of the Seven Deadly Sins. The cold John of Lancaster joins with the Chief Justice in his zealous pursuit of Virtue, and in the end they together snatch Hal as a brand from the burning and piously provide a limbo for Vice. Our sympathy or hostility toward the forces of Light depends on our own attitude towards the spirit of Puritanism.

In general, then, I believe that Shakespeare knew what he was about in the composition of both of these plays. In them we have, not a single ten-act play, though the titles would give that impression, but two plays written with different purposes in view. The *First Part*, based probably on a misinterpretation of a passage in Holinshed, sets forth the conflict between Hal and Hotspur, culminating at Shrewsbury. The *Second Part*, "originally unpremeditated," but written in response to a public demand for more of Falstaff, depicts the conflict between Sir John and the Chief Justice, after the manner of the Moralities, for the soul of Prince Hal. In its essence this resembles the contest in *Twelfth Night* between Sir Toby and Malvolio, with a different conclusion. But here we have not the typical structure of comedy; we have rather the framework of the Moral Play, such as Marlowe used in *Dr. Faustus*, yet with far more care for the unity of structure.

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waiting for Falstaff, and that Lancaster alludes to "these tardy tricks of yours" (IV. iii. 31). But Spargo has strangely overlooked evidence of Sloth in the very passage he quotes from the *First Part*, where the Prince, accusing Falstaff of "sleeping upon benches in the afternoon," adds, "What a devil hast thou to do with the time of the day?" (I. ii. 4 ff.).

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE TEXT OF *RICHARD III*

BY ROBERT W. BABCOCK

"The making of the best text of *Richard III*" is "the hardest puzzle in Shakspeare-editing,"¹ declared Furnivall. "It is certainly fortunate," Furness corroborates, "that very few of Shakspeare's plays are furnished with such a number of sources whence the text is drawn, or such a mosaic text, when finally obtained, as *Richard the Third*."² And the old Cambridge editors: "The respective origin and authority of the first Quarto and the first Folio texts of *Richard III* is perhaps the most difficult question which presents itself to an editor of Shakspeare . . . In conclusion, we commend a study of the text of *Richard III* to those, if such there be, who imagine that it is possible, by the exercise of critical skill, to restore with certainty what Shakspeare exactly wrote."³ With such encouragement we proceed immediately to the task, for has not Mr. Pollard recently remarked that the first Quarto is "a copy of the play slightly cut down and altered for stage representation,"⁴ and that "a copy of this edition [the Sixth Quarto], with additions and corrections, made from a transcript of the original, formed the basis of the Folio text?"⁵ To question again, has Mr. Pollard finally answered the call of the old Cambridge editors?

In preliminary we shall have to reject Mr. J. M. Robertson's ideas, for the moment at least. Suppose we admit that almost all of the play may be assigned to Marlowe on the basis of style, phrase, vocabulary, and general matter.⁶ Mr. Robertson is not the first to make a suggestion of such import. Daniel declared as early as 1884 that *Richard III* "was not of Shakspeare's original

¹ *Century Shakspeare*, London, Cassell, 1908, *Richard III*, Introduction, p. 11.

² H. H. Furness, Jr., *Variorum Richard III*, Philadelphia, 1908, Preface, p. v.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 434.

⁴ A. W. Pollard, *Shakspeare Folios and Quartos*, London, 1909, p. 22.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁶ *Shakspeare Canon*, Pt. I, London, 1922.

composition, but the work of the author, or authors, of the *Henry VI* series of plays; his part in this, as in those, being merely that of a reviser or rewriter."⁷ Mr. Pollard, of recent critics, noted in 1915 that *Richard III* was of Shakespeare's "journeyman-days, when he was working in collaboration with others, or revising their work."⁸ Only Sir Sidney Lee holds out: "In *Richard III* Shakespeare [was] working singlehanded"⁹ . . . The point of the matter is not to discover whether Marlowe or Shakespeare wrote *Richard III*, but rather, irrespective of who wrote it, what the correct, or most nearly correct, text is. "With the question of authorship," Daniel asserted, "I am not concerned; the relation of the Quarto and Folio versions is, after all, the most important matter connected with the play, for unless it can be settled on some reasonably certain basis, the difficulties in the way of a satisfactory settlement of the text itself are almost insuperable."¹⁰

There were six ante-Folio quartos of *Richard III*, all duly registered and hence, in Mr. Pollard's sense, all "good quartos":¹¹ 1597, 1598, 1602, 1605, 1612, and 1622. Q 2 was the first to bear Shakespeare's name. Q 3 noted an additional advertisement: "Newly augmented," yet, as Mr. Pollard has declared, "this edition contains no new matter"¹² (one stops to reflect a moment on Thomas Creede). In 1603, the assignment of the copyright passed from Andrew Wise to Mathew Lawe, who retained control through Quartos 4, 5, and 6. I have already suggested Mr. Pollard's conjecture as to the origin of Q 1. To repeat it in other words of the same critic, "The players, lest more plays should go the same way [*Romeo and Juliet* and *Love's Labor Lost* were pirated], sold to Andrew Wise, the right to print *Richard III*."¹³

⁷ *Variorum Richard III*, p. 448.

⁸ *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates* (1915 lectures), London, 1917, p. xxvi.

⁹ *Life of Shakespeare*, New York, 1916, p. 123.

¹⁰ *Variorum Richard III*, p. 448.

¹¹ See J. Dover Wilson, Cambridge Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1921, p. xxx.

Note E. K. Chambers' attack on this edition in *Review of English Studies*, April, 1925, and B. A. P. Van Dam's comments in *English Studies*, VII (1925), 97.

¹² *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, p. 22.

¹³ *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates*, p. 48.

Even Sir Sidney Lee seems to agree with him substantially in this.¹⁴ To proceed, however: "Each subsequent quarto reprints its predecessor, except Q 5, which was set up from a make-up copy of Qs 3 and ¹⁵ 4." Other critics fully corroborate Mr. Pollard here—Lee: "before the First Folio was published in 1623, as many as six reissues of the defective quarto were in circulation, very slightly varying one from another";¹⁶ Furnivall: "each edition being printed from the one before it";¹⁷ Daniel: "the Quartos differ among themselves . . . in a progressive increase in error."¹⁸ Hence, if, as Daniel in 1884 and Pollard in 1909 both noted,¹⁹ the Folio used Q 6, in collation with some MS. of the play, the essential antagonism of Folio and Quartos as textual bases of this play lies between the Folio and Quarto 1. For Mr. Pollard himself remarks emphatically three times in three pages: ". . . so long as a copy of the first edition of a good Quarto exists, all the later quarto editions have no value for the construction of the text . . . only the first Quartos and the First Folio have any textual value . . . No editions can have any shred, jot, or tittle of value except the first Quarto and the First Folio."²⁰ And Daniel also, as noted above, discusses the Quarto text *in general*: ". . . the relation of the Quarto and Folio versions is, after all, the most important matter connected with the play."²¹ We may therefore assume that the problem of the text of *Richard III* involves ultimately the relative value of the First Quarto, of 1597, and the First Folio, of 1623.

A history of this problem brings to light some interesting contradictory statements, most of which appear in the Furness Variorum Edition of the play.²² It is sufficient to consider here that

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 125.

¹⁵ *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, p. 22.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 125. Does he not mean "five" ?

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 11.

¹⁸ *Variorum Richard III*, p. 449.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 449, and see note 5 above.

²⁰ *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates*, pp. 83, 84, 85.

²¹ *Variorum Richard III*, p. 448.

²² See pp. 432-451. Perhaps the most important debate was that of Spedding and Pickersgill over the insertions in the Folio, 193 lines in all, the former declaring them Shakespeare's later revisions ("the text of the F. . . represents the result of Shakspeare's own latest revisions"), where-

the early editors vacillated persistently between the Q and F versions. Then, more recently, this vacillation was continued when twentieth century bibliographical critics precipitated a complete re-survey of the *Richard III* problem. Mr. Pollard as early as 1909 was puzzled that the editors of the Folio should neglect a good Q costing but 6d., and conjectured a MS. then in the possession of the players.²³ Yet he turned to the 6th Q as part of the basis of the Folio text.²⁴ In his 1915 lectures, when he had been influenced by Percy Simpson's *Shakespearian Punctuation* (1911), he leaned even more heavily toward the Quarto: "the Quarto reproduces this punctuation with very much the same substantial fidelity that it reproduces the words of the text"²⁵—and especially toward the First Q., because it was nearest to Shakespeare in spelling, punctuation, and emphasis capitals.²⁶ Meanwhile Mr. W. D. Moriarity²⁷ and Mr. O. J. Campbell,²⁸ working from a totally

as the latter attempted to prove them part of the original play, omitted by the actors: "Shakspeare never revised the play." By the same line of argument Spedding proposed that Shakspeare himself in revising omitted the only long Quarto passage not in the F (iv, 2, 103-119-Q., Griggs Facsimile); that otherwise the omissions from the Folio were due to "accidents over which the corrector [that is, Shakespeare] had no control." Pickersgill referred the important omission to an anonymous corrector and the rest to the printer. To sum up, Spedding concluded: "the readings of the Folio ought always to be preferred"; Pickersgill: "the first Quarto was printed from a stage-copy of the play. I do not think that the amount of variation of the Quarto from what I conceive to be the true Shaksperian text will appear at all incredible. . . . I responded to the challenge . . . by quoting forty-five passages in which something original, striking, or forcible in idea or expression in the Quarto is diluted into commonplace in the Folio; or in which a turn of phrase thoroughly Shaksperian is diluted into commonplace in the Folio; . . ."

(For this note as a whole see *Variorum Richard III*, pp. 300 and 301, and pp. 437-448. The debate appeared originally in the *New Shakspeare Society's Transactions*, 1875, pp. 1 and 79.)

²³ *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, p. 122.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

²⁵ *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates*, p. xix.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

²⁷ *Modern Philology*, x (1912), 451-71.

²⁸ *Modern Language Notes*, xxxi (1916), 15-19: ". . . the reviser, if not Shakespeare himself, was someone who had as keen an interest as he in making clear at this important moment the carefully conceived dramatic construction of the play. At this point, then, as at most others, the Folio proves a more reliable text than the Quartos . . ." (pp. 18-19.)

different point of view—the "dramatic sequence of varia"—both reverted to the Folio, with Shakespeare probably as reviser. But Dover Wilson and Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, inspired by Sir E. M. Thompson's plea (1916) for Shakespeare's handwriting in the MS. play, *Sir Thomas More*, now (1921) threw the emphasis back again to the Quartos (Pollard had noted that theatrical prompt copies were in the Shakespeare's autograph and went thus to the printer of the first Quarto):²⁹ "In short we believe we know how Shakespeare wrote: we have a definite clue to his system of punctuation; we feel confident that often nothing but a compositor stands between us [in the Quarto] and the original MS."³⁰ And Crompton Rhodes has recently declared that the makers of the first Folio gave us an *actor's* text and that the Folio may represent the best *acting* tradition.³¹

Thus the text of *Richard III* has fluctuated from the eighteenth century to the present. Perhaps just now the pendulum should swing back to the Folio, but certain tests, particularly of recent origin, must be applied to the Quarto and Folio versions before any new decision can be offered. A summary of these tests follows briefly. They will then be turned upon a few typical variations of the Q and F in an attempt to discover a method by which the complete text may be determined for future editions.

In preliminary, a few tests may be eliminated immediately because of their insecurity or inapplicability in the present problem. Mr. Pollard's exploitation of Shakespeare's dramatic punctuation³² is considerably discounted by the sane Mr. Van Dam, first because of the printer's inevitable hand in the matter and second, because the end of a speech wave is so closely connected with grammar and syntax that the punctuation would have little variety anyway.³³ Similarly the *New Statesman* (June 2, 1923) deplores Mr. Dover Wilson's discipleship of Pollard³⁴ in this punctuation creed for the simple reason that poets are generally not much

²⁹ *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates*, p. 79.

³⁰ Cambridge Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, p. xxx.

³¹ R. C. Rhodes, *Shakespeare's First Folio, a Study*, Oxford, 1923. See review in the *New Statesman*, June 2, 1923.

³² *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates*, pp. 88-93.

³³ B. A. P. Van Dam, *The Text of Hamlet*, London, 1924, p. 165-6. Reviewed by Hardin Craig in the *Iowa Philological Quarterly*, April, 1925.

³⁴ Cambridge Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, p. xxxi.

given to punctuation. At any rate this test involves doubts, and so we venture to neglect it in the present study.³⁵

Even more insecure apparently is Mr. Wilson's emphasis upon the possibility of emending the texts on the basis of Shakespeare's peculiarities of handwriting as they appear in the MS. of *Sir Thomas More*.³⁶ For Mr. Van Dam has effectively pointed out that *Sir Thomas More* is a transcript,³⁷ as proved by interlineations and actor's interpolations. And Mr. Schücking, too, is sceptical.³⁸ This test therefore will also have to be rejected.

Two other tests meet rejection because they will presumably not apply to the *Richard III* situation. Dover Wilson,³⁹ Crompton Rhodes⁴⁰ and R. B. McKerrow⁴¹ all believe in an actor's piracy of *Hamlet* for the first Quarto. Mr. A. E. Morgan⁴² and Mr. P. Alexander⁴³ broach the same idea for *Henry V* and *Henry VI* (Pts. 2 and 3), respectively, and Dr. W. W. Greg is of the same tenor.⁴⁴ But the *Richard III* Q of 1597 is not a "bad" Quarto, and as Mr. Dover Wilson points out, the actor piracy is concerned only with the unregistered and therefore "bad" Qs.⁴⁵

Similarly the brachigraphy possibility is ruled out,⁴⁶ for the same reason. Dr. Greg's strictures on the inadequacy anyway of Elizabethan shorthand⁴⁷ are well supplemented by Mr. Pollard's

³⁵ Van Dam (*op. cit.*, p. 164) supports us further by noting that Mr. Simpson's theory is based upon the *Folio* text anyway.

³⁶ Cambridge Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, pp. xli-xlii.

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 369-71.

³⁸ *Review of English Studies*, I (Jan., 1925), 40-59. See also S. A. Tanenbaum's flat rejection in *Studies in Philology*, xxii (April, 1925), 133-60, esp. 156.

³⁹ *The Library*, July and October, 1918.

⁴⁰ See note 31.

⁴¹ "Notes on Bibliographical Evidence," *Transactions of the London Bibliographical Society*, xii (Oct., 1911-April, 1913), sect. 13. Reprinted, London, 1914.

⁴² In a lecture at Iowa City, Iowa, U. S. A.

⁴³ *London Times Literary Supplement*, Sept. 23, 1924.

⁴⁴ *Modern Language Review*, xiv (1919), 382.

⁴⁵ Cambridge Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, p. xxxi.

⁴⁶ See Otto Pape, *Über die Entstehung der Ersten Quarto von Shakespeares Richard III*, Berlin, 1906, pp. 14-15; Archibald Paterson, *The Relation of Quartos and First Folio of Richard III* (University of Chicago A. M. Thesis, 1910), pp. 69, 81.

⁴⁷ *Review of English Studies*, I (1925), 466, 473.

animadversions against piracy in the period: "piracy seems an exceptional incident."⁴⁸ Hence all Mr. Van Dam's ingenious devices for detecting shorthand piracy⁴⁹ will, in the light of the duly registered 1597 Q1, have to be herein renounced.

There remain now six major tests for determining the relative value and relationship of Q and F texts: (1) The Dover Wilson revision tests, (2) the Van Dam interpolation tests, (3) the varieties of printer's errors, (4) the earmarks and peregrinations of stage copy, (5) the versification tests, and (6) the Campbell-Moriarity "dramatic sequence of varia." The first of these⁵⁰ involves attention to alternating prose and verse (though Van Dam insists "Shakespeare knows no rules for the use of meter and prose"),⁵¹ to broken lines (though many critics believe a gesture completed them and Mr. D. L. Chambers even adds nine other possibilities which would exclude revision),⁵² to crowded lines and cramped additions, to incorrect alignment, to changes in diction from old words to new, and to improvements in spelling and grammar. The latter two points may be more properly ascribed to Mr. Van Dam,⁵³ who comments on it all in conspicuous disagreement with the idea of Shakespeare revision, though he admits the possibility of a "literary corrector."⁵⁴

Mr. Van Dam further urges five⁵⁵ types of interpolation: (1) to suit the acting, (2) explanatory, (3) smoothing, (4) printer's, and (5) tautophonal. The last two are properly the printer's additions, the others the actor's. These changes are always redundant, extra-metrical, and inferior. Further an insertion of more stage directions would suggest that Shakespeare did not do the remodelling; and if there are more stage directions in the Folio than in the Quarto, the play was revised by the actors. All such interpolations as the above⁵⁶ show that the F (or Q) has been

⁴⁸ *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, Preface, p. v.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, chap. I.

⁵⁰ This resumé of Dover Wilson is derived from the text discussion in *The Tempest* (Cambridge Shakespeare).

⁵¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 250.

⁵² D. L. Chambers, *The Meter of Macbeth*, Princeton, 1903, pp. 30-32.

⁵³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 144-5.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 186-7.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. II.

⁵⁶ Van Dam (*op. cit.*, p. 185), also notes Mommsen's ten tests, which show where a F text has suffered interpolation or remodelling by actors.

printed at least from a prompt copy, which was either a written MS. or a Q. And there may have been a version of the text even beyond this copy (depending upon the interpolations); that is, the play as spoken from the stage, with the *actors'* insertions, which—and here we leave Mr. Van Dam who is interested primarily in a shorthand version—may well have worked their way into the prompt copy in the course of time if the change they involved was conspicuously long and noticeable.⁵⁷ It is also possible that some of Mr. Van Dam's minor changes by actors⁵⁸ may have found their way gradually into the prompt copy, but we waive them completely in view of the fact that they conflict too obviously with possible printer's errors.

The aberrations of the printer reach the extent of a catalogue quite brutal to this much abused individual.⁵⁹ Wrong ideographs and ligatures, and misreading of Elizabethan letters whose similarity both McKerrow and Kellner,⁶⁰ for example, have pointed out; "foul case," confused signatures, and additions, transpositions, and omissions of letters and even lines; substitution of synonyms and homonyms, and mingling of prose and verse (cf. the Dover Wilson tests); mistaking letters and whole words, or misplacing a comma and then revising the whole line to fit the new punctuation; finally, correcting the form during the printing so that all copies of a single Q are not alike—all these blunders, minor though they be in most cases, are put upon the shoulders, or perhaps better the fingers, of the poor printer. He is the last resort of the harassed textual critic; he will probably be used rather often later in this paper.

Finally to be explained in detail before application is the status of stage copy,⁶¹ which, all critics are agreed, had something to do with both Q and F in the case of *Richard III*. Stage copy is the author's MS. (in autograph) plus the stage manager's changes, including cuts and stage directions. It is then prompt copy,

⁵⁷ Note Pollard, *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates*, p. 79, and see below in this paper.

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, chap. I.

⁵⁹ Most of this discussion is taken from R. B. McKerrow (see note 41) and Van Dam, *op. cit.*, chap. III.

⁶⁰ L. Kellner, *Restoring Shakespeare*, London, 1925. See review in *Review of English Studies*, Oct., 1925.

⁶¹ See notes 8, 30 and 33 for general sources of this material.

identified by the list of actors with names of parts, cues, and prompter's jottings. This is presumably the copy that was turned over to Valentine Sims, the printer, by Andrew Wise to become Q1 of 1597. Its later peregrinations become more conjectural. Mr. Pollard believes a first Quarto may have next served as a prompt copy in place of the written form,⁶² so that in the course of time this Q prompt copy acquired additional stage directions, revisions from the MS. prompt copy, and even actors' variations (as we suggested above with regard to Mr. Van Dam's interpolation tests). Mr. Van Dam himself insists that Heminge and Condell did *not* have original Mss.;⁶³ so that we continue from Mr. Pollard: "In 1622 a copy of the last Q on the market was sent to the play-house to be roughly collated with the printed prompt-copy; and . . . the copy so corrected was the source of the F text of a normal play originally printed in a duly registered Q"⁶⁴—all of which certainly seems applicable to *Richard III*.

The two remaining tests are too obvious to need much comment. Neilson and Thorndike have tables for the versification tests,⁶⁵ and the Campbell-Moriarity "dramatic sequence of varia"⁶⁶ involves simply applying the test of comparative dramatic value to variations in Q and F, particularly in the case of omissions from one text or the other. Only one point is interesting in connection with these two tests: Mr. Van Dam insists that a poet can rhyme unconsciously!⁶⁷

Now, inasmuch as it is impossible in this brief paper to compass the whole play in question, we shall concentrate on three typical variations in F and Q facsimiles: i. e. omissions from both, and intra-line changes. Here again it will be necessary to choose scenes with care in order to show the most characteristic examples of these three general differences. A study of Furness' comments on the text will provide some basis for such a choice.

Fifty-eight times the Variorum text makes notations of some length and moment on variations in Q. and F.⁶⁸ Every act is

⁶² *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates*, p. 79.

⁶³ *Op. cit.*, p. 186.

⁶⁴ *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates*, pp. 79-80.

⁶⁵ *The Facts about Shakespeare*, New York, 1915, p. 71.

⁶⁶ See notes 27 and 28.

⁶⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 243.

⁶⁸ This figure is not to be taken too literally. I am merely trying to establish a general basis of proportion.

represented, the fifth, however, least of all. IV, 4 and I, 4 contain the most, the former including two long, apparent insertions in the Folio. The earlier scene Furness himself notes has variations "more numerous than in any other part of the play of the same length."⁶⁹ And to secure the third general difference we turn to IV, 2, which contains the only long omission from the F text.⁷⁰ Hence in applying the above tests to the Methuen F and Griggs 1597 Q of *Richard III*, we shall use these three scenes—I, 4; IV, 2; IV, 4—to cover both the omissions and the intra-line changes.

Act I, Scene 4, presents what might well be designated as an imbroglío. I venture to declare first that it is impossible to favor either F or Q on the basis of spelling revisions; they seem to be about even.⁷¹ The same is true for grammar,⁷² though the Q's "Where are the evidence that doe accuse me?"⁷³ is a rather startling aberration. In diction revisions, the F has all the better of it,⁷⁴ if Spedding's "was't" (for "wert") and "you" (for "thou")⁷⁵ are to be accepted as revisions. Broken lines are of no significance here because the two texts vary in but few lines, because prose interferes with such a test, and because only once does a short line occur at a possible cut in the verse;⁷⁶ and that short line is in the F whereas the cut actually is in the Q. I noted no crowded lines or cramped additions of significance, but the Q has erred badly in printing some of the murderers' speeches as poetry,⁷⁷ though again no important cut is evident. Obviously the printer was responsible for this, and the F in this passage certainly presents the better text. As a whole, then, Test I slightly favors the F in this particular scene.

⁶⁹ *Variorum Richard III*, p. 116.

⁷⁰ The lines here involved are 103-119 (W. Griggs Facsimile, 1884). There are, in all, 35 lines in the Griggs Facsimile of Q 1 which are not in the Folio text.

⁷¹ The lines given hereafter are those of the Griggs Facsimile of Q 1 unless otherwise noted. For spelling see lines 12, 16, 29, 31, 49, 56, 57, etc.

⁷² For example, lines 24, 41, 188, 202.

⁷³ Line 188.

⁷⁴ For example, lines 202, 213, 254, 257.

⁷⁵ See note 22. This particular material is on pp. 57-60 of the Society's Transactions.

⁷⁶ *Variorum Richard III*, p. 144: I, 4. 261.

⁷⁷ Lines 138 ff.

Tests II and III may be applied together, for they present some interesting speculations as to whether the printer or an actor is responsible for the majority of the variations. Substitutions of synonyms occurs often⁷⁸ and the blame may be laid temporarily, upon the printer (assuming, of course, for the moment that we are dealing with a single original text of which either the F or Q is a variation). Similarly the printer got his ligatures mixed up, in lines 21 (F.-Furness) and 37 (Q-Griggs), for example; "foul-cased" in l. 49 (Q-Griggs); and possibly got the "a" and "r" confused in line 212 (F.-Furness:—l. 221, Q. Griggs). But such minor variations pale before the interpolations in both F and Q, particularly the latter. The Q has at least six distinct Alexandrines in lines 59, 64, 65, 209, 218, and 250 (all Griggs), whereas the F slips metrically not at all in this particular. Is the printer responsible for these six insertions, which include: "about," "I promise you," "in God's name," "To fight," "Why sirs," and "hither now"? I suggest that they look more like an actor's, for some one of Mr. Van Dam's three reasons as given in Test II.

But consider some tautophonal variations which should be more directly concerned with the printer. In l. 18 (Griggs) the Q. repeats "stumbled" in "stumbling"; in l. 21 (Griggs) the Q repeats "Lord" twice; in l. 230 (Griggs) the Q repeats "the divell" from the preceding line; in l. 262 (Griggs) the Q repeats "*this deede.*" Only once does the F do this—in l. 45 (Furness). There is even one tautophonal *interpolation* in the Q: "When he wakes. *When he wakes*": (l. 104 Griggs). Mr. Van Dam points out specifically that this is an actor's trick.⁷⁹ Is it too much to suggest that an actor also made many of the other repetitions in the Q, to say nothing of possibly substituting most of the synonyms, as above? There are certainly non-tautophonal insertions in the Q which are "actorish": "Tut" and "I warrant thee"⁸⁰ (l. 154 Griggs). And such transpositions as occur in lines 3 and 22 (Q-Griggs)⁸¹ I believe could have been made as well by an

⁷⁸ For example, lines 14, 38, 39, 46, 54, etc.

⁷⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 82—the comment upon the actor's "except my life, except my life" in *Hamlet*.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 27 ff.—on actors' repetitions and insertions of interjections to fit a gesture.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21 ff.—on actors' transpositions.

actor as by the printer. Would a printer make as many changes as this anyway? An actor might, more plausibly.

I waive the whole line variations in favor of the next two scenes to be discussed. I simply conjecture now that on the basis of the above evidence for this scene the Folio appears to be slightly the better text and that therefore the two lines appearing in the Q and not in the F⁸² were missed by the printer; one may have been eliminated by the decree of 1606⁸³ because it contains "By Christs deare blood" (Q-Griggs, l. 195). The lines that are only in the F⁸⁴ were presumably cut by the stage manager from the Q text, or else—and this seems to me a more important conjecture—were at least missed by the actors (or by an actor?). The Versification and Campbell-Moriarity tests will be reserved for application to the greater variations in the two scenes still to be considered. So far the F, therefore, is better than the Q, which, in the light of the variations indicated above for Act I, Scene 4, would seem to be an actors' (or *actor's*?) text. I dare make no conjecture yet about the relationship of F and Q on the basis of Test IV.

Act IV, Scene 2, presents in the two texts far fewer variations, relatively. There are by no means so many synonym changes, revisions, interpolations, or missing lines. True, the scene is only one-half as long as the one just considered in Act 1, but even when the third scene is added on (as it is in the Folio), the differences remain relatively less, and Richard's speeches in particular are startlingly alike in both texts throughout both these scenes in Act IV. He speaks 91 lines (approximately) in the two scenes (excluding the famous Quarto interpolation),⁸⁵ and these 91 include only one tautophonal change, five minor interpolations, four synonym changes, one possible revision, and seven probable misprints—a total of eighteen variations⁸⁶—all of them quite insignificant. In fact, in two long speeches of sixteen and thirteen lines,⁸⁷ Richard's language varies only once in the first and only three times in the second; all four of these are unimportant,

⁸² Lines 195, 243.

⁸³ Van Dam, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-5.

⁸⁴ See Griggs Facsimile for indication of these.

⁸⁵ Lines 103-119 (scene 2).

⁸⁶ This total, of course, may be slightly wrong, but it is certainly not far from correct.

⁸⁷ Lines 51-66 and 31-43 (in scene 3).

single-word changes. By far the majority of the variations in these two scenes appear in the speeches of the *other characters* involved.

But certainly the most interesting feature of IV, 2, is the appearance in it of the only long interpolation in the Q of lines not in the F (there are 35 in all in the *whole play*); lines 103-119 inclusive (Griggs). How did these lines get in here—and why? The F has a broken line before them, and a rather weak line after them. Such evidence points to a cut, and I have no doubt that there may have been a cut made here in the F text. But the question arises immediately as to its possible length. The Q has an interpolation preceding: an extra "perhaps" following the F's "A king perhaps," an insertion which, as I pointed out above and in Test II (Van Dam), is an *actor's* addition. Similarly, within a line *after* the long interpolation there is, in the Q, an obvious Alexandrine, made by the addition of "Tut, tut" to a perfectly regular pentameter line as it appears in the F. That insertion, I venture to say again, was an actor's.⁸⁸ And the scene contains, further, two other distinct Alexandrines in the Q (lines 36 and 71—Griggs)—the F has none—both of which extra-metrical lines contain as interpolations the words "my Lord." Is this the *actor* again?

The actual substance of the long insertion becomes much too far-fetched and long-drawn-out, as though the actor, as both Schmidt and Daniel suggested,²² was enjoying himself in his dominance over Buckingham; for Richard had already *three times*⁸⁹ ignored Buckingham even before the interpolation began. Mr. Campbell and Mr. Moriarity both point out that the insertion is non-dramatic,⁹⁰ and Pickersgill notes "that only five lines out of the whole passage are perfectly regular in meter."⁹¹ Hence I conclude that *the actor of Richard* was responsible for *most* of this long insertion in the Q text, though I cannot tell how much, if any, of the legitimate speech was cut from the F text. Not much, however, I should say.

⁸⁸ See note 80.

⁸⁹ Lines 88, 95, 98, scene 2.

⁹⁰ See notes 27 and 28. Mr. Campbell: "Someone, therefore, who was interested in having the audience see the essential nature of the dramatic catastrophe . . . cut these lines . . ." p. 18.

⁹¹ *Variorum Richard III*, p. 301.

Finally, other evidence in these scenes points likewise to the predominant value of the F text. Lines 44, 45, 79, 98 and 124 of Scene 2 are metrically imperfect in the Q (generally short lines), whereas the F in each case presents a regular pentameter version. Only once is there a F line bad where the Q is good, and even then the Q line is printed in two half-lines.⁹² Line 74 of the Q in this scene has a bad printer's blunder for the F word "disturbers." In the third scene, immediately following (and actually a part of scene 2 in the F text), the printer misprints "on" ⁹³ (Q) for "one" (F), "their" ⁹⁴ (Q) for "there" (F), "he" ⁹⁵ (Q) for "she" (F), "give" ⁹⁶ (Q) for "gave" (F), "at" ⁹⁷ (Q) for "and" (F), "Tir" ⁹⁸ (Q) for "Rich." (F) or "King" (Q), and possibly "ore" ⁹⁹ (Q) for "on" (F). Line 27 is an Alexandrine in the Q, as a result of the interpolation of "my Lord," again probably by an actor. The confusion in characters in the Q is ¹⁰⁰ perhaps also due to the actors; a case of doubling, possibly. As a whole, then, examination of these two scenes points once more to the conclusion that the F is undeniably the more reliable text. I am now almost ready to suggest a source of the Q text on the basis of Test IV.

In the face of, as it seems to me, Pickersgill's incontrovertible proof that the long omissions in the Q text were part of the original play as presented in the F,¹⁰¹ I waive all application of tests to Act IV, Sc. 4 (or Scene 3 as it appears in the F), which contains two such omissions.¹⁰² In other words, I align myself now with Mr. Campbell's fairly recent remark that consensus of opinion favors the F as Shakespeare's original play,¹⁰³ and in this particular case reject Mr. Pollard's emphasis on the first Quarto

⁹² Line 2 (scene 2).

⁹³ Line 3.

⁹⁴ Line 16.

⁹⁵ Line 19.

⁹⁶ Line 25.

⁹⁷ Line 31.

⁹⁸ Line 31.

⁹⁹ Line 42.

¹⁰⁰ Lines 44, 46.

¹⁰¹ *Variorum Richard III*, pp. 439-447.

¹⁰² Lines 221-234 and 288-342.

¹⁰³ See notes 28 and 90. Especially pp. 15-16.

as the primary text of Shakespeare's plays.¹⁰⁴ The relation of this first Q of *Richard III* to the Folio is now my principal concern; and as I have already anticipated my theory of this relationship in the discussion of the two scenes above, I shall now try to substantiate that theory by a detailed collation of the lines of Richard in the Q and F texts of Act IV, Sc. 4 (F 3).

During the first 135 lines of this scene Richard is not on the stage, and the two texts vary considerably. Lines 17, 18, and 19 are transposed to follow l. 34 in the Q, and lines 20 and 21 are missing altogether from the Q. After l. 38 is inserted a line not in the F, a line which seems quite necessary to the context. Lines 52 and 53 are not in the Quarto, and lines 88 and 89 are badly confused, in one text or the other. Lines 100 and 101 are transposed in the Q, and then the Q omits one line of the three similarly constructed lines that appear after l. 100 in the F. The printer may have been responsible for this, but I do not believe the printer can be blamed for the great number of differences in these first 135 lines of this scene: I counted twenty-four other variations besides the ones just mentioned. Either the manuscripts were different, or else an actor failed in trying to remember the lines when he handed them over to Andrew Wise to be "Printed by Valentine Sims—at the Signe of the Angell, 1597."¹⁰⁵

That actor was the man who in 1597 played Richard—for the moment he appears on the stage the lines begin to grow strikingly similar to the two texts. Allowing for a slight difference in his first speech—an omission of two words which may well have been made by the printer and which does not affect the meter because of the pronunciation of "expedition" (in fact, I believe the Q is *right* here)—may I point out that his second speech, ll. 148-153, is absolutely the same in the two texts, and also that in the eleven lines intervening between these two speeches there are only *three* variations? The actor of Richard knew the lines of these characters better than he did the first one hundred and thirty-five, because they were spoken while he was on the stage himself.

From that point on an analysis of the two texts proves astonishing. Richard's lines 155, 161, and 164 are the same in Q and F. The intervening lines have slight differences because they were

¹⁰⁴ See note 20.

¹⁰⁵ A. W. Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, p. 21.

spoken mainly by other characters. But when the Duchess speaks lines 165-174, Richard recalls almost precisely her first two and last two lines, which he most naturally would remember. He does the very same thing with her next speech (ll. 183-195), and in fact lost only two words in the whole long speech, for both of which he substituted synonyms (ll. 186 and 187). His own line 198 has also a synonym change, but might not the Q be right here? His lines 203 and 204 are alike in the two texts. The Queen's lines (205-10) also are, and the stichomythy running from lines 211-247 (broken slightly now and then, especially by a long speech of the Queen's which is not in the Q and was doubtless cut from this acting version) corresponds almost exactly throughout; the actor of Richard would obviously know the Queen's speeches as well as his own in such a spirited dialogue. It is interesting to note in passing that Richard's line 235, directly following the cut in the Q, is decidedly muddled and non-metrical, a sufficient evidence of the actor's confusion at this break. His lines 248-252, 255, 257, 261-2 are the same in both texts, as are also the Queen's 253, 256, and 258-60. His lines 266 and 268 are metrically *better* in the Q, so that *with regard to Richard's lines only* the F may not be the better text. The Queen's speech (ll. 275-283) is again extremely interesting in that the actor of Richard recalled her first two and last three lines precisely (as he would naturally) but got into a terrific muddle with the handkerchief passage in the middle (Q, ll. 275ff.)—also not an unnatural proceeding. To continue, Richard's line 284 is regular in the Q and not so in the F, and the Queen's lines 285-287 coincide exactly in both texts.

The long omission in the Quarto (Richard's ll. 287-342) may be due to a cut by the stage manager before the actor ever learned the lines, or to a cut of the actor's lines ever *after* Andrew Wise got them for acting purposes. At any rate, the omission does not affect the actor aspect of the Q text of this scene.

The stichomythy, beginning after the break, at line 343 and continuing to line 369 is amazingly similar in both texts, differing only by seven words in this whole passage. And two of these, the extra "by nothing" in Richard's line 368 were obviously dropped in—tautophonal—by the printer of the Q. Richard's line 361 would almost alone prove the actor's version, for it is an Alexandrine, with the actor's typical insertion (see Van Dam—Test II)

—"Madame." The Queen's next speech (ll. 369-73) is bad again in the middle, as are also her subsequent passages, lines 377-386 ("Gods", Q, and "Heavens", F, merely changed by the 1606 decree), and lines 388-396. Richard's long speech (ll. 397-417) has only eight word-variations in it (the printer dropped one line), in striking contrast to the many variations in the *central* portions of the three preceding passages of the Queen. Then the stichomythy is close again, till the Queen's exit, in the course of which the actor of Richard lost Ratcliff's first two lines. But he got the next five of Ratcliff's lines exactly; and his own answer also corresponds exactly in the two texts.

At this point there is a confusion in characters in which the editors, even Spedding,¹⁰⁶ seem to agree that the Quarto has the best version: Richard's lines in the Q, then, deserve some attention. And it is easy to note the similarity of the texts throughout the rest of the scene, with special emphasis on Richard's lines. Only the messenger's lines are at all muddled (ll. 511-514; 520-529). So I should like to point out in these closing Q lines of the scene merely four typically actor interpolations,¹⁰⁷ *all by Richard*: in line 456 (repetition of "my mind is changed"), line 467 (repetition of "as you guesse"), line 493 (repetition: "I, I"), and line 496 ("heare you"). The importance of the actor-aspect of the Q lines in this scene is too obvious for further comment.

My conclusions, based on a study of only three scenes of the play, must be extremely conservative. Nevertheless I venture to believe that, first, I have maintained the emphasis upon the Folio as the better authority for the text of *Richard III*. Second, I have proposed the possibility that the actors had more to do with the first Q text than has been generally acknowledged. Third, I have suggested—I cannot say proved—that the actor of Richard seems to be the one to whom Andrew Wise was indebted for his "copy"; for in the first scene considered (I, 4) the variations were numerous and the actor of Richard was not present, whereas in the second and third scenes analyzed (IV, 2 and 4) the lines of Richard, who took part in both, corresponded, in the Q, with startling exactness to those in the F, or better text. I make no assertion that Richard was the only actor concerned in the dubi-

¹⁰⁶ *Variorum Richard III*, p. 357.

¹⁰⁷ See notes 79 and 80.

ously acquired Q of 1597; I suggest merely that the whole play deserves re-study in the light of the facts I have here presented. For if this Quarto text is an actor's imperfect version, there is some reason to suppose that Mr. Pollard may have to revise his strictures about the "good" and "bad" Quartos of Shakespeare's plays.¹⁰⁸

The University of Chicago.

¹⁰⁸ See notes 11, 20, 25, and, more recently, the following: "In other cases, as in *Richard III*, they ['the producers of the Folio'] relied on a manuscript which they believed (in the case of *Richard III* wrongly) to be of higher authority. But the 'good' quartos have been recovered, thanks to the enthusiasm of collectors, and as regards most of these fourteen plays for which we have a double text our position is exceptionally good." (The *Foundations of Shakespeare's Text*, British Academy Shakespeare Lecture, April 23, 1923, p. 8.)

EXTRANEOUS SONG IN ELIZABETHAN DRAMA AFTER THE ADVENT OF SHAKESPEARE

BY LOUIS B. WRIGHT

Song in drama, particularly in Elizabethan drama, has been of late a much discussed topic.¹ In another study² I shall seek to show the extraneous nature of much of the song in the drama before Shakespeare. In the present discussion I wish to call attention to the practice of using song for extraneous diversion in the drama from the time when Shakespeare became a playwright of consequence until the closing of the theatres in 1642.

Although Shakespeare could be equalled among his contemporaries only by Jonson in the skill with which he combined sheer entertainment with dramatic effect,³ he never loses sight of the purely entertaining value of song on the stage; hence worshipping critics who believe in the absolute dramatic value of all the songs in Shakespeare's plays find themselves hard pressed to interpret some of the lyrics and particularly some of the clown songs. Occasionally Shakespeare's songs are so slightly related to the action and dramatic needs of the plays in which they occur that they are essentially mere extraneous diversions. Perhaps later producers in their instincts to leave out certain songs from acting versions, a practice which Mr. Richmond Noble inveighs against, were dramatically surer than aesthetic critics of the written plays. In the light of contemporary theatrical demands and practice in Shakespeare's day, it seems futile to contend that *all* of Shakespeare's,

¹ Reed, Edward Bliss, *Songs from the British Drama*, New Haven, 1925; Noble, Richmond, *Shakespeare's Use of Song*, Oxford, 1923.

² "Comic Song as Extraneous Entertainment in the Pre-Shakespearean Drama" forthcoming in *Philological Quarterly*.

³ Professor Reed, *op. cit.*, p. 352, goes so far as to say that Shakespeare "did little to enlarge the range of song in the drama." But if Shakespeare did not increase the range of song in the drama, he did increase its dramatic effectiveness, and he helped to establish the song as a popular device for attaining dramatic effects. In this again he proves himself rather a popularizer than an innovator, for song had *occasionally* been used for dramatic effect before him. Shakespeare's insistence upon dramatic purpose does not prevent his lapsing at times into the use of song for extraneous entertainment.

or *all* of any other dramatist's songs, had a definite structural value.⁴ In the drama which preceded Shakespeare, song was a recognized and popular device for entertaining spectators at plays. It made little difference whether the songs contributed directly to the atmosphere or action of the plays; they were provided, among other bits of entertainment, to amuse audiences who cared little about the structure or congruity of plays so long as they were amused. It is incompatible with common sense that Shakespeare, a practical writer for the stage and a keen business man, should have sacrificed entirely the old conventions of extraneous theatrical amusement, even though he may have recognized the artistic blemishes inherent in them and may have applied his talents toward reconciling old forms of entertainment with his sense of dramatic propriety. A careful presentation of all the songs in Shakespeare from the point of view of the practical Elizabethan playwright, a task beyond the scope of the present discussion, would show that many of the songs, frequently explained on grounds of subtle foreshadowing, atmosphere, or characterization, are chiefly nothing more than diverting entertainments. Undoubtedly Shakespeare was skillful in weaving together much incongruous matter into a unified whole, but his commentators have been more skillful in supplying subtle reasons for simple incidents.

The comic epilogue songs in *Love's Labor's Lost*, necessitating a return of the clowns to the stage, certainly left the audience laughing, but the relation between the songs and the preceding play is slight. The separation of the Princess from the King and his courtiers had made sufficiently easy the clearing of the stage. The comic implications of the "Cuckoo Song" are such as to produce laughter, but how they "sustain, even in the end, the laughing character of the comedy,"⁵ as Mr. Noble maintains, I fail to see.

⁴ Mr. Noble, *op. cit.*, insists on the absolute dramatic propriety of all the songs in Shakespeare's plays.

Professor John Robert Moore, "Songs in Shakespeare," *University of Wisconsin Shakespeare Studies* (1916), 78-102, likewise declares that "there are in Shakespeare no songs devoid of dramatic function."

⁵ Noble, *op. cit.*, p. 34. In addition to the reason cited above, the author thinks these epilogue songs are functional because they are needed to clear the stage. The fact that several actors are called back on the stage after a graceful provision is made for clearing the stage in the farewells of the

Laughter followed the song, but it was in a different tone from that of the comedy. Surely Mr. Noble does not mean that laughter produced by any device would sustain the "laughing character of the comedy"? In similar fashion, the epilogue song by Feste in *Twelfth Night* is thoroughly extraneous; it merely serves as a comic after-piece by the clown and has no relation to the play itself. Some of the other clown songs in the play are only slenderly functional, if at all.⁶

That Balthasar's song in Leonato's garden, Act 2, Sc. 3 of *Much Ado About Nothing*, was intended as a bit of entertainment by a talented vocalist in the company, one Jack Wilson, seems certain from the stage directions in the First Folio in which Wilson is mentioned by name; Creizenach points out that the words of praise for Balthasar's talents from the other characters were intended as a personal compliment to Wilson.⁷

Comic diversion and clownery which have little organic relation to the play are furnished in Act 2, Sc. 2 of *The Tempest* by the singing of Stephano and Caliban. Professor John Robert Moore holds that Stephano's singing is for the purpose of delineating his character and foreshadowing Caliban's reaction to his influence.⁸ Such a statement presupposes that Shakespeare had a deeper meaning in the scene than mere entertainment and that it was necessary to delineate Stephano's character. The more sensible view seems to be, if one maintains the point of view of the contemporary playwright, that the scene is mere clownery, and that the songs of both Stephano and Caliban are clown songs thrown in to help out the

King and his party and the Princess hardly argues the necessity of this device for that purpose.

⁶ Even Mr. Noble admits that the epilogue song in *Twelfth Night* is entertaining nonsense, but he attempts to give it a functional value by asserting that "the wise nonsense contained in this ditty serves as a commentary on the events of the play, and is a fitting corollary to the first song, "O mistress mine" (*op. cit.*, p. 85). Wherein the commentary lay for the Elizabethan audience, it is difficult to see.

⁷ Creizenach, Wilhelm, *The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare*, London and Philadelphia, 1916, p. 393. Mr. Noble ignores Creizenach's theory regarding the complimentary speeches to Wilson. He asserts that the song is a "genuine dramatic song" without making clear precisely what dramatic function it has.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*

general comic effect.* Mr. Moore also sees in the drinking songs of Falstaff and Sir Toby only freedom from "powerful overtones of dramatic significance," yet surely these are just as truly for the purposes of characterization as the singing of Stephano and Caliban. The chief purpose of the songs, however, is simply that of comic entertainment.

In *The Winter's Tale*, Autolycus is a clown and only a clown. His performances are pure clownery; his songs are merely extraneous clown songs with no dramatic value outside the clown scenes which are themselves extraneous.¹⁰

The prevalence of song in *As You Like It* is no doubt due in part to pastoral convention, but in all probability there were especially good voices available in the company at the time Shakespeare wrote the play. The songs of the two pages near the end of Act 5, Sc. 3 seem, however, to be more for the sake of entertainment than for any other reason.¹¹

The public of Shakespeare's day had inherited a love of song and a taste for vocal music in play performances. Owing to the increase in the number of song books and the art of singing the public appetite for vocal music was daily increasing. Shakespeare in his plays gave the public what it wanted. If he could make the song serve a definite dramatic purpose, all the better; if not, the song

* Mr. Noble, *op. cit.*, p. 103, holds that Caliban's song ending,

"'Ban, 'Ban, Ca—Caliban,

Has a new master—Get a new man,"

represents Shakespeare's rendering of music characteristic of aboriginal savages: "It is highly improbable that Shakespeare had knowledge of the music of man in a primitive state, but it is evident he had observed the impromptu musical efforts of young untrained boys, who like savages make a chorus by emphasizing and repeating parts of a name, and with an instinct unerring in its judgment he thought fit to invest Caliban's ebullition of defiance with the same peculiarity."

¹⁰ Noble, *op. cit.*, p. 94. It seems to be pushing the subtlety of song too far to say, as Mr. Noble does, that from these songs "we are led to suspect that, when the Clown enters, he is to be shorn some way or other," or that the songs are "used as soliloquy."

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 76. Mr. Noble concedes the extraneous nature of the song but insists that it was "to serve the same dramatic ends, as did the other songs in the comedy, namely to act as scenery." It is unnecessary to point out the danger of the temptation to ascribe to every passage containing a descriptive phrase the use of supplying the place of painted scenery.

frequently was inserted anyway. Shakespeare's contemporaries and successors used song with varying degrees of skill. Sometimes in the later drama may be found songs which produce intense dramatic effects; sometimes songs are incongruously thrust into the play performances without structural warrant or even specious pretext.

A purely extraneous song occurs in *Wily Beguiled* after the scene between Lelia and Sophos.¹² Following the direction "Exeunt" marking the conclusion of this scene is "A Song." The song, three stanzas long, has no relation to the scene.¹³ The song by the clown in *Mucedorus* beginning, "And you shall hang for company," is only a little more nearly related to the action of the play than the one cited from *Wily Beguiled*.¹⁴

That the songs are important entertaining features of the play is the admission of Dekker in the author's preface to *The Shoemaker's Holiday*. In the enumeration of the delights of the play are "the merriments that passed in Eyre's house, his coming to be Mayor of London, Lacy's getting his love, and other accidents, with two merry Three-men's songs. Take all in good worth that is intended, for nothing is purposed but mirth." In the original edition the songs are printed separately from the rest of the play, while the place of insertion is very indefinitely indicated. Since the songs were not related directly to the play, they could be sung at any point where the players thought they might be needed to renew the interest of the spectators. A drinking song by Lacy in Act 2, Sc. 3 of the same play seems to be for the sake of its comic effect rather than for any other purpose. Extraneous comedy is furnished in similar fashion in Act 1, Sc. 1 of *Everie Woman in Her Humour* by the insertion of two three-men's songs. Under guise of entertaining the King, the Tanner of Tamworth in *Edward IV*, Pt. I, suggests a three-man's song, which he and his men proceed to render.¹⁵ It amounts only to a bit of variety entertainment.

¹² Dodsley, Robert (ed.), *Select Collection of Old English Plays*, 4th ed., London, 1874, IX, 315.

¹³ *Wily Beguiled* has other songs, the chief interest of which lies in their entertaining qualities: for example, Will Cricket's doggerel love song, p. 326.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, 226.

¹⁵ *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood Now First Collected*, London, 1874, I, 52. (No act or scene division.)

The sole reason for the insertion of much of the music and song in *The Wisdome of Doctor Dodypoll* is to allow the actors, who were the children of Paul's, a chance to furnish musical entertainment. Several songs have no relation whatever to the play. In Act 2, Sc. 1 is the direction: "Musick sounds awhile; and they sing Boire a le Fontaine." After several entries in the play, the actors wait until a song which has no dramatic bearing is sung.¹⁶ Extraneous song occurs in *Jack Drum's Entertainment* near the end of Act 4. The direction is, "The Song with the Violls"; no dramatic reason makes the music necessary. Near the end of the play, in Act 5, Ellis is called on for his "high Dutch Song," a drinking song a page and a half long that lends nothing to the play.

In printed plays, the stage directions frequently indicate that any song which pleased the players could be inserted. *Histriomastix* has a stage direction in Act 2, immediately after the players have brought on the devil, "The Song extempore." Some words follow, but apparently this direction indicates a custom of introducing extempore song.

Antonio and Mellida, acted by Paul's boys, is interlarded with serious and comic songs which have scarcely any connection with the play; these songs are awkwardly inserted simply to give the players a chance to use their voices and to amuse the audience. In Act 2, Sc. 1 after a song by the boy, Catzo, Castilio is to enter "singing fantastically." While Andrugio mourns his fate by the seashore, a song is artificially injected in Act 3, Sc. 1 by Andrugio's boy, Lucio. The only pretext is that the song will cheer his master. In Act 4, Sc. 1 occurs another such song, this time to Antonio on the seashore; the direction is, "The Boy runs a note, Antonio breaks it"; finally the song is given. In Act 5, Sc. 1, is a singing match, followed shortly by a masque. The effect attained by this burden of vocal music is not dramatic but simply entertaining.

Similar songs are scattered through *Antonio's Revenge*. In Act 3, Sc. 2, Balurdo the clown is brought on to amuse with his song and foolery, the excuse being that he is sent by Piero to divert the sorrowful Maria. Such were the slender motivations upon which

¹⁶ Act 4, Sc. 3, "Enter Lassenbergh singing, Lucilia following: after the song he speaks." Act 5, Sc. 2, "Enter Constan., Kather., Lassen., Lucil., Cassi., Cornelia, Ite. A Song: after the Dutchesse speaks."

songs were inserted. Later in the play Balurdo sings to the audience "from under the Stage."¹⁷

In *Sejanus*, Jonson, who would not tolerate the external quality of some of the songs of his contemporaries, sought to be classical and popular at the same time by inserting between the acts a "Chorus of musicians." The nature of this chorus is not clear; it was scarcely a commentary upon the action; it seems more likely to have been Jonson's effort to satisfy the public appetite for songs in drama without sacrificing too far his artistic ideals. In spite of Jonson's protest in the prologue to *Volpone* that there would be no irrelevant clownery in the play, the appearances of Nano the dwarf, Androgyno the hermaphrodite, and Castrone the eunuch, have little relation at times to the action, as in Act 1, Sc. 2, where the three engage in a comic dialogue, followed by a clown song from Nano and Castrone, which extols the virtues of fools.

Of all the plays of the Elizabethan period, perhaps, Heywood's *The Rape of Lucrece* is the most conspicuous example of popularization by means of extraneous song. One should remember that this play was acted at the Red Bull, a theatre notorious for its ribald entertainment and uproarious amusements. The play is interlarded with popular songs of contemporary London which have no relation to either main plot or semblance of subplot. In the course of the play occur twenty songs, the words of which are given in the text. Of these, eighteen are sung by the "merry

¹⁷ Act 5, Sc. 1, after the exit of the ghost of Andrugio.

Another play by Marston illustrating the employment of singing boys is *What You Will*, where school boys are brought in to sing, Act 2, Sc. 2. Pages sing an irrelevant song in Act 3, Sc. 3. The opening song of Act 5, Sc. 1 has no connection with the rest of the play.

An attempt to give a more solid dramatic basis for songs in the play is seen in *The Dutch Courtesan*, acted by the children of the Revels, where song is used to some extent for characterization and atmosphere, but in the scene of clownery where Cockledemoy shaves Mulligrub, just in the midst of Mulligrub's lament over the soap in his eyes, is the direction, "Cantat." Evidently Mulligrub was to sing a mock serious song in the midst of this clownery. An example of the emphasis on musical effects is given in Act 2, Sc. 1 when the singing of nightingales is imitated off stage.

Among numerous examples of the use of singing boys may also be mentioned Middleton's *Blurt, Master Constable*, acted by Paul's boys. In Act 1, Sc. 2, three pages sing an extraneous song; in Act 2, Sc. 2, Trivia and Simperina sing a song which seems to be chiefly for entertainment.

Lord Valerius," one is sung by the clown as a foil to Valerius, and one is a catch by Valerius, Horatius, and the clown.¹⁸ These songs are put into the play without regard for their fitness; a fishing song follows close upon the heels of a tavern song, and both are followed in a few lines by a doggerel song of the clown's. The title page of the edition of 1638 indicates that in printing, songs in the acting versions were sometimes omitted, for this edition announces the restoration of songs previously omitted.¹⁹ Perhaps other plays were filled with songs almost as incongruous as those in *The Rape of Lucrece*, songs which were omitted from the extant printed versions.

Evidence of inter-act song occurs in Chapman's *The Gentleman Usher*. The opening direction of Act 3 is, "Medice after the song whispers alone with his servant." The close of the previous act has no direction for a song, and there is no occasion for a song at the beginning of Act 3. Evidently the direction refers to the inter-act song.²⁰ The play is full of music and song, masque and anti-masque elements.

The renewed activity of the boy companies in the first years of James I may account for much of the song material inserted for little or no dramatic purpose in the plays of the time. *Westward Hoe*, acted by Paul's boys, is filled with song having very little value except for its extraneous entertainment. Some of it is clown

¹⁸ Heywood, *op. cit.*, V, 179, 180, 181-182, 194, 195-6, 198, 199-200, 201, 206, 213, 215, 216-7, 227, 228-9, 230, 231, 232-3. Of this play, Professor F. E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, II, 27, says, "Popularization could go no farther than this."

¹⁹ On the title page of the 1638 edition is the following description: "A true Roman Tragedy. With severall Songs in their apt places, by Valerius the merry Lord among the Roman Peeres. The Copy revised, and Sundry Songs before omitted, now inserted in their right places." Appended at the end of the play are two other songs, headed by: "To the Reader, Because we would not that any mans expectation should be deceived in the ample Printing of this Book: Lo, (Gentle Reader) we have inserted these few Songs which were added by the stranger that lately acted Valerius his part, in forme following." Apparently the "stranger" must have had a good voice to display.

²⁰ Proof of the employment of inter-act amusements, particularly inter-act music, has been presented by Professor T. S. Graves, "The 'Act Time' in Elizabethan Theatres," *Studies in Philology*, XII (1915), 103-134, and by Mr. W. J. Lawrence, *The Elizabethan Playhouse and Other Studies*, 1st series, Stratford-upon-Avon, 1912.

song; as, for example, the song by Birdlime near the middle of Act 5.²¹ Similarly there is a scene of sheer clownery in *Northward Hoe*, in which clown song plays a part.²² Singing of clown songs by bawds furnishes much of the extraneous comedy in these two plays. In Middleton's *Your Five Gallants*, Primero, the bawd-gallant, gives an extraneous song and clown act as the direction indicates: ²³ "The song: and he keeps time, shows several humours and moods: the Boy in his pocket nims away Fitsgrave's jewel here, and exit."

Songs were frequently used to bring plays to an end. Occasionally, too, extraneous songs at the beginning of the plays have been preserved in the extant texts.²⁴ The opening song in Jonson's *Epicoene or the Silent Woman* seems chiefly to gain the attention of the audience.²⁵ Appended to the end of Middleton's *A Mad World, My Masters*, after the last direction, "Exeunt omnes," is a ribald drinking song which is headed, "The catch for the Fifth Act sung by Sir Bounteous Progress to his guests." The song certainly served no definite dramatic purpose in the play.²⁶

²¹ When Birdlime insists that she can not sing, she is told to "howle." She finally takes a fiddle and scrapes it, coughs, and sings clownishly.

²² In Act 4, Sc. 1, the Bawd sings "scurvily," and musicians come in to assist with songs.

²³ Act 2, Sc. 1.

²⁴ Prologue and epilogue songs are akin to the inter-act songs already mentioned. A number of plays ended or began acts with songs, the result being practically an inter-act diversion. In *What You Will*, Act 3 closes with a song, and Act 5 begins with a song by a page. The song at the beginning of Act 3 of *Henry VIII* is practically extraneous. In the university play, *Fuimus Troes: The True Trojans*, each act ends with an elaborate scene devoted solely to song. In Act 1, Sc. 3 of *Albumazar* one of the characters says of music which is heard, "'tis music 'twixt the acts." A song that is almost inter-act is introduced shortly after the opening of Act 3 in *Wit at Several Weapons* when the singing boy announces himself as a "poor servant of the Viol." Immediately after the song, he leaves the stage. The evidence of inter-act song contained in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* is too well known to need reiteration.

²⁵ When the singing boy enters, Clerimont asks if he has "got the song yet perfect"; there is some irrelevant dialogue followed by the boy's song. None of this is related to the action of the play and does not contribute anything in the way of atmosphere.

²⁶ The same song is printed in Act 1, Sc. 2 of the 1632 edition of Lyly's *Alexander and Campaspe*. This fact illustrates the external quality of the songs, which were frequently interchangeable.

Various devices were used to bring singing boys on the stage in scenes where the introduction of songs was difficult. The custom of having ubiquitous pages enter whenever a song was wanted to amuse the crowd was much used by Lyly and the dramatists who followed him for the next fifty years. In *Amends for Ladies*, Subtil has a boy to carry his coat.²⁷ The real purpose of the boy is to sing a song with no organic relation to the scene. Even so skillful a device as having a boy carry a coat on the stage was not, however, always employed. Frequently songs were simply thrust in with little regard for the naturalness of the scene. Artificiality was no deterrent, especially in the use of clown songs. Middleton's *Roaring Girl* has two extraneous clown songs. The first is simply entitled "Song by Moll and Tearcat"; the second is a ribald drinking song by Moll.²⁸ On leaving the stage in Act 3, Sc. 4 of *The Insatiate Countess*, Guiaca calls for a song. The direction which follows is, "After some short song, enter Isabelle and Guiaca again." The purpose of the song, aside from mere entertainment, could be only to gain time for a change of costume, but there is no evidence of any necessary change.

A vaudeville scene occurs in *The Nice Valour, or the Passionate Madman* in the last act, when Base the jester and the Passionate Madman sing a ribald song, dance, and engage in clownish buffoonery²⁹ which has only slight connection with the action.

Besides several other songs which make exits less awkward or serve some slight dramatic function,³⁰ there is in Act 3, Sc. 8 of *Albumazar* a clown song by Trinculo which "the moors sing to a gridiron." The Ancient in Fletcher's *Loyal Subject* announces that since there are no wars, he intends to live by clownery; on every occasion possible he sings a clown song.³¹ The part appears to have been written for an actor who had an especially good voice and a talent for foolery.

²⁷ Act 4, Sc. 1.

²⁸ Act 5, Sc. 1. Both songs are in the same scene.

²⁹ Act 5, Sc. 1. Six fools enter in this scene and sing a ribald song. The direction for their entrance indicates the type of clownery performed: "Enter Lapet and Clown, and four other like fools, dancing, the Cupid leading, and still bearing his Table, and holding it up to Lapet at every strain, and acting the postures."

³⁰ *E. g.*, Furbo's song at the end of Act 1, Sc. 1.

³¹ Note the unmotivated songs in Act 2, Sc. 1 and Act 3, Sc. 5.

Without propriety even to an Elizabethan taste must have been the comic song and dance by the burghers who interrupt the serious action in Act 4, Sc. 4 of *The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnaveldt* to serenade the distressed widow. Yet even the most skillful dramatists at times did not let a sense of fitness interfere with the necessity of pleasing an audience. Thus Fletcher in *Women Pleased* has Lopez, the misanthropic, jealous usurer, sing a beautiful lyric in praise of beauty when he comes upon his wife sleeping.³² Of all the characters in the play, Lopez would seem the least likely to sing. In the same play, when Lopez wants a chimney sweep, two boys are brought in to sing in broken French and indulge in clownery that is thoroughly extraneous.³³

A play which leans heavily upon singing, dancing, and clownery is Middleton's *The Spanish Gipsy*. Much of the singing and dancing, to be sure, is for the sake of atmosphere, but there is a considerable amount of conventional clown singing and dancing that has no dramatic value whatever. Sancho, "a foolish gentleman," and Soto, "a merry fellow," serve as clowns; the singing of these two is almost entirely mere vaudeville.³⁴ Soto burlesques the comic love song of his master, Sancho, and "runs division" behind him. Later Sancho again sings a love song, accompanied by a dance.³⁵ A clown dance after the play is given by the two clowns as a sort of farewell bit of variety entertainment.

The opening scene of Act 3 in Fletcher's *Beggar's Bush* is pure vaudeville material inserted near the middle of the play solely for purposes of extraneous entertainment. Three songs of clownery are sung near the beginning of the scene by Higgen, the knavish beggar, and are followed by tricks of legerdemain. After the jugglery, Gerrard enters with a boy who sings a peddler's song.

As a pretext that would permit the insertion of songs which have no bearing on the play, the Duchess in Act 5, Sc. 1 of *More Dissemblers Besides Women* orders singing and dancing lessons to be given the page of Lactantio. The scene is exaggerated with

³² Act 3, Sc. 4.

³³ Act 4, Sc. 3.

³⁴ Act 2, Sc. 2: Soto indicates the character of their performance:

"And we will show such tricks and such rare gambols,
As shall put down the elephant and camels."

³⁵ Notice the performances of the two clowns in Act 2, Sc. 1 and Act 3, Sc. 1.

much buffoonery. Crotchet sings comically, while song and dance are scattered throughout the scene. Morello, playing the rôle of court jester in Shirley's *The Bird in a Cage*, entertains the audience with two clown songs in Act 4, Sc. 1 which add little or nothing to the play. Again in Act 5, Sc. 1 he sings in praise of fools a comic song of no dramatic value. Perhaps the acting version of the play had more vaudeville songs than the printed text indicates, for Shirley laments in his ironical dedicatory letter to Prynne that the accustomed "varieties" had to be omitted in printing.

At the end of *The Late Lancashire Witches* is printed popular folk song in two stanzas. The song is headed, "Song. II Act," but the place of insertion is indefinite. Evidently the song could be put in at the beginning, end, or between the scenes of the second act, wherever the players wished.

A rollicking ghost is the unusual vehicle of extraneous song and clownery in *The Lovers' Progress*. The only dramatic purpose of the ghost, who appears for his song act in the first scene of Act 3, is to promise to warn Cleander of his impending death; yet the ghost is made to sing a merry drinking song, discourse on the nether world, and play the lute, obviously a rather unusual performance even for an Elizabethan ghost. The presentiment of Cleander's death could have been managed in a dozen simpler ways but for the desire to have the ghost of Mine Host entertain with a vaudeville act. The same scene has a serious song, artificially inserted before the appearance of the ghost.³⁶

At the request of the clown in *A Challenge for Beauty*, Manyhurs! sings in Act 5, Sc. 1 a comic song which has not the slightest connection with the play. The song purports to give the "true fashions and descriptions of Countries." Variations of this song may still be heard on the vaudeville stage.³⁷

³⁶ A friar brings on the stage a poem giving Lidian's farewell to love and announces, "My Novice too can sing it, if you will please to give him hearing." The song by the novice, doubtless a singing boy, follows.

³⁷ The song begins:

"The Spanyard loves his antient Slop.
A Lombard the Venetian:
And some like breech-lesse women go,
The Rush, Turke, Jew, and Grecian," etc.

Even in the midst of the gruesome deeds of *The Bloody Brother*, clown song which has no place in the structure of the play is inserted. The Yeoman of the Cellar, the Cook, and the Butler while making plans for the banquet and in Act 2, Sc. 2 sing a rollicking drinking song. Under pretext of rehearsing, the song is repeated. When the same trio are being sent to execution in Act 3, Sc. 2, they stop to sing four humorous songs.³⁸ The Cook states quite frankly that they wish to please the audience:

"Come, Boys, sing chearfully, we shall ne'r sing younger.
We have chosen a loud tune too, because it should like well."

A play which is practically nothing but an interlude filled with vaudeville features is *The London Chanticleers*. Comic songs are interspersed throughout. It opens with a broom vendor's song; later a ballad vendor sings samples of his wares. Budget the tinker sings a love song so horribly in Sc. VIII that Curds exclaims, "Away, screech-owls." The play ends with a long song by the bal'ad man.

A whistling act varies the usual clown song in Ford's *The Lady's Trial*. In Act 4, Sc. 2, Amoretta suggests to Fulgoso that he sing; the latter replies:

"Nay, nay, I could never sing
More than a gib-cat or a very howlet;
But you shall hear me whistle it. (*Whistles*)."

The Bard in Shirley's *St. Patrick for Ireland* descends at times to a singing clown who provides such songs as one would expect of a clown. For example, five songs by the Bard in Act 3, Sc. 1 are comic and structurally unrelated to the play. Other songs in Act 4, Sc. 1 and Act 5, Sc. 1 are equally clownish.

Songs of a drunken clown open Act 4, Sc. 1 of *Captain Underwit, or The Country Captain* in a tavern scene, where fiddlers play to accompany songs in praise of drunkenness. One of the stage directions reads, "Hee sings and reeles and fillips all the time with his finger, then sayes." Another song in praise of drink follows. Clown songs by the thieves in Middleton's *Widow* are crowded

³⁸ The songs have the popular and cheerful refrain:

"Three merry Boys, and three merry Boys, and three Boys are we,
As ever did sing in a hempen string under the Gallow-tree."

in wherever possible, with scant regard for structure.³⁹ Glapthorne's(?) *Revenge for Honor* has two examples of purely extraneous inter-scene songs.⁴⁰

Even in the last years before the Puritan prohibition in 1642, when playwrights were supposed to have learned more about dramatic structure and audiences were more sophisticated, there is scarcely a play which does not make a popular appeal through song, song that is frequently extraneous, and sometimes song that is of the grossest buffoonery.

The English public from the beginning of stage plays had been lovers of music and song. With cheap printing, song books and ballads flourished, and singing was given a stimulus which reacted upon the stage. Dramatists, always on the alert for features appealing to the public, took such advantage of the love of song that one finds many plays of the Elizabethan period larded with songs which have there no dramatic right; for practical playwrights, then as now, supplied the public with what it wanted, even at the expense of their artistic ideals.

University of North Carolina.

³⁹ Notice especially Act 3, Sc. 1 and Act 4, Sc. 2.

⁴⁰ Act 2, Sc. 1: The song here comes after the direction, "Exeunt omnes." Act 3, Sc. 2: The song here is brought in shortly after the scene opens but has no place in the structure of the scene.

APPIUS AND VIRGINIA: BY WEBSTER AND HEYWOOD

BY HENRY DAVID GRAY

When Rupert Brooke published his dissertation on Webster¹ he presented in an appendix some interesting evidence to show "that *Appius and Virginia* is largely, or entirely, the work of Thomas Heywood." Carried away by his discovery that Heywood's hand is to be found in the play, Brooke was naturally led into minimizing the evidences of Webster; he contended that the play was wholly in Heywood's manner, that its being attributed to Webster when it was published in quarto in 1654 was simply a false attribution like so many others, that only three of the nine parallels cited are significant and that these imply at most a casual revision of two scenes. He based Heywood's claim primarily upon some twenty distinctive words, some striking characteristics of Heywood, and upon the fact that the play as a whole is not like Webster. Additional Heywood words were noted by Mr. Arthur M. Clark, who supported Brooke's thesis.²

When, some time ago, I had occasion to read through the plays of Heywood without interruption, I turned to *Appius and Virginia* with the presupposition that Brooke was probably right; but the opening scene threw me completely off the scent. There was not a trace of Heywood in it that I could find. There was not to me the faintest suggestion of his style or his vocabulary. On the other hand, the imaginative conception of character so distinctive of Webster in his two great plays was not strongly in evidence; the characterization was overt, almost explicit. There was something of his figurative language, condensed thought, and spurdy rather than even-flowing meter:

. . . 'twas my sleep's disturber,
My diet's ill digestion, my melancholy
Past physic's cure.

But the absence of Webster's mannerisms and the relative regu-

¹ *John Webster and the Elizabethan Drama*, 1916.

² *Modern Language Review*, XVI, 1.

larity of the verse seemed to preclude its being a play of either his middle or late period; and an early date is generally regarded as impossible. Unless this scene were, however, the early work of Webster, I should have to confess myself fairly beaten, for I could make no other assignment with the least conviction.

The next scene, a brief one, might be anybody's; but with scene 3 one realizes at once why Brooke was led to his discovery. The wonder is only that others before him had not noticed the abundant evidences of Heywood; but the history of criticism is full of discoveries which were apparent only after they had been pointed out. Not one of the Brooke-Clark indications of Heywood is derived from scene 1, while scene 3 is full of them. Indeed, seven of the fifteen scenes of *Appius and Virginia* are wholly devoid of these Heywood signs; almost all of them are concentrated in three scenes, I, 3, IV, 2, and V, 3; and in each of these scenes I noticed some additional, though minor, characteristics of Heywood but never a trace of Webster. It is particularly to be noted that there are none whatever in the Trial scene, IV, 1; for this scene is as crammed with tokens of Webster as the three scenes mentioned above are replete with suggestions of Heywood.

After reaching the conclusions which I shall present in this paper, I came upon the essay on *Appius and Virginia* by Mr. H. Dugdale Sykes,³ in which a valiant attempt is made to answer Rupert Brooke and to restore *Appius and Virginia* intact to Webster. Mr. Sykes takes note of the fact that the Heywood words come "in patches," but he attributes them to Webster's borrowing. He discredits the Heywood words as a test because he finds them also in *A Cure for a Cuckold*; but this very interesting fact is rather an argument for believing that Heywood had a share in that play also than against his presence in *Appius and Virginia*.⁴ A large majority of Mr. Sykes' Webster parallels are in the opening scene and the Trial scene; while only two, and these inconsequential ones, are taken from the scenes which are so full of Heywood characteristics. Adding my own findings to those of Brooke and

³ In his *Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama*, 1924.

⁴ My allotment of scenes in *C for C* is contained in a note in *The Modern Language Review*, forthcoming.

Sykes, let me give in tabular form the total number of indications of each author in the scenes thus far mentioned:

	Heywood	Webster
I, 1	0	5
I, 3	16	1 ^a
IV, 1	0	19
IV, 2	7	0
V, 3	9	1 ^a

It would seem a logical conclusion that the scenes were divided as the table indicates, and that we have in *Appius and Virginia* a play of composite authorship.

Dr. Stoll has observed ^a that Corbulo, the clown in *Appius and Virginia*, is akin to Heywood's clowns, and particularly to the one in *The Rape of Lucrece*. Brooke bases his argument for Heywood partly upon the Clown, and Sykes admits the resemblance though denying the implication. If Heywood is admitted as part-author of *Appius and Virginia*, no one would deny that the Clown was his; and on this count, together with the general impression of Heywood that the scenes give and the almost total absence of Webster parallels as well as of any indication of his style, I should add at once to the Heywood column II, 1, and III, 1 and 4. Aside from the Clown, the actual evidence in these scenes for either

^a These Webster parallels are:

What we will, we will	(A and V)
What I have done, I have done	(DM)
What I have said, I have said	(C for C)

But Heywood has "What I have done I ha' done" in *LLW*, and the *C for C* passage I believe was Heywood's.

Death is terrible	
Unto a conscience that's oppressed with guilt	(A and V)
How tedious is a guilty conscience	(DM)

By such parallels as these I am not in the least impressed. Surely one may speak of a guilty conscience without having spoken of it elsewhere; and the rest is anything but a parallel. In view of the many indications of Heywood in these scenes, I think these parallels (if they are so) may safely be set aside.

^a *John Webster: The Periods of his Work*, 1905.

author is slight. For Heywood we have the distinctive word "palped," the less determinate "mediate," "to scandal," and "statist," and one weak parallel:

Amongst curs a trindle-tail (A and V, 168)
Your dogs are trindle-tails and curs (WKK, I, 99)

For Webster we have the one parallel:

Lord Appius doth intend me wrong,
And under his smooth calmness cloaks a tempest (A and V, 161)
... like to calm weather
At sea before a tempest, false hearts speak fair
To those they intend most mischief (DM, 82)

—a sentiment which is fairly common in Heywood as in others. Mr. Sykes considers that the echoes of *Julius Caesar*, one of which occurs in III, 1 ("The high Colossus that bestrides us all"), are too close for Heywood, who imitated Shakespeare "more or less unconsciously." He writes, after citing the *Julius Caesar* echoes: "Heywood never imitated Shakespeare in this way. Who did? Who but Webster?" I should reverse this judgment and offer in support the following instances from Heywood:

A horse, a horse, ten kingdoms for a horse (2 Iron Age, 369)
Things must be as they may (Pericles, II, 1)
You have now leave to leave us (2 FMW, 341)
I cram the name of rebel down thy throat (1 E IV, 16)
May it please your highness sit? (1 E IV, 62)
To all at once good night. . . What, not at rest, my lord?
(RK & LS, 109, 114)
So help me, O God, as I dissemble not¹ (2 E IV, 110)
Three score thousand pounds, a good round sum. (2 If You, 252)
And chiefly to supply my present want (2 If You, 260)

¹ This line occurs in 1 Henry VI, III, 1, 140. The passage I think Shakespeare's; but Heywood does not confine his borrowings to Shakespeare. In 2 Iron Age, V, Helen with her looking glass asks, "[Was] this the beauty That launched a thousand ships?" For my reasons for including *Pericles* in the above list see *PMLA.*, XL, 507-529.

. . . this ring, A toy not worth the giving; yet I sooner
Would part with life than this (2 *If You*, 308)
Out of compassionate charity purpose to marry you
(*Challenge for Beauty*, 55)

Note also the aside "There's wormwood" and the Clown's puns on the shoemaker's "all" in *A Maidenhead Well Lost*. And this by no means exhausts the list. To me, the *Julius Caesar* echoes in III, 1, IV, 2, and V, 3, are distinctly indications of Heywood.

But I find a marked contrast between the Corbulo of the three scenes I have now included as Heywood's and the Corbulo of III, 2. The Clown here is so different, both in character and language, as to imply that a different author is at work. And there are other reasons against assigning III, 2 to Heywood. Brooke admits that the inconsistency between Virginia's "O my Icilius, your incredulity Hath quite undone me" and the attitude of Icilius in Heywood's scene III, 1, involves either a different author or the same author at a different period. The scene is a very long one, running to nine and a half columns in the Dyce edition, yet is without a single one of the Heywood words or parallels, while eight indications of Webster have been accredited to it. The use of contractions in III, 2 is in accord with Webster's practice but wholly out of accord with Heywood's. For Heywood is sparing in his use of contractions and particularly so, in comparison with many other dramatists of the time, in the *i' th'* and *o' th'* (or *i' the* and *o' the*) contractions.* In *The Rape of Lucrece*, for example, the play most akin to *Appius and Virginia*, he has fifteen, none of which are of this type. In the six scenes I have mentioned above he has twelve, only one of which is of this type. But in III, 2 alone there are eighteen contractions, and eight of them are of the *i' th'-o' th'* variety.†

Thus far I have had no occasion to be disconcerted by the findings of either Brooke or Sykes. The evidences for Heywood and for Webster have been in just those scenes where the style of the

* For the use of contractions as a test of authorship I am indebted to Farnham, *PMLA.*, xxxi, 326.

† I am trusting to the Pearson edition; but I corroborated by examining Miss Tibbals' reprint of the 1637 Quarto of *Royal King and Loyal Subject*. Here there are twenty-two of the common *t*-contractions, one *s*-contraction, and none of *i' th'* or *o' th'*.

author seemed recognizable. But in spite of the arguments against Heywood and the eight signs of Webster, III, 2 does not seem to me distinctively Websterian in style. Moreover, there is a dramatic discrepancy between this scene and the Trial scene, IV, 1, which makes it difficult for me to believe that Webster could have written both scenes. To make this clear I must first quote some lines from III, 2:

Numitorius. My lord, although the uprightness of our cause
Needs no delays, yet for the satisfaction
Of old Virginius let him be present
When we shall crave a trial.

Appius Claudius. Sir, it needs not:
Who stands for father of the innocent,
If not the judge? I'll save the poor old man
That needless travel.

Virginia. With your favour, sir,
We must entreat some respite in a business
So needful of his presence.

App. Claud. I do protest
You wrong yourselves thus to importune it.
Well, let it be to-morrow: I'll not sleep
Till I have made this thicket a smooth plain,
And given you your true honour back again.

Isilius. My lord, the distance 'twixt the camp and us
Cannot be measur'd in so short a time:
Let us have four days' respite.

App. Claud. You are unwise;
Rumour by that time will have fully spread
The scandal, which, being ended in one hour,
Will turn to air: to-morrow is the trial.

At the end of the scene Sertorius is sent to camp to inform Virginius; but though he is urged to hasten, no hope is held out that Virginius can possibly be present. The author of this scene evidently planned that the trial should proceed without Virginius: but that at the last moment, when Virginia had been given as a slave to Marcus Claudius (thus to fall into the hands of Appius himself), her father would rush in, in time to kill and thus save his daughter. To anyone who has observed carefully the dramaturgy

of the Elizabethans, it will be apparent that the arrival of Virginius at the end of the Trial scene would appeal to an audience as possible even if his arrival a few minutes sooner, at the beginning of the scene, might have been quite impossible. To the student of dramatic composition the "preparation" in II, 2 is very obviously for a "surprise" entrance of Virginius at the last moment. Such a theatrical feature would not be unlike Heywood. But Webster, who wrote the Trial scene, apparently wanted Virginius present from the start. Accordingly, Virginius is there at the opening of IV, 1, quietly conversing with his friends. He has dressed himself like a slave, doing this (like Isaiah) as a piece of symbolism. No one expresses the least surprise that he is present, that he has ridden an impossible distance during the night and then has had time to robe himself in his fantastic costume. Appius, entering presently, is merely annoyed that his command to have Virginius detained at camp has not been obeyed; and the reference shows that the brief scene, III, 3, should be considered as Webster's.¹⁰ For instead of striking out a good scene and wasting good material, the Elizabethans frequently added something else to cover it and trusted that the inconsistency would not be noticed in the acting. Patchings of this sort can be found in Beaumont and Fletcher.

Moreover, the character and attitude of Appius is entirely different in the two scenes. In III, 2, as the quotation I gave from it shows, his game is to pose as the friend and protector of Virginia; he pretends to treat Marcus Claudius as an imposter; he appears as hostile to Marcus as he is friendly to the friends of Virginia. But at the trial he silences the Nurse roughly, and soon shows himself so much a partisan of the other side that Virginius cries out,

O injustice!

You frown away my witness: is this law?

Is this uprightness?

He is more akin to Monticelso at the arraignment of Vittoria than to the Appius Claudius of III, 2, who would at the trial have

¹⁰ The scene is too short to furnish much of a test. It contains none of the Heywood signs and one Webster parallel. The style is not distinctive but not unlike him. Note also the Websterian "You have poisoned them with sweetmeats."

affected the deepest reluctance at being convinced against his will, who would have made a Mr. Jorkins of his legal conscience and expressed the most sympathetic regrets as he gave his decision. Webster's Appius is deceptive, but he has none of the unctious, flattering, almost fawning manner of the Appius of III, 2 and II, 3. A slighter inconsistency is this: in III, 2 Marcus Claudius says,

But I have mighty enemies, my lord . . .
My purse is too scant to wage law with them:
I am enforc'd be mine own advocate,
No one will plead for me.

But in the Trial scene it is Marcus Claudius who has the advocate and Virginia who has not. Having the advocate a sympathetic character (as he would needs be if he were on Virginia's side) was scarcely to be expected of Webster.

As to the eight indications of Webster in III, 2, it might be remarked that by far the strongest of the parallels comes in a Dekker scene in *Westward Ho*:

First Lictor. We back knights and gentlemen daily.

Second Lictor. Right, we have them by the back hourly. (*A and V*)

Monopoly. Thou hast backed many a man in thy time, I warrant.

Ambush. I have had many a man by the back, sir (*W Ho*, 225);

that another is also to a Dekker scene in the same drama as well as to *DM*, and that three others are of little or no consequence. But suggestions of Webster seem to be present; it is impossible to assign the scene in its entirety to Heywood or to anyone else, and I conclude that it must have been composite.

There are some reasons for considering that II, 3 is also a composite scene, though the traces of Webster in it are very slight. Brooke noted that the "crumbling" of Icilius and the placing of the scene in the "closet" are inconsistent with Heywood's treatment elsewhere,¹¹ and Mr. Sykes has discovered two Webster par-

¹¹ Brooke quotes and comments as follows:

I. I crave your pardon.

A. Granted ere craved, my good Icilius.

I. Morrow.

A. It is no more indeed. Morrow, Icilius,
If any of our servants wait without,
Command them in.

I do not think any good sense can be made of that 'It is no more indeed.'

Antony's oration.¹³ Dekker was the man among the chief dramatists of the time who most conspicuously overworked the part of *Omnes*. It would be easy to find in almost any of his plays much more elaborate responses than we have here. Shakespeare himself, in *Coriolanus*, has speeches by the mob quite as involved as these though not at all like them. It will not do, therefore, to put aside Webster's claim to II, 2 because he does not happen to give individualistic speeches to *Omnes* in the plays we know to be his.

Two excellent-seeming parallels have been found to the same thing in II, 2: one for Webster by Sykes and one for Heywood by Brooke. I submit them side by side:

Shall I tell you the truth?
 You account the expense of engines and of swords,
 Of horses and of armour, dearer far
 Than soldiers' lives. (A and V)

He was a kind of statesman, that would sooner have reckoned how many cannon-bullets he had discharged against a town, to count his expenses that way, than how many of his valiant and deserving subjects he lost before it. (WD)

I wake in the wet trench
 Loaded with more cold iron than a gaol
 Would give a murderer, while a general
 Sleeps in a field-bed, and to mock our hunger
 Feeds us with scent of the most curious fare
 That makes his tables crack. (A and V)

Thus must poor soldiers do;
 While their commanders are with dainties fed,
 And sleep on down, the earth must be our bed. (Rape of Lucrece)

Brooke comments: "It is obvious that Heywood's mind ran easily into the same trains of thought. Suggest "Camp" to him, and he readily pictures, in his pleasant light water-colors, the starving, cold soldiers *sub diro* and the general feeding luxuriously and enjoying a bed."

But this only shows the danger of drawing conclusions from mere parallels. The quotation from *The White Devil* is from a speech of Flamineo while his master, whom he thus characterizes, is dying,

¹³ The Elizabethan dramatists frequently give speeches to *Omnes* that could not with realistic truth be recited in unison. It was possibly not always intended that such speeches should be so recited. The author may have written lines, at times, to be assorted at rehearsal, as in the instance from *Julius Caesar* referred to above.

and is obviously intended to characterize not Brachiano but his peculiarly interesting minion. It is wholly extraneous to the action of the play and has every appearance of being a borrowed idea which suited Webster's purpose at the moment. If it proves anything, it would prove that *Appius and Virginia* antedated *The White Devil*. Read in connection with the context, this parallel vanishes completely. But it is equally impossible to accept Brooke's clever comment; for the whole point of II, 2 is that the soldiers are put to shame by Virginius, and that is precisely what Heywood would not have done. Minutius, a sympathetic character, says:

We confess

You have been distress'd; but can you justly challenge
Any commander that hath surfeited,
While that your food was limited? You cannot.

This is not Heywood's attitude; Heywood is always on the side of the abused and starving soldiers. Whoever wrote II, 2, Heywood certainly did not.¹⁴

The scene in question is a crucial one inasmuch as it is the only one in the play that clearly shows the influence of Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*. Professor Stoll, who noted this influence, held therefore that *Appius and Virginia* must be at least as late as 1609. Because this brings *Appius* too close to *The White Devil*, 1611-12, for a play so utterly different in metrical style, critics have usually regarded it as a late play of Webster's. Stoll makes the point, also, that the closeness of the echoes of *Julius Caesar* indicates the use of the printed play in the Folio of 1623. The reason why critical opinion has pushed *Appius and Virginia* as far from *The White Devil* as possible is that Heywood's share has been included. It is naturally impossible to put Heywood's verse in any period of Webster's career, but an examination of the metrical characteristics

¹⁴ Against Heywood's claim, also, we have the eleven contractions in a single scene, two of them *s*-contractions (I do not include the fairly common *shall's*, which Heywood does use) and three of *i' the*. A slighter consideration is this: five times the author of II, 2 scans "Virginius" with four syllables. It is much more characteristic of Webster than of Heywood to sound the extra syllable in such an ending. Aside from the *-tion* ending, the lengthening is rare in Heywood, while in *DLC*, for example, Webster has such words as *Italian*, *marriage*, *patience*, *impatient*, *surgeons*, *sufficient*, with the extra syllable sounded.

in Stoll's table (which may be found on page 190 of his book on Webster), reveals at a glance that the most illogical place possible for both *Appius and Virginia* and *A Cure for a Cuckold* would be where Stoll has placed them—at the end. To account for the difficulty, Stoll assumes that Webster deliberately attempted a different type of composition. His book was published before Brooke's discovery of Heywood's hand in *Appius*. Let me now set down Stoll's table with my own figures for what I believe to be Webster's share in *Appius and Virginia* and *A Cure for a Cuckold*:

	Percentages of run-on lines	light and weak ends	epical cesura	extra syl. exclu. of epical cesura	fem. ends	ratio 2-word (couplets)	rime
<i>A and V</i>	32.	0	2.83	16.	27.	13.	8.9
<i>WD</i>	36.28	.32	2.88	18.6	31.4	10.84	4.5
<i>DM</i>	49.95	.95	5.	35.5	32.6	20.	2.1
<i>DLC</i>	35.8	.76	5.5	29.8	32.6	15.75	1.03
<i>C for C</i>	43.5	.86	5.4	29.5	31.8	22.7	1.4
<i>C for C</i>							
Stoll's table	28.88	1.56	1.4	10.9	19.5	14.76	1.17
<i>A and V</i>							
Stoll's table	28.76	.53	1.5	11.8	27.1	13.13	5.6

It will be seen from this table that, so far as statistics show, *A and V* is as near to *WD* as the latter is to *DM*, and that therefore there is no essential reason why Webster might not have made his contribution to the play in or about 1609.¹⁵

In distinguishing between Webster and Heywood, the most significant column in the table is the fourth. In the scenes I have definitely assigned to Heywood in *A and V*, his percentage is 8.8 against Webster's 16 per cent. To reinforce impression by fact, I chose *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, and found 7.2 per cent of

¹⁵ Arguing against Webster's authorship of *A and V*, Brooke wrote: "In the other plays there is little attempt to keep a line that is divided between two speakers pentametrical. If one speech ends with a line of two and a half feet, the next may begin with a line of two feet, or of three, or with a complete line. *A and V* keeps almost invariably to the old tradition, by which the speeches dovetail perfectly." The habit, however, is one which grew on Webster. I, 1 of *A and V* has three speeches which do not "dovetail" to eleven which do; but I, 1 of *WD* has only three speeches which do not "dovetail" to fourteen which do, while the opening scene of *DCL*—not to make too much of a small matter—has sixteen of each sort.

extra syllables exclusive of the epical cesura.¹⁶ The difference is more marked than the percentages indicate. Contrast, for example, the opening lines of Heywood's I, 3 and Webster's I, 1. In the former we have as the first two instances, "My powers are all in combat" and "my ponderous secrecy." In an equal number of lines in I, 1 we have, "with the decree o' the senate," "did you tell," "you are wise," "we expect." The extra syllables in many of Heywood's lines is much less pronounced.¹⁷

Applying this rather crucial test to the scenes I have still left in question,¹⁸ I find that II, 2 and V, 2 both run slightly over Webster's average, which is distinctly an argument against Heywood; while II, 3 and III, 2, which I have called composite, come within the latter's range, and this would indicate that Webster's share in them was slight. If II, 2 and V, 2 were added to Webster's share, they would make no notable difference in the table given above, and leave 1609 as a wholly possible date for the play. I have shown that there are many arguments against including II, 2 as Heywood's, and none, so far as statistics go, against counting it as Webster's. But I cannot personally accept the scene as Webster's for the simple reason that it does not seem to me like him. In this, as Webster puts it,

I merely give you my opinion,
I ask no fee for 't,

but there are some considerations that might be urged in support of my view.

Though it is possible that Webster could have written his part of *A and V* as late as 1609, a still earlier date would fit better the impression that his scenes make. II, 2 is the only scene that stands in the way, since, as I have said, it is the only one that clearly shows the influence of *Coriolanus*. Now the theme of the unpaid and much abused soldier is treated in precisely Heywood's manner in I, 3, and one of the strongest reasons for assigning that scene to him is that it dwells in the way it does upon this subject. But the author of II, 2 takes over this Heywood idea and treats it, as

¹⁶ This feature is very regular in *WKK*; there is no scene long enough to serve as a test which has over 10 per cent.

¹⁷ I omit proper names, as their pronunciation is more arbitrary. To include them would raise slightly my percentages for *A and V* and *C for C*.

¹⁸ I, 2 and V, 1 are too short to furnish a reliable test.

I said above, from an entirely different attitude. The incident is not derived from the sources from which *A and V* is taken and is extraneous to the development of the play. In all this it suggests that it might have been added for a later revision. That some revision of the drama is apparent has already been noticed. Moreover, the characterization of Virginius and the dramatic movement of the scene are quite unlike anything that we see elsewhere in the drama. The style is imitative of Shakespeare's last period in a way that seems to me wholly different from that of the Heywood or Webster scenes.

The kinship of *A and V* to *The Rape of Lucrece*, particularly in the similarity of the clowns (noted in detail by Stoll) implies a date closer to 1604; Professor Stoll keeps reminding us of how old-fashioned the Clown was at the late date to which he assigns the play. The echoes of *Julius Caesar*, also, so numerous in *A and V*, suggest a date soon after that play. There is nothing in the idea that the closeness of the echoes involves the printed page. They occur in Heywood scenes, and the quotations I have given above show that Heywood drew habitually from Shakespeare, and frequently quite as closely as here.

According to Henslowe, Heywood and Webster were at work together upon two plays in 1602; with Dekker and Chettle on *Christmas Comes but Once a Year*, and all four with Smith on *Lady Jane*. If *A and V* were an early play on which Webster and Heywood collaborated, it is possible that others were associated with them. When, therefore, we come to such a scene as V, 2, from which Brooke takes no evidence for Heywood and Sykes none for Webster, we can not assume that we have the work of either one. It might conceivably be by the author of II, 2. The same thing is true of V, 1, from which Sykes takes only a Montaigne influence as an argument for Webster but which is surely too spontaneously humorous to be his. In I, 2, where again there is no evidence for Heywood, there is one Webster parallel cited by Brooke. I have read the passages that are supposed to correspond with the greatest care and I cannot discover where the correspondence is supposed to come in. With such "parallels" as this, certain industrious critics are busy proving all sorts of things that are not so.

My conclusion is that *Appius and Virginia* may have been written by Webster and Heywood about 1609; but that it was more

probably written by them, perhaps with the help of others, as early as 1603-4, and revised after 1609 by a vigorous imitator of Shakespeare. My division would be: Webster, I, 1, III, 3 and IV, 1, with the revision of II, 3 from the last entrance of Marcus Claudius to "Great men should strike but once, and then strike sure," and some part, undetermined, in III, 2; Heywood, I, 3, II, 1 and 3 (substantially), III, 1 and 4, IV, 2 and V, 3. The importance of the play is chiefly that it gives us a clear and admirable example of Webster's first period.

Stanford University.

RECENT LITERATURE OF THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE

BY HARDIN CRAIG

NOTE: The following bibliography attempts to include the more important books, articles, and reviews which appeared in the year ending January 1, 1926, together with the more noteworthy productions of 1925 and earlier recent years which have escaped the bibliographies by the present writer for the year 1925 and by the late Professor Thornton Shirley Graves for the years 1922-4 appearing in the April numbers of this journal. The bibliographies are here referred to by the year of publication and the abbreviation *Bibl.* The compiler has had slight assistance from several scholars, which is hereby gratefully acknowledged, particularly that of Professor Walter L. Bullock of Bryn Mawr College and Professor Ralph E. House of the University of Iowa.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Archiv = *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen.*
Beiblatt = *Beiblatt zur Anglia.*
EHR = *English Historical Review.*
Eng. Stud. = *Englische Studien.*
JEGP = *Journal of English and Germanic Philology.*
Literaturblatt = *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie.*
LTS = *Literary Supplement to the London Times.*
MLN = *Modern Language Notes.*
MLR = *Modern Language Review.*
MP = *Modern Philology.*
N & Q = *Notes and Queries.*
PMLA = *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.*
PQ = *Philological Quarterly.*
RES = *Review of English Studies.*
R du xvie s. = *Revue du seizième siècle.*
Rev. ang.-am. = *Revue anglo-américaine.*
Rev. litt. comp. = *Revue de littérature comparée.*
SP = *Studies in Philology.*

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Olgiati, Francesco. *L'anima dell'umanesimo e del rinascimento.* Milano, 1925.

Rev. by R. Dusi in Gior. stor. della lett. ital., lxxxviii, 175-8; see Bibl. 1926, p. 212.

Phillips, M., and Tomkinson, W. S. *English Women in Life and Letters.* Oxford Univ. Press, 1926.

Rev. in LTS., Dec. 16, 1926, p. 927.

Pollard, A. W., and Redgrave, G. R. *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland, and of English books printed abroad, 1475-1640*. Compiled by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave with the help of G. F. Barwick . . . and others. London: The Bibliographical Society, 1926. Pp. xvi, 609.

This most important work of the year has been in progress since 1918; at least, the first move towards preparing it was made at that time. The items are numbered and run up to 26,143. A system of cross-references and entry numbers makes it possible to determine concurrency of publication and the relation of different versions of the same work. The general system is that rendered familiar by the B. M. general catalogue. It notes entries in the S. R. and gives late and expert opinion on dates and publishers. Principally, it is a finding list with the British Museum, the Bodley, the Cambridge University Library, and the Huntington library as basal repositories. When three copies in Great Britain and two in the United States have been located, it usually goes no further, being therefore only to a certain extent a census of existent copies. The compilers have been assisted by many distinguished scholars to whom they make liberal acknowledgement.

P[ollard], A. W. *The Stationers' Company Records*. Library, N. S. VI, 348.

With this is printed, *Ib.*, 349-357, *Catalog of Records at Stationers' Hall*. The note only is signed by Mr. Pollard.

Pollard, A. W., and others. "*Facsimile*" *Reprints of Old Books*. Library, N. S. VI, 305-328.

A Symposium of papers read before the Bibliographical Society: A. W. Pollard, *Preliminary Survey*; Gilbert R. Redgrave, *Photographic Facsimiles*; R. W. Chapman, *Oxford Type-Facsimiles*; W. W. Greg, *Type-Facsimiles and Others*.

Rath, Erich von. *Aufgaben der Wiegendruck-Forschung*. Festfort. bei der Feier des 25jäh. Jubiläums des Gutenberg Museums. Mainz, 1925. Pp. 22.

Reed, A. W. *John Clement and his Books*. Library, N. S. VI, 329-339.

Account of a suit undertaken by John Clement, president of the College of Physicians, for the recovery of property after his return as a Marian refugee. The property included a most interesting and significant list of books. See *Memorabilia*, N & Q., Vol. 150, p. 218.

Reed, A. W. *Literary Research in London*. RES., II, 62-9.

Renouard, Ph. *Imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondateurs de caractères, et correcteurs d'imprimerie*. Rev. des bibliothèques, xxxvi, 29-76.

Rigg, H. M (ed.). *Calendar of State Papers relating to English Affairs*: Preserved principally at Rome in the Vatican Archives and Library. Vol. II, Elizabeth, 1572-1578. H. M. S. O., 1926. Pp. lix, 679.

Roretz, Karl. *Die Lebensauffassung des Rinascimento, ihre Wurtzeln und Formen*. In *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*. Wien, 1926. Pp. 693-716.

Ruppel, Aloys (ed.). *Gutenberg-Festschrift zur Feier des 25jährigen Bestehens des Gutenbergmuseums in Mainz*. Mainz: Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, 1925. Pp. xvi, 448.

Notice with enumeration of contents in Lit. Zentralbl., lxxvii, 107; rev. by V. Scholderer in Library, N. S. vi, 388-9.

Rychner, Max. *Rückblick auf vier Jahrhunderte*: Entwicklung des Art. Institut Orell Fussli in Zürich. Zürich: zum Froschauer, 1925.

Notice in LTS., July 29, 1926, p. 512. Details of the early history of printing.

Scholte, J. H. *Humanismus und Reformation*. Neophilologus, xi, 108-115.

Schretlen, W. J. *Printers' Devices in Dutch Incunabula*. Ars Typographica, iii, 53-64.

Schück, Henrik. *Allmän Litteratur-Historia*. Vols. i-v. Avdelningen Stockholm: H. Geber, 1919-1925. Pp. viii, 360; x, 335; xiii, 640; xii, 384; xiii, 787.

Rev. by J. G. Robertson in MLR., xxi, 339-343. Vol. iii deals with the history of Renaissance literature.

Sonnenschein, William Swan. *The Best Books, a Reader's Guide*. Third ed. entirely rewritten. Part 4. (i, xi: Dramatic Art; the Theatre.) London: Routledge, 1926. Pp. 1681-2510.

Specimens of Books Printed at Oxford with the Types given to the University by John Fell. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Pp. xii, 128.

Notice in LTS., June 3, 1926, p. 375.

Thomas, H. *English Translations of Portuguese Books before 1640*. Library, N. S. vii, 1-30.

- Thomas, H. *Short-Title Catalogues of Portugese Books and of Spanish American Books Printed before 1601 now in the British Museum*. Rev. *Hispanique*, LXV, 265-315.
- The Times Literary Supplement, 1926. Notes on Sales. *Books from Britwell*, LTS., Feb. 4, p. 84; Apr. 1, p. 252; Apr. 8, p. 268; June 17, p. 420; *The Gutenberg Bible*, Feb. 25, p. 148; *A Bibliographical Bookseller*, Dec. 9, p. 920.
- Trevelyan, G. M. *Some Points of Contrast between Medieval and Modern Civilization*. History XI, 1-4.
- Turner, F. McD. C. *The Element of Irony in English Literature*. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1926. Pp. vii, 109.
Rev. in LTS., Mar. 18, 1926, p. 207. Dwells at length upon the irony of Milton.
- University of Michigan. *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton and Donne*. New York, 1925.
Rev. by J. Dover Wilson in RES., II, 475-9; by C. R. B. in MP., XXIV, 244-5; by Edwin Greenlaw in JEGP., XXV, 423-7; notice in LTS., Feb. 4, 1926, p. 82; rev. by Allan H. Gilbert in MLN., XLI, 264-8; see Bibl. 1926, pp. 233, 234, 238, 278.
- Uriarte, J. E. de, y Lecina, M. *Biblioteca de Escritores de la Compañía de Jesús pertenecientes a la antigua Asistencia de España desde sus orígenes hasta el año 1773*. Parte I. Tomo I: A-B. Madrid: Viuda de Lopez del Horno, 1925. Pp. lxxxvi, 623.
- Ven-ten Bensel, E. van der. *The Character of King Arthur in English Literature*. Amsterdam: Paris, 1925. Pp. 215.
Rev. by Gustav Hübener in Beiblatt, xxxvii, 263-5.
- Wainewright, John B. *Cardinal Pole's Library: Claude Chifflet*. N & Q., Vol. 151, p. 189.
See also letter by Edward Bensly, *ib.*, p. 247.
- Walker, Hugh. *English Satire and Satirists*. London: Dent; New York: Dutton, 1925. Pp. viii, 325.
Rev. in LTS., Dec. 10, 1925, p. 854.
- Weaver, Charles P. *The Hermit in English Literature from the Beginnings to 1660*. Nashville: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1924. Pp. 141.
- Whibley, Charles (ed.). *The Collected Essays of William Paton*

Ker. Two vols. London: Macmillan, 1925. Pp. xxi, 362; vi, 352.

Rev. in LTS., Nov. 19, 1925, p. 768.

Whitaker's Cumulative Book List. A classified list of publications issued from January to December, 1926, together with an index to authors and titles. London: Whitaker, 1927. Pp. 232.

Williams, Ralph C. *The Merveilleux in the Epic*. Paris: Champion, 1925. Pp. 152.

Rev. by Walter L. Bullock in MLN., xli, 550-3.

Winkler, Friedrich. *Die flämische Buchmalerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1926.

Rev. in LTS., June 17, 1926, p. 406.

Winship, George Parker. *The Aldine Pliny of 1508*. Library, N. S. vi, 358-369.

Winship, George Parker. *Gutenberg to Plantin: An Outline of the Early History of Printing*. Harvard Univ. Press, 1926.

Rev. by Ernest Elmo Calkins in Sat. Rev. of Lit., II, 684; in Ars Typographica, III, 85-6.

Zarco Cuevas, J. *Catalogo de los manuscritos castellanos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*. Madrid: Imp. Helénica, 1926. Pp. cxxxvi, 370.

II. THE DRAMA AND THE STAGE.

NOTE: This section has been made to include a number of items not strictly in the English field or in the Renaissance. This has been done in deference to the somewhat extended range of the current study of English drama.

Aebischer, P. *Fragments des moralités, farces et mystères retrouvés à Fribourg*. Romania, LI, 511-527.

Arnold, Robert F (ed.). *Das deutsche Drama*. München, 1925.

Rev. by A. R. Hohlfeld in Germanic Rev., I, 86-9; by Louis Brun in Rev. germanique, xvii, Jan.-Mar., 1926; see Bibl. 1926, p. 216.

Aronstein, Philipp. *Ein dramatischer Kunsthandwerker der englischen Renaissance (A. Munday)*. (Schluss) Archiv, CL (Jg. 81), 31-62.

Baldwin, T. W. *Nathaniel Field and Robert Wilson*. MLN., XLI, 32-4.

This article has given rise to a somewhat extensive controversy in LTS., as follows: James J. O'Neill, *Elizabethan Players as Tradesmen*, LTS., Apr. 8, 1926, p. 264; W. W. Greg, *Nathaniel and Nathan Field*, LTS., Apr. 15, 1926, p. 283; reply by T. W. Baldwin, LTS., May 27, 1926, p. 355; reply by W. W. Greg, LTS., June 3, 1926, p. 374; see also W. J. Lawrence, *Elizabethan Players as Tradesfolk*, MLN., XLI, 363-4.

Baskervill, Charles Read. *Play-Lists and Afterpieces of the Mid-Eighteenth Century*. MP., XXIII, 445-464.

Bears upon the history of Elizabethan plays, particularly those of Shakespeare.

Boas, F. S., and Reed, A. W (eds.). "*Fulgens and Lucre*": *A Fifteenth-Century Secular Play*. By Henry Medwall. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Pp. xxviii, 104.

Rev. in LTS., June 3, 1926, p. 371; in Library N. S., VII, 115-6; rev. in N & Q., Vol. 150, p. 377; by Bonamy Dobrée in Nation & Ath., XXXVIII, 475.

A reprint of the Mostyn Hall copy referred to by Halliwell-Phillips, now in the Huntington Library. The text follows a facsimile which Mr. Huntington had made. The editors claim for the play that it is the first secular drama in English, and they date its performance at Christmas 1497. The source is a story by Bonacorso translated from the French by John Tiptoft and published by Caxton in 1481. The editors see in the plot construction a foreshadowing of *Twelfth Night*.

Bolte, Johannes (ed.). *Drei märkische Weihnachtspiele des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: Hobbing, 1926. Pp. 214.

Notice in Lit. Zentralbl., LXXVII, 1958.

Borchardt, H. H. *Der Renaissancestil des Theaters*. Ein principieller Versuch. In *Die Ernte*. Halle: Neimeyer, 1926.

Notice in Lit. Zentralbl., LXXVII, 589; rev. by Neil C. Brooks in JEGP., XXV, 585-6.

Brady, George K. *Samuel Daniel: A Critical Study*. Abstract of thesis, Univ. of Illinois. Urbana, 1926.

Bragington, Mary V. *Two Notes on Senecan Tragedy*. MLN., XLI, 468-9.

Brüggemann, Fritz. *Versuch einer Zeitfolge der Dramen des Herzogs Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig aus den Jahren*

1590-1594. Aachen: Aachener Verlags- u. Druckereiges., 1926. Pp. 53.

Campbell, Lily B. *Scenes and Machines on the English Stage during the Renaissance*. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1923.

Rev. by Friedrich Michael in Lit. Zentralbl., LXXVII, 102; see Bibl. 1924, pp. 408-413.

Cardozo, J. L. *The Contemporary Jew in Elizabethan Drama*. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1925.

Rev. in LTS., Feb. 4, 1926, p. 76; by E. R. Adair in Engl. Studies, XIII, 122-4; see Bibl. 1926, p. 217.

Cargill, Arthur. *The Authorship of the Secunda Pastorum*. PMLA., XLI, 810-831.

The author of this article has discovered a significant likeness in meter and spirit between *Secunda Pastorum* and *The Turnament of Totenham* (originally, he thinks, Tottingham, Lancs.). The poem, by somewhat tortuous way, he attributes to Gilbert Pilkington, and subsequently also the play. The idea is good, but the actual evidence small. The author hopes that more information may come to light with reference to Pilkington.

Chambers, Sir E. K. *The Elizabethan Stage*. Oxford Univ. Press, 1923.

Rev. by J. Q. Adams in Yale Rev., xv, 199-201; see Bibl. 1926, p. 218.

Chaytor, H. J. (ed.). *Dramatic Theory in Spain: Extracts from Literature before and during the Golden Age*. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1926. Pp. 63.

Rev. in LTS., Apr. 1, 1926, p. 245; in N & Q., Vol. 150, p. 18; by W. A. in Bull. of Spanish Stud., III, 11.

Chelli, Maurice. *Étude sur la collaboration de Massinger avec Fletcher et son groupe*. Paris: Presses universitaires, 1926.

Rev. in LTS., Nov. 18, 1926, p. 814.

Child, Harold. *Revivals of English Dramatic Works, 1919-1925*. RES., II, 177-188.

Cohen, Gustav. *Le livre de conduite du Régisseur et le compte des dépenses pour le Mystère de la Passion joué à Mons en 1501*. Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, fasc. XXIII. Strasbourg et Paris: Librairie Istra; London: Milford, 1925. Pp. cxxviii, 728.

Rev. by Louis Brandin in MLR., XXI, 449-450; by L. Jordan in

Zeits. f. französ. Spr. u. Lit., XLVIII, 346-8; by Jean Plattard in R du XVI^e s., XIII, 154-7; by Raymond Lebègue in Rev. d'hist. litt. de la France, XXXIII, 446-9.

Cole, Geo. Watson. "*The Bloody Banquet.*" LTS., Feb. 25, 1926, p. 142.

Bibliographical information: see record of correspondence in LTS. in Bibl. 1926, p. 225; also letter by Robert S. Foraythe, LTS., April 22, 1926, p. 303; by Bertram Lloyd, LTS., April 29, 1926, p. 323.

Cruikshank, A. H. (ed.). *Massinger's "A New Way to Pay Old Debts."* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Pp. xxxiv, 141.
Rev. in LTS., Nov. 18, 1926, p. 814.

Day, Cyrus L. *Thomas Randolph's Part in the Authorship of "Hey for Honesty."* PMLA., XLI, 325-334.

The author thinks that Randolph was the original author and argues from parallel passages, the appearance of Randolph's name on the title-page of the first edition of the play, and from similarity between the style of the play and the style of Randolph.

Decroos, J. (trans.). *Rondom Shakespeare*. I, Christopher Marlowe: *Edward II*. II, Beaumont and Fletcher: *Philaster*. Overgeset uit het Engelsch. Antwerpen: "De Sikkels"; Santpoort: C. A. Mees, 1926.

Rev. by W. P. Frijlink in Engl. Studies, VIII, 85-6.

Denkinger, Emma Marshall. *Actors' Names in the Registers of St. Bodolph Aldgate*. PMLA., XLI, 91-109.

Vital details with reference to Robert Armin, Thomas Blackwood, Michael Bowyer, Richard Darbie, Richard Darloe, Robert Lee, William Pavye, William Penne, Augustine Phillips, John Read, John Townsend, William Wood, Richard Wood, and Anthony Munday.

Devaux. *Deux représentations de mystères à Pithiviers (2 et 9 août 1528)*. R du XVI^e s., XIII, 130-9.

Dunkel, Wilbur Dwight. *The Dramatic Technique of Thomas Middleton*. Diss. Univ. of Chicago. Privately issued, Univ. of Chicago Libraries. Univ. of Chicago Press, 1926.

A study of Middleton's comedies of London life, particularly the methods he used in getting his effects, the nature of his material, and the forms of his characterization; appendix urging Middleton as the author of *The Puritan*.

Dunn, Esther Cloudman. *Ben Jonson's Art; Elizabethan Life and*

Literature as Reflected Therein. Northampton, Mass.: Smith College, 1925. Pp. xvi, 159.

Notice in LTS., April 8, 1926, p. 266; see also Book Rev. Digest, 1926; see Bibl. 1926, p. 219.

Dustoor, P. E. *Some Textual Notes on the English Mystery Plays.* MLR., xxi, 427-431.

Farnham, W. *John Higgins' "Mirror" and "Locrine."* MP., xxiii, 307-313.

Farnham, W. *The "Mirror for Magistrates" and Elizabethan Tragedy.* JEGP., xxv, 66-78.

Forsythe, Robert S. *Notes on "The Spanish Tragedy."* PQ., v, 78-84.

Fort, Margaret Dancy. *The Meters of the Brome and Chester Abraham and Isaac Plays.* PMLA., xli., 832-9.

Adds further considerations in refutation of the long-standing error of regarding the Chester play as derived from the Brome play, and not *vice versa*.

Frank, Grace (ed.). *Rutebeuf: le miracle de Théophile, miracle du XIII^e siècle.* Paris, 1925.

Rev. in LTS., Feb. 11, 1926, p. 92; see Bibl. 1926, p. 315.

Fransen, J. *Les comédiens français en Hollande au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècles.* Paris: Champion, 1926.

Rev. in LTS., May 27, 1926, p. 350.

Frijlinck, Wilhelmina P (ed.). *The Tragedy of Sir John van Olden Barnavelt.* Amsterdam, 1922.

Rev. by Eduard Eckhardt in Eng. Stud., lx, 352-3; see Bibl. 1923, p. 250; 1924, p. 417; 1925, p. 283; 1926, pp. 219-220.

Gilbert, Allan H. *The Source of Peele's "Arraignment of Paris."* MLN., xli, 36-40.

The author of this article rejects Miss V. M. Jeffrey's conclusion that Peele's play is derived from Anello Paulilli's *Il Giuditio de Paride*. Peele, he thinks, learned the story from familiar classical sources; see Bibl. 1926, p. 223.

Golding, S. R. *The Authorship of "The Maid's Metamorphosis."* RES., ii, 270-9.

Rejects both Daniel and Day and finds in the play a close dependence on Peele and Lyly.

Golding, S. R. *The Authorship of the "Two Lamentable Tragedies."* N & Q., Vol. 151, pp. 347-350.

Mr. Golding rejects the contention of Greg (*Henslowe's Diary*, Part II, pp. 288-9) that we have to do in this play with the joint authorship of Day and Haughton and Day and Chettle. He attempts to prove by parallel citations that we have no evidence of the workmanship of Day or Chettle, and that the style throughout the play is monotonous and awkward, as if the writing of a beginner.

Golding, S. R. *Day and Wilkins as Collaborators.* N & Q., Vol. 150, pp. 417-421, 436-8.

Study of parallel passages and assignment of parts in *Law Tricks*, *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, and *Humour out of Breath*. Works taken certainly to be by Wilkins are *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage* and his share (*sic*) in *Pericles*.

Gourvitch, I. *Robert Wilson; "the Elder" and "the Younger."* N & Q., Vol. 150, pp. 4-6.

Attributes all known dramatic activities of the Wilsons to Robert Wilson the Elder.

Greg, W. W. *The Riddle of Jonson's Chronology.* Library, N. S., VI, 340-7.

Greg, W. W. *Some Notes on Ben Jonson's Works.* RES., II, 129-145.

Detailed criticism of Herford and Simpson, *Ben Jonson: the Man and his Work*; see Bibl. 1926, p. 222.

Gregg, W. W. (ed.). *"The Theatre of Apollo": An Entertainment written by Sir John Beaumont in 1625.* London: Etchells and Macdonald, 1926. Pp. 23.

Rev. in LTS., Dec. 23, 1926, p. 947.

Harrison, T. P., Jr. *A Probable Source of Beaumont and Fletcher's "Philaster."* PMLA., XLI, 294-303.

Montemayor's *Diana* is the probable source, particularly in the forms of the story employed by Sidney and Shakespeare.

Hartman, Herbert. *The Home of the "Ludus Coventriae."* MLN., XLI, 530-1.

Further evidence in favor of Lincoln.

Heffner, R. M. S. *Borrowings from the "Erlösung" in a "Missing" Frankfurt Play.* JEGP., XXV, 474-497.

Hendrix, William Samuel. *Some Native Comic Types in the Early Spanish Drama*. Ohio State Univ. Bull., 1924.

Rev. by Werner Mulertt in *Archiv*, CL, 140-1; see *Bibl.* 1926, p. 222.

Herford, C. H., and Simpson, Percy (eds.). *Ben Jonson*. Vols. I and II. Oxford, 1925. (Vol. III, 1926.)

Rev. by R. B. McKerrow in *RES.*, II, 227-230; by W. W. Greg in *MLR.*, XXI, 201-210; by Ph. Aronstein in *Beiblatt*, XXXVII, 10-4; by Tucker Brooke in *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, II, 592; see *Bibl.* 1926, p. 222.

Herrington, H. W. *Christopher Marlowe—Rationalist*. In *Essays in Memory of Barrett Wendell*. Harvard Univ. Press, 1926. Pp. 119-152.

Hillebrand, Harold Newcomb. *The Child Actors*. A Chapter in Elizabethan Stage History. Univ. of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 11. Nos. 1 and 2. Univ. of Illinois Press, 1926. Pp. 169; 170-355.

A book somewhat rich in conjecture on disputed points. By the year 1600 the child actors ceased to be regarded seriously, and in the final years of their history they were merely a fad. New light is thrown upon the history of the Blackfriars by lawsuits not hitherto remarked.

Hotson, J. Leslie. *The Death of Christopher Marlowe*. Harvard Univ. Press, 1925.

Rev. by E. K. Chambers in *MLR.*, XXI, 84-5; by A. Brandl in *Archiv*, I, 256-8; by W. A. Ovaas in *Engl. Studies*, VIII, 188-9; see *Bibl.* 1926, p. 222.

Hotson, J. Leslie. *Marlowe among the Churchwardens*. *Atlantic Mo.*, CXXXVIII, 37-44.

Further discoveries of some interest with reference to Marlowe, presented with moderate stylistic concessions to the place of publication.

Jeffery, V. M. *Italian Influence in Fletcher's "Faithful Shepherdess."* *MLR.*, XXI, 147-158.

Jones, Fred L. *"The Trial of Chivalry," a Chettle Play*. *PMLA.*, XLI, 304-324.

Jones, Gwenan. *The Intention of Peele's "Old Wives' Tale."* *Aberystwyth Studies*, VII, 2, 79-93.

Kempling, W. B. *Tercentenary of Edward Alleyn, November 25, 1926*. *Fortn. Rev.*, CXXVI, 678-683.

- Kuntze, Franz. *Ein plautinisches Lustspielmotiv in der Welt-literatur*. Neue Jbb. f. Wissenschaft u. Jugendbildung, I, 717-728.
- Lachmann, Fritz Richard. *Die "Studentes" des Christophorus Stymmelius und ihre Bühne*. Als Anhang eine Übersetzung des Stückes und 44 Bilder aus Johann Rassers Christlich Spiel von Kinderzucht auf 15 Tafeln. Leipzig: Voss, 1926. Pp. viii, 148.
- Landa, M. J. *The Jew in Drama*. London: King, 1926. Pp. 330.
Rev. in LTS., Feb. 4, 1926, p. 76; in Sat. Rev., CXXI, 42; in Lit. Zentralbl., LXXVII, 1817; in Nation & Ath., XXXVIII, 719.
- Lawrence, W. J. *Elizabethan Players as Tradesfolk*. MLN., XLI, 363-4.
- Lawton, H. W. *Térence en France au XVI^e siècle; éditions et traductions*. Paris: Jouve, 1926.
Has to do also with the determination of certain comic types.
- Lloyd, Bertram. *Thomas Heywood and the N. E. D.* LTS., Mar. 4, 1926, p. 163.
- Lucas, F. L. *Some Notes on the Text of Webster*. N & Q., Vol. 150, pp. 183-6.
See Letter by S. in N & Q., Vol. 150, p. 232.
- Lucas, F. L. *An Unexplained Allusion in Webster and Rowley*. LTS., Apr. 15, 1926, p. 283.
Announces the discovery of a pamphlet called briefly *The Life and Death of Griffin Flood*, which serves to make clear an allusion in *A Cure for a Cuckold* (IV, i; Dyce ed., 1857, p. 307), "Will not the Ballad of Flood, that was pressed, make them leave their knavery?" Flood, informer and murderer, was pressed to death in Jan. 1623, N. S., and the pamphlet was printed later that year.
- Lucas, F. L. *Vincentio Laureola*. N & Q., Vol. 151, p. 27.
Inquiry with reference to *Duchess of Malfi*, IV, i, 110.
- Lucas, F. L. *Was Webster a Member of the Middle Temple?* LTS., Oct. 28, 1926, p. 746.
A modest attempt to identify the dramatist with a "Mr. John Webster, late of New Inn, gent.," entered in the Records of the Middle Temple on June 30, 1598.
- Marcham, Frank. *The King's Office of the Revels, 1610-1622*. RES., II, 95-6.
See Bibl. 1926, p. 223-4.

Maxwell, Baldwin. *The Hungry Knave in the Beaumont and Fletcher Plays*. PQ., v, 299-305.

Mignon, Maurice. *Études sur le théâtre français et italien de la Renaissance*. Paris: Champion, 1923.

Rev. by Winifred Smith in MLN., xli, 401-2; see Bibl. 1925, p. 341.

Moore, Hale. *Gabriel Harvey's References to Marlowe*. SP., xxiii, 337-357.

Harvey in the poem *Gorgon* is represented as doing a "pious gloat" over the passing of the atheist Marlowe and taking his usual fling at Nashe. This differs from Hubbard (PMLA., xxxiii, 436-443) who thinks Harvey is ridiculing *Tamburlaine* and its author.

Moore, John B. *The Comic and Realistic in English Drama*. Univ. of Chicago Press; Cambridge Univ. Press, 1926. Pp. viii, 231.

Notice in LTS., Feb. 4, 1926, p. 82; in N & Q., Vol. 150, p. 360.

Morley, Christopher. *Good Theater*. Sat. Rev. of Lit., II, 695-7.

A little play about how theatrical audiences are pretty much the same from age to age, in which William Shakespeare and Francis Bacon visit the lobby of a New York theater while a play is in progress. It is not one of F.'s and W.'s brighter evenings.

Mortier, Alfred. *Un dramaturge populaire de la Renaissance italienne. Ruzzante (1502-1542)*. I. (Étude); II. Œuvres complètes traduites. Paris: Peyronnet, 1925. Pp. 286; 665.

Rev. in LTS., Sept. 2, 1926, p. 574; by G. Secoli in Gior. stor. della lett. ital., lxxxvii, 181-6; by G. Toffanin in La cultura, v, 152-6; by H. Hauvette in Études ital., vii, 189-190; by Berthold Wiese in Literaturblatt, XLVII, 247-8; see Bibl. 1926, p. 224.

Mustard, Wilfred P. *Hypocrates' Twins*. MLN., xli, 50.

Mustard, Wilfred P. *Note on John Lyly's "Midas"*. MLN., xli, 193.

Mustard, Wilfred P. *Notes on Thomas Kyd's Works*. PQ., v, 85-6.

Nicoll, Allardyce. *British Drama*. London, 1925.

Rev. by J. L. Cardozo in Engl. Studies, viii, 120-1; by Glenn Hughes in Sat. Rev. of Lit., II, 869; by Hazleton Spencer in New Rep., XLVI, 23-4; see Bibl. 1926, p. 224.

Nicoll, Allardyce (ed.). *"Cupid's Whirligig." By Edward Sharpham*. Edited from the First Quarto of 1607, with an Introduction and Textual Notes. The Berkshire Series.

Waltham Saint Lawrence: The Golden Cockerel Press, 1926.
Pp. ix, 94.

Rev. in LTS., Nov. 25, 1926, p. 845; by George Saintsbury in *Nation & Ath.*, xxxix, 787.

In this series has also been published under the same editorship *The Tragedy of Osmond the Great Turk* (1657) and *The Fool would be a Favourite* by Lodovick Carlell.

Olyphant, E. H. C. *The Authorship of "The Revenger's Tragedy."*
SP., xxiii, 157-168.

Olyphant, E. H. C. *Marlowe's Hand in "Arden of Feversham."*
New Criterion, Jan. 1926.

Pfandl, Ludwig. *Grundzüge des spanischen Dramas vor Lope de Vega*. Germanisch-romanische Mschr., xiv, 201-221.

Rébora, Piero. *L'Italia nel dramma inglese (1558-1642)*. Milan, 1925.

Rev. by Edmund G. Gardner in MLR., xxi, 224-5; see Bibl. 1926, p. 226.

Reed, A. W. *Early Tudor Drama: Medwall, the Rastells, and the More Circle*. London: Methuen, 1926. Pp. xv, 246.

Rev. in LTS., Dec. 2, 1926, p. 880; see letter by A. W. Reed with comment by reviewer in LTS., Dec. 9, 1926, p. 913.

This book is one of the important publications of the year, although a great deal of it has appeared during the last few years in the Library and other learned journals. It is a book on dramatists and their lives and associations rather than on drama. The Rastells, particularly John Rastell, and the Heywoods are presented as actual people whom we feel that we know. On the purely literary side there are two ideas which perhaps stand out more clearly than any others. One of these has to do with the canon of John Heywood's works. Professor Reed defends Heywood's authorship of the six plays usually attributed to him, but with proper judiciousness, pointing out also that the trilogy of which *The Four PP* is the center is closely related to More's *Mery Jest*, and probably came into being under More's influence. Another illuminating study is that of *Wyndow Edyth*, which is related in all its details to the time and the circle of Sir Thomas More.

Reed, A. W. *Sixt Birck and Henry Medwall*. De Vera Nobilitate. RES., II, 411-5.

Reed, Edward Bliss (ed.). *Songs from the British Drama*. Yale Univ. Press, 1925. Pp. xi, 386.

Rev. R. H. Case in MLR., xxi, 311-3; by Phil. Aronstein in Bel-

blatt, xxxvii, 269-271; in LTS., Mar. 25, 1926, pp. 225-6; in N & Q., Vol. 150, p. 107; see Book Rev. Digest, 1926. Out of rev. in LTS., *Song and Drama*, arose correspondence as follows: Richmond Noble, Apr. 1, p. 249; W. J. Lawrence, Apr. 8, p. 264; Edward Bliss Read, Apr. 22, p. 303; W. J. Lawrence, June 17, p. 414 (renewing controversy arising from his own article in LTS., Dec. 20, 1923).

Rohde, Alfred. *Passionsbild und Passionsbühne. Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Malerei und Dichtung im ausgehenden deutschen Mittelalter.* Berlin: Furcht-kunstverlag, 1926.

Rosenhagen, G. *Das Redintiner Osterspiel im Zusammenhang mit dem geistigen Schauspiel seiner Zeit.* Jb. d. Vereins f. niederdeut. Sprachforschung, LI.

Round, Percy Z. *Greene's Materials for "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay."* MLR., xxi, 19-23.

Rudwin, Maximilian J. *A Historical and Bibliographical Survey of the German Religious Drama.* Pittsburgh, 1924.

Rev. by M. B. Evans in *Germanic Rev.*, I, 360-1; by Neil C. Brooks in *MLN.*, xli, 137-8; by Carl Schreiber in *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, II, 511; by Robert F. Arnold in *Neueren Sprachen*, xxxiv, 323-4; see *Bibl.* 1926, p. 227.

Salmon, David. *Stode.* N & Q., Vol. 151, p. 298.

Inquiry with reference to "Stode" in *Volpone*, II, i. See answers by Henry Hannen and Edward Bensly, *Ib.*, pp. 335-6.

Salmon, David. *Welsh in the Old Plays.* N & Q., Vol. 150, pp. 201-3.

Contains important minor contributions to the subject; see *Bibl.* 1923, p. 251 sub Lawrence, W. J.

Schelling, F. E (ed.). *Typical Elizabethan Plays.* New York: Harper, 1926. Pp. 797.

Notice in LTS., Nov. 11, 1926, p. 799.

Smet, Joseph de. *Thomas Kyd, l'homme, l'oeuvre, le milieu, suivi de la Tragédie espagnole.* Bruxelles: La Renaissance d'Occident, 1925. Pp. 296.

See *Rev. litt. comp.*, vi, 543-4, where there is the announcement of a translation of *The Spanish Tragedy* projected by M. Smet; it is to be in an intimate and highly modern style.

Spence, Leslie. *The Influence of Marlowe's Sources on "Tamburlaine I."* MP., xxiv, 181-199.

Spencer, Hazelton. *The Blackfriars Mystery.* MP., xxiv, 173-180.

Spencer, Hazelton. *Improving Shakespeare. Bibliographical Notes on Restoration Adaptations.* PMLA., xli, 727-746.

Sponder, Constance M. *The Plays of Thomas Dekker.* Contemp. Rev., cxxx, 332-9.

Sprague, A. C. *Beaumont and Fletcher on the Restoration Stage.* Harvard Univ. Press, 1926. Pp. 299.

Rev. by Hazelton Spencer in New Rep., xlix, 117-8.

In the first part of the volume Dr. Sprague traces the stage history of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays from 1660 to the death of Betterton in 1710; in the second part he discusses in fair detail twenty adaptations or alterations of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays during the same period. There are two short appendices, in which Dr. Sprague questions the compositions of "an opera called *The Mad Lover*" and gives reasons for believing that the oft-mentioned alteration of *The Beggars Bush* by H. N. in 1705 was nothing more than a reprint of the text of the first folio. (M)

Struble, Mildred G (ed.). *A Critical Edition of Ford's "Perkin Warbeck."* Univ. of Washington Press, 1926. Pp. 214.

Sykes, H. Dugdale. *The Authorship of "The Witch of Edmonton."* N & Q., Vol. 151, pp. 435-8, 453-7.

Mr. Sykes' study of the assignment of parts in the authorship of this play is in his usual manner. He makes comparisons in style between passages in the play and passages in the acknowledged work of the dramatists under consideration. He thinks Rowley's part small, confined to the scenes in which Cuddy Banks figures; this conclusion he arrives at by assigning to Rowley parts not claimed for Dekker and Ford. Dekker's lines are freer and more fluid and his diction simpler than Ford's. The greater part of the play, he thinks, is certainly Ford's. Dekker is responsible for the Witch scenes and the character of Susan. Mr. Sykes is quite definite in his assignments.

Tanner, Lawrence E. *Ben Jonson's Stepfather.* LTS., Apr. 1, 1926, p. 249.

Gives important detail with reference to the Tho. Fowler whom Malone thought might be Jonson's stepfather. See W. W. Greg's reply, LTS., Apr. 8, 1926, p. 264, and his letter in the same journal, Dec. 10, 1925, p. 862.

Taylor, George Coffin. *The "Christus Redivivus" and the Hegge Resurrection Plays.* PMLA., xli, 840-859.

Grimald followed the form and statement of the Hegge Resurrection play with great fidelity, particularly in secular additions to the old theme. Grimald, the author thinks, may have seen the actual MS. of *Ludus Coventriae*, which, like Miss Dodds, he believes, may have

made its way from Bury to Oxford and the collection of Robert Hegge. Back of the article is the sane conception that the matter of the play was conventional and widely distributed. The prose Resurrection of Ashmole 61, the author holds, lies back of both the Hegge play and Grimald's work; Grimald, however, followed Hegge.

Triebel, L. A (ed.). *The Comedy of the Crocodile*. Oxford Univ. Press, 1926.

Rev. in N & Q., Vol. 150, p. 395. Text and study of the Nürnberg *Fastnachtspiel* "das Crocodilstechen."

Vretska, Karl. *Gryphius und das antike Drama*. Mittn. d. Vereins klass. Philologen in Wien, II, 72-83.

Wilson, F. P. *Ralph Crane, Scrivener to the King's Players*. Library, N. S. VII, 194-215.

Witherspoon, Alexander Maclaren. *The Influence of Robert Garnier on Elizabethan Drama*. Yale Univ. Press, 1924.

Rev. by Eduard Eckhardt in Eng. Stud., LX, 334-7; see Bibl. 1926, p. 230.

Wright, Louis B. *Notes on "Fulgens and Lucretia": New Light on the Interlude*. MLN., LXI, 97-100.

Wright, Louis B. *Will Kemp and the Commedia dell' Arte*. MLN., XLI, 516-520.

Zuidema, A. W. C. *Oldenbarneveldt als treurspelheld*. De Gids, XC, 400-2.

III. SHAKESPEARE.

Abbott, E. C (ed.). *Shakespeare's "Much Ado About Nothing"*. The King's Treasuries of Literature. London: Dent, 1926. Pp. 185.

Addy, S. O. *Shakespeare's Marriage*. N & Q., Vol. 151, pp. 291-3, 309-312.

Argues that William Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway were living together as man and wife at Temple Grafton at the time of their marriage, making the not improbable supposition that there was a pre-contract between them. Further than this the article contains nothing closely to the point. It contains, however, interesting details about the principal persons of Temple Grafton at the time. The author thinks that the Earl of Leicester must certainly have been Shakespeare's patron.

Addy, S. O. *Shakespeare's Will: the Stigma Removed*. N & Q., Vol. 150, pp. 39-42.

Discovers a will, that of John Hill, 1605 (quoted from an abstract from the York Probate Registry), closely parallel to Shakespeare's, since Hill leaves his wife his "best bed" only and lets the dower rights remain under ancient common law provisions. See also letters by R. W. B. and Thomas M. Keogh in *N & Q.*, Vol. 150, pp. 84-5; by S. O. Addy and Wm. Self-Weeks, pp. 101-2.

Alexander, P. "*The Taming of a Shrew*." *LTS.*, Sept. 16, 1926, p. 614.

The writer is the author of the interesting articles on the relation of *The Contention* and *The True Tragedy* to 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, in which he argues that the two former are stolen and surreptitious versions of the two latter respectively. (See *Bibl.* 1925, p. 290.) His point here is similar. He argues with excellent reasons that *The Taming of a Shrew* is a later play than *The Taming of the Shrew* and derived from it. He does not believe that there was an earlier unknown play which served as source for both. He also thinks that *The Shrew* came to the Lord Chamberlain's company with Shakespeare from the Earl of Pembroke's company. The argument rests mainly on the greater resemblance of the minor plot in *The Shrew* to *The Supposes* than that of the minor plot in *A Shrew*. The article carries a good deal of conviction, and it does not preclude what is to me a necessary supposition; namely, that *The Shrew* bears marks of revision by Shakespeare.

Ashwell, Lena. *Reflections from Shakespeare*. A Series of Lectures. Edited by Roger Pocock. London: Hutchinson, 1926. Pp. ix, 238.

Notice in *LTS.*, Nov. 11, 1926, p. 801; in *Nation & Ath.*, XL, 188-190.

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Bab, Julius. *Das wahre Shakespeareproblem*. Masken, XX, 337-343.

Bab, Julius, und Levy, E (eds.). *Shakespeares sämtliche Werke*. Nine vols. Stuttgart: Union. In progress.

Rev. by Karl Arns in *Beibl. d. Zs. f. Bücherfreunde*, XVIII, 240-1.

Baker, Harry T. *The Problem of "II Henry IV."* *Engl. Jour.*, XV, 289-294.

Baron, W. R. N. "*Hamlet*" in *Folk-Speech*. *N & Q.*, Vol. 151, pp. 789.

Beckwith, Elizabeth. *On the Chronology of Shakespeare's Sonnets*. *JEGP.*, XXV, 227-242.

A review of the recent literature of the subject with a study of parallel passages between the Sonnets and the plays. The author groups the sonnets on this basis over a period from 1591 to 1607.

- Bellinger, A. R (ed.). *Shakespeare's "Pericles."* Yale Shakespeare. Yale Univ. Press, 1926.
- Benninghoff, Ludwig. *Hamlet im Frack.* Der Kreis. Zs. f. künstl. Kultur, III, 171-2.
- Berdan, John, and Brooke, Tucker (eds.). *Shakespeare's "Henry VIII."* Yale Shakespeare. Yale Univ. Press, 1926.
- Berthelot, R. *La sagesse shakespearienne.* Rev. de métaph. et de morale, Apr.-June, 1926.
- Bohs, W. *Shakespeare und die britische Jugend.* Neueren Sprachen, XXXIV, 443-4.
- Bowling, William G. *The Wild Prince Hal in Legend and Literature.* Washington Univ. Studies, Humanistic Ser., XIII, 305-334.
- Bradby, G. F. *About Shakespeare and his Plays.* London: Milford, 1926. Pp. 92.
 Notice in LTS., Oct. 7, 1926, p. 678; in N & Q., Vol. 151, pp. 53-4; by W. A. Ovaas in Engl. Studies, VIII, 189.
- Bragdon, C. *The Hamlet Problem from the Standpoint of the Artist in the Theatre.* Architectural Rec., LIX, 1-6.
- Brandl, Alois (ed.). *Shakespeares Sonnette.* Erläutert von Alois Brandl. Übersetzt von Ludwig Fulda. Neue Ausgabe. Stuttgart u. Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1925.
 Rev. by Elise Deckner in Beiblatt, XXXVII, 271-286.
- Brooke, Tucker. *Shakespeare of Stratford.* Yale Shakespeare. Yale Univ. Press, 1926. Pp. 177.
 Notice in LTS., Oct. 28, 1926, p. 749; in Sat. Rev. of Lit., II, 635.
 The notices cited hardly do justice to Professor Brooke's book. It deserves to be considered something more than a supplementary volume. The documents, which are accurately presented, serve a definite end, and in some cases are skilfully re-interpreted.
- Brown, Chas. R. *Donne and Shakespeare.* N & Q., Vol. 151, pp. 421-2.
- Brown, John Mason. *What the Moderns have done to Shakespeare.* Theater Arts M., X, 426-445.
- Brunner, Karl (ed.). *Shakespeares Sonnette.* Gruppierung, Kunstform. Aus dem Nachlasse von Dr. Rudolf Fischer. Wiener Beiträge zur engl. Phil., LIII, 1925. Pp. viii, 182.

Bruns, Felix H. *Die grösste Mystifikation in der Weltliteratur.* Braunschweig: Verlags-Ges., 1926. viii, 143.

Calina, Josephine. *Shakespeare in Poland.* Oxford Univ. Press, 1923.

Rev. by Fritz Karpf in Eng. Stud., LX, 346-8; see Bibl. 1925, p. 292.

Cardim, Luis (trans.). *Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar."* [Translated into Portuguese.] Porto: Emp. Indust. Grafica, 1925. Pp. 283.

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Carpenter, Frank B. *Shakespeare and his Fellow-townsmen.* N & Q., Vol. 151, p. 422.

Case, Arthur E (ed.). *All's Well That Ends Well.* The Yale Shakespeare. Yale Univ. Press, 1926. Pp. 140.

Cawley, Robert R. "*Make ropes in such a scarre.*" (*All's Well*, IV, ii, 38-9). PQ., v, 183-4.

Cawley, Robert R. *Shakespeare's Use of the Voyagers in "The Tempest."* PMLA., XLI, 688-726.

An interesting group of parallels which are in some cases convincing, though too much may have been made of the resemblances; many of the parallels are admitted to be current coin.

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Reprinted from Rev. de cours et conférences. See Bibl. 1926, p. 234.

Conrad, Bernard R. *Hamlet's Delay—A Re-statement of the Problem.* PMLA., XLI, 680-7.

Croce, Benedetto. *Ariosto, Shakespeare, Corneille*. Leipzig: Amalthea-Verlag, 1922.

Rev. by Josef Wihan in *Euphorion*, xxvii, 140-3.

Cunningham, Henry. *Textual Notes on some Passages in "Hamlet."* N & Q., Vol. 151, pp. 75-6, 93-4, 147-9, 176-7, 248, 273-5 (*Some Textual Notes on Shakespeare*).

For "cheff" of the Folio in I, iii, 74, the author would read "choise"; in I, iv, he would read "adout" (meaning "do out" or "extinguish") for "a doubt." See letter by F. H. Underwood, N & Q., Vol. 151, p. 138; by John A. Knowles, *ib.*, pp. 193-4.

de Groot, H (ed.). *Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar."* Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon, 1925. Pp. xxxvii, 132.

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Donovan, Thomas (ed.). *The Falstaff Plays of William Shakespeare*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1926. Pp. 248.

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Dunbabin, R. L. *A Rhetorical Figure in Shakespeare*. MLN., xli, 469-470.

Durham, Willard Higley (ed.). *Measure for Measure*. The Yale Shakespeare. Yale Univ. Press, 1926. Pp. 137.

Eckhardt, Eduard. *Gehört Shakespeare zur Renaissance oder zum Barock?* In *Festschrift Friedrich Kluge*, 21-9. Tübingen, 1926.

Eichler, A. *Die Hofbühnenmässige in Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream."* Shakespeare Jb., N. F. II, 39-51.

Fenyves, Paul. *Studien zur dramatischen Technik in Shakespeares Tragödien*. Jb. d. Philosophischen Facultät . . . Prag, 71-4. Prag. 1926.

Feuillerat, Albert. *Le vrai Shakespeare*. Rev. de France, Sept. 1, 1926.

Fijn van Draat, P. *Maternal Impression*. Anglia, L. 287-290.

Brief discussion of superstitions of pre-natal influences; explanation of *Mer. Ven.*, I, iii, 72.

Fischer, Rudolf. *Shakespeares Sonnette*. Wiener Beitr. zur engl. Philologie, 53. Wien und Leipzig: W. Braumüller, 1925. Pp. 182.

Rev. by J. Dover Wilson in RES., II, 350-4.

Fischer, Walther. *Ludwig Tiecks Shakespeare*. Neueren Sprachen, XXXIV, 102-8.

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Record of performances mainly in the 18th century.

Flower, Archibald. *The New Memorial at Stratford*. Shakespeare Association of America, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 5-6.

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French, Robert Dudley (ed.). *The Comedy of Errors*. The Yale Shakespeare. Yale Univ. Press, 1926. Pp. 96.

Gaw, Allison. *The Evolution of "The Comedy of Errors."* PMLA., 620-666.

This paper presents an excellent analysis of the plot of *The Comedy of Errors* and brings us nearer than we have ever been before to an understanding of what Shakespeare actually added to the play. It carries Mr. Dover Wilson's clues to the traces of pre-Shakespearean work further and does so fruitfully. Accepting *The Historie of Error* (1577) as the original play, the author posits an intermediate play between it and Shakespeare. This play he attributes to Kyd. One is obliged to enter a demurrer against so great a certainty with reference to Shakespeare's early life as the author manifests in the first section of his paper. It is a matter of grave doubt in many minds as to Shakespeare's membership in the Pembroke company; and, in the light of Mr. P. Alexander's work, one cannot be sure that *2 Hen. VI* is based on *The True Tragedy*, rather than the other way about, and, consequently, that Marlowe wrote that play.

Gaw, Allison. *John Sincklo as one of Shakespeare's Actors*. Anglia, XLIX, 289-303.

Gaw, Allison. *The Origin and Development of "1 Henry VI" in Relation to Shakespeare, Marlowe, Peele, and Greene*. Univ. of So. Calif. Studies, 1. Los Angeles, 1926.

Gilbert, Allan H. *Scenes of Discovery in "Othello."* PQ., v, 119-130.

Gilder, Rosamond. *Olympian Criticism*. [Of Shakespeare] Theater Arts M., x, 461-8.

Gilman, M. "*Othello*" in *French*. Bibl. de la Rev. de litt. comparée, 21. Paris: E. Champion, 1925. Pp. viii, 198.

Rev. by K. R. Gallas in *Engl. Studies*, viii, 124-6; by Jules Derocquigny in *Rev. ang-am.*, iii, 340-3; in *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, ii, 617.

Glasenapp, Gregor von. *Die Dämonologie in Shakespeare's "Macbeth": Banquo's Geist*. Shakespeare Jb., N. F. ii, 52-66.

Golding, S. R. *Timon of Athens*. N & Q., Vol. 150, pp. 273-5.

Attempts the refutation of the views of Mr. Dugdale Sykes (*Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama*, pp. 1-48), but shows no knowledge of Professor Parrott's lecture before the Shakespeare Association and other writings pertinent to the subject; see reply by Mr. Sykes, N & Q., Vol. 151, pp. 21-3, and Mr. Golding's reply, *Ib.*, 167-170, 195-8.

Gollancz, Sir Israel. *The Sources of "Hamlet."* With an Essay on the Legend. The Shakespeare Classics. London: Milford, 1926. Pp. xi, 321.

Rev. in *LTS.*, July 1, 1926, p. 445; letter by F. A. Bather, *LTS.*, July 8, 1926, p. 464; in N & Q., Vol. 151, p. 53.

The introductory essay, following in the wake of *Hamlet in Iceland*, offers a variety of evidence to indicate Icelandic and Celtic influences in the development of the Hamlet story. It acknowledges the influence of the legendary history of Lucius Junius Brutus, and emphasizes the common traits of Gaimar's "Havelock" and the "Hamlet" of Saxo, as well as the relation of the latter work to Hiberno-Anglo-Danish history. The author has uncovered in the *Annals of Ireland by the Four Masters* the earliest known instance of the appearance in literature of the name "Hamlet" (*Amhlaide*, possibly Celtic). The body of the book contains *The Ambales Saga*, Saxo's version with Professor Elton's translation opposite, the *Histoires tragiques* (valuable 1582 version) with *The Hystorie of Hamblet* (1608) on the pages facing it.

Gourvitch, I. *Drayton and "Henry VI."* N & Q., Vol. 151, pp. 201-4, 219-221, 239-241, 256-8.

These articles present a careful review of the work of Else von Schaubert, *Drayton's Anteil an Heinrich VI, 2 & 3 Teil* (Köthen, 1921; see Bibl. 1922, p. 269). Her contention is that certain scenes from the plays mentioned are from Drayton's hand. Mr. Gourvitch reinterprets the evidence and shows that it is (for the most part) either insignificant or points to borrowing by Drayton from Shakespeare. The author ignores the articles by P. Alexander in *LTS.*, Oct. and Nov. 1924; Bibl. 1925, p. 290.

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in *Library*, N. S. VI, 296-9; see *Bibl.* 1926, p. 239.
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Tragedie of Julius Caesar.* London, 1925.
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Yale Rev., xv, 703-724. Same article condensed in *Fort.*
Rev., CXXVI, 1-17.
- Gray, Arthur. *A Chapter in the Early Life of Shakespeare.
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p. 305; by Émile Legouis in *Rev. ang.-am.*, III, 545-6; in *Sat. Rev.*,
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J. E. G. de M. in *Contemp. Rev.*, CXXIX, 803-4.
- Gray, E. McQueen. *Shakespeare's "Twelfth Night."* *N & Q.*, Vol.
150, p. 44.
Suggestion as to the meaning of the secondary title "What You
Will." See also letter by D. O. Hunter Blair, p. 104; by Theodore
Besterman, p. 141.
- Gray, Henry David. *Shakespeare's Share in "Titus Andronicus."*
PQ., v, 166-172.
- Greenwood, Sir George. *A Cambridge Scholar on Shakespeare.*
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- Greenwood, Sir George. *The Stratford Bust and the Dreshout
Engraving.* London: Cecil Palmer, 1926.
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mann's *The Title Page of the First Folio of Shakespeare's Plays*
(1924); see *Bibl.* 1925, p. 305. The author attacks the authenticity
of the Stratford bust in its present state and believes in a "restora-
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- Greenwood, Sir George. *Thomas Green alias Shakspeare.* *LTS.*,
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- Greg, W. W. *Editors at Work and Play: A Glimpse of the Eigh-
teenth Century.* *RES.*, II, 173-6.
Letters of Capell and Malone about the interchanging of Shake-
speare quartos.

Gronemann, Sammy. *Antonio, der Kaufmann von Venedig*. Jb. für jüdische Geschichte u. Literatur, xxvi, 84-94.

Guha, P. K. *On Two Problems in Shakespeare*. "Hamlet" and "Troilus and Cressida." London: Milford, for the University of Dacca, 1926. Pp. 41.

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Reprinted from the *Calcutta Review*, appearing also as University of Dacca Bulletin, No. 9.

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Hannigan, John E. *Benedick and Lazarillo*. LTS., Sept. 23, 1926, p. 632.

Finds in Benedick's reference to the blind man who beat the post when the boy stole his meat (*Much Ado*, II, i, 184 ff.) an allusion to a familiar incident in *Lazarillo de Tormes*. Letters by William J. Entwistle and L. R. M. Strachan, LTS., Sept. 30, 1926, p. 654.

Harman, Edward George. *The "Impersonality" of Shakespeare*.

Examined and discussed by the late Edward George Harman. London: Cecil Palmer, 1926. Pp. 330.

Rev. in Nation & Ath., xxxviii, 558-9. A posthumous work interpreting the plays of Shakespeare in terms of the life of Bacon.

Harrison, T. P., Jr. *Concerning "Two Gentlemen of Verona" and Montemayor's "Diana"*. MLN., xli, 251-2.

Hebel, J. William. *Drayton and Shakespeare*. MLN., xli, 248-250.

See edition of Drayton's *Endimion and Phoebe*, and Bibl. 1926, p. 265.

Herrington, Walter Stevens. *Legal Lore of Shakespeare*. Am. Law Rev., LX, 130-140.

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Hickson, S. A. E. *The Prince of Poets and most Illustrious of*

Philosophers. London: Gay & Hancock, 1926. Pp. 368, 16 plates.

Notice in LTS., Apr. 8, 1926, p. 266. The author thinks that Shakespeare was Bacon's pen-name, or rather one of Bacon's pen-names.

Hjort, G. *The Good and Bad Quartos of "Romeo and Juliet" and "Love's Labour's Lost."* MLR., xxi, 140-6.

Hochgesang, Michael. *Wandlungen des Dichtstils*. Dargestellt unter Zugrundlegung deutscher Macbeth-Übertragungen. München: M. Hueber, 1926. Pp. viii, 183.

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A suit brought by one William Burbage against John the father of William Shakespeare, in which Burbage is awarded £7 and damages on account of contention over the lease of a house made by Shakespeare to Burbage, the award having been made by arbiters to Burbage in the year 1582. The documents in which the records (badly damaged) of the suit are contained are the docket rolls of the Court of Common Pleas.

Hunter, Mark. *Act- and Scene-Division in the Plays of Shakespeare*. RES., II, 295-310.

Hunter, Mark. *The Tempest*, III, ii, 121. RES., II, 347-8.

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Janentsky, Christian. *Shakespeares Weltbild, das Tragische und Hamlet*. In *Die Ernte*. Halle: Niemeyer, 1926. Pp. 241-263.

Jente, Richard. *The Proverbs of Shakespeare with Early and Contemporary Parallels*. Washington University Humanistic Series, 2. St. Louis, 1926.

Notice in N & Q., Vol. 151, p. 451.

Jente, Richard. "A Woman conceals what she Knows not." MLN., xli, 253-4.

Further occurrences of the proverb cited by Malcolm L. Wilder as a parallel to 1 Henry IV, II, iii, 112; see Bibl. 1926, p. 257.

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Rev. by Karl Brunner in Archiv, LI, 116-8; by Eilert Ekwall in Beiblatt, XXXVII, 166-172; by U. Lindelöf in Neuphilologische Mitt., XXVII, 3-4; by John W. Draper in JEGP., XXV, 578-585; see Bibl. 1926, pp. 242-3.

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Kellner, Leon. *Shakespeare-Wörterbuch.* Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1922. Pp. 358.

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Kenyon, John S. *Two Notes on Shakespeare: "As You Like It," II, i, 18 ff. and "Twelfth Night," III, iii, 36 f.* PQ., V, 175-180.

Kern, Alfred A. *Shakespeare and Drunkenness.* Bull. of Randolph-Macon Woman's College, XII, No. 1. Lynchburg, 1925.

Keynes, Geoffrey. *A Note on Shakespearian End-papers.* Library, N. S. VI, 280-1.

Killian, Eug. *Shakespeare und die Mode des Tags.* Shakespeare Jb., N. F. II, 7-38.

Knowlton, E. C. *Falstaff Reduz.* JEGP., XXV, 193-215.

The article is in some respects a reply to E. E. Stoll, *Falstaff*, MP., XII, 197-240. Mr. Knowlton argues that Falstaff is at basis a veteran soldier and that Shakespeare develops the character along these lines. Mr. Knowlton would make due allowance for tradition, stage practice, and literary and dramatic types.

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Krauss, Ingo. *Shakespeares Ahnen?* Familiengeschichtl. Bl., **xxiii**, 317-324, 349-354.

Larbaud, Valéry. "Motley." *LTS.*, June 24, 1926, p. 432.

An attempt to interpret the word *motley* as it is used in Sonnet CX, l. 2.

Lawrence, W. J. *The Date of "Hamlet."* *LTS.*, April 8, 1926, p. 263.

See Bibl. 1926, p. 247, under *Memorabilia*. Mr. Lawrence's proof turns out to be an insistence that Harvey's note in Speght's Chaucer shall be accepted as coming from the year 1601 at latest and the conjecture that the words of Rosencrans in the second scene of the second act of *Hamlet*, "the humorous man shall end his part in peace," must be accepted as a topical allusion to the first performance of Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humour*. On that occasion the actor who played the part of Macilente, the "humorous man," gave offense to the audience by making a show of his loyalty to the Queen. Mr. Lawrence thinks that a simulacrum of the Queen was brought on the stage, and the actor, having apostrophized the image, fell on his knees to pray for the Queen, a performance which was regarded as offensive by the audience. Mr. Lawrence has other conjectures of less plausibility. See correction of the text of Mr. Lawrence's article, *LTS.*, Apr. 15, 1926, p. 283. Letter by Janet Spens, *LTS.*, Apr. 29, 1926, p. 323.

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Longworth-Chambrun, Mme. *La jeunesse de Shakespeare*. Rev. universelle, Apr. 1 and 15, 1926.

Longworth-Chambrun, Mme. *Shakespeare acteur-poète*. Paris: Plon, 1926. Pp. 316.

Rev. by Émile Legouis in *Rev. ang.-am.*, **III**, 544-5; notice in *Rev.*

litt. comp., vi, 694. See *Ist Shakespeare Katholik gewesen?* *Schönere Zukunft*, i, 1214-5; *War Shakespeare Katholik?* *Ib.*, p. 1249.

A biography of Shakespeare, making wide and skillful use of Shakespeare documents and interpreting them characteristically in an over-bold way to form connections between Shakespeare and his contemporaries, such as Florio, Southampton, and Essex.

Lucas, F. L. "Woo't drink up eisel? eat a crocodile." *LTS.*, July 29, 1926, p. 512.

Hamlet, V, i, 261 ff.

McGovern, J. B. *Piquet or Chess in "The Tempest."* *N & Q.*, Vol. 151, p. 261.

Mackail, J. W. *A Cruz in "2 Henry IV."* *LTS.*, Sept. 30, 1926, p. 654.

Would read the word "indeed" in Act I, sc. iii, l. 37, as a verb meaning "bring into effect," "realize."

Mackenzie, W. Roy. "Standing Water." *MLN.*, xli, 283-293.

Extended comment on the phrase used by Malvolio of the "youth" Viola in *Twelfth Night*, I, v.

MacNaughton, Geo. F. A. *The Phoenix and the Turtle.* *N & Q.*, Vol. 150, p. 330.

Interpretation of passage by Edward Bensly, *ib.*, p. 412.

McNulty, J. H. *The Dethronement of Shakespeare.* *Essays and Poems.* London: Stockwell, 1926. Pp. 112.

Notice in *LTS.*, Oct. 21, 1926, p. 726.

Marschall, Wilhelm. *Aus Shakespeares poetischem Briefwechsel.* Heidelberg: Grossberger, 1926. Pp. 50.

A study of the Sonnets with the contention that there are two authors.

Martino, P (ed.). *Stendhal: Racine et Shakespeare.* 2 vols. Paris: Champion, 1926. Pp. cxliii, 263; 367.

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Merbach, P. A. *Eine Hamlet-Bibliographie.* *Anglia*, xlix, 4.

Merbach, P. A. *Hamlet als Puppenspiel.* Die vierte Wand, [Magdeburg, 1926]. H. 2, 15 S.

Michael, Friedrich. *Hamlet: Wort und Kostüm.* Zwei Schauspielbriefe. Die Scene, xvi, 233-5.

Letters about *Hamlet* by Pius Alexander Wolff (Sept. 22, 1818) and Bohumil Dawison (Nov. 19, 1864).

Moffatt, James. *The Medieval Dentist's Hat*. LTS., Feb. 4, 1926, p. 80.

Citation from the memoirs of Count Beugnot to explain "the cap of a tooth-drawer" (*L. L. L.*, V, ii, 619); further information in letter by Lilian Lindsay, LTS., Feb. 18, 1926, p. 119; also letter by W. Rushton, LTS., Feb. 25, 1926, p. 142.

Moore, T. Sturge. *Shakespeare's Experience*. LTS., Oct. 28, 1926, p. 746.

Comment on *A. & C.*, V, ii, 4-8; favorable to Warburton's conjecture of "dug" for "dung" in l. 7. Mr. Moore takes exception to the interpretation in a leading article, *Metaphors*, LTS., Oct. 14, 1926, pp. 681-2, giving rise to correspondence in LTS.: author of leading article, Nov. 4, p. 770; T. Sturge Moore and J. Dover Wilson, Nov. 11, p. 797; Mr. Moore and the writer of the leading article, Nov. 18, p. 819; K. Funduklian, Nov. 25, p. 868; G. W. R. Knight, Dec. 23, p. 949; J. A. Fort, Dec. 30, p. 961.

Moosmann, Eberhard. *Shakespeares "König Heinrich IV" and Shakespeares "Macbeth."* Marburg, 1925.

Rev. by Heinrich Nidecker in *Beiblatt*, xxxvii, 121-7; see *Bibl.* 1926, pp. 247-8.

Morgan, Appleton. *Mrs. Shakespeare's Second Marriage*. New York, 1925.

Notice in LTS., Mar. 4, 1926, p. 166; see *Bibl.* 1926, p. 247.

Morgan, Appleton. *Shakespeare's First Folio*. N & Q., Vol. 150, 435-6.

Further arguments in favor of Mr. Morgan's contention in his book *Mrs. Shakespeare's Second Marriage* that Jaggard and Blount obtained sixteen plays for the Folio from one Richard James, husband of Shakespeare's widow at her death in August 1623.

Morris, J. E. *The Date of "Henry IV."* LTS., Jan. 28, 1926, p. 62.

It is suggested here that the satire on the impressment of soldiers in *Henry IV* may reflect a movement on the part of the Queen's government in 1596 to improve the condition of enlisted men and to secure men of the better sort. This is reflected in the activities of Sir John Smythe in behalf of enlisted men and in certain orders of Council.

Oppenheim, E. *Othello*. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichender Psy-

chologie Shakespeareischer Gestalten. In Oppenheim, *Dichtung und Menschenkenntnis*, 42-141. München: Bergmann, 1926.

Østerberg, V. *Grevinden af Salisbury og Marina*. To dramatiske arbejder som maa tillægges William Shakespeare. Oversatte og Kommenterede. Kopenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag, 1926. Pp. 95.

Østerberg, V. *Prince Hamlet's Age*. Copenhagen, 1924.

Rev. in *Museum*, xxxiii, Mar. 6, 1926; see *Bibl.* 1925, p. 302.

O'Sullivan, Mary Isabelle. "*Hamlet*" and Dr. Timothy Bright. *PMLA*, xli, 667-679.

This paper helps to establish what the present writer has long believed in, namely, that Shakespeare knew the formal psychology of his age. Timothy Bright was a leader in the field of the exploitation of the passions and he was available and may well have been used; but most of the references in *Hamlet* might also have come from Wright, or Huarte, or the French of Charron.

Paulsen, Friedrich. *Schopenhauer, Hamlet, Mephistopheles*. 3 Aufsätze zur Naturgeschichte des Pessimismus. Stuttgart: Cotta Nf., 1926. Pp. 284.

Poel, William. *Some Notes on the Stratford Shakespeare*. New Statesman, xxvii, 44-5.

Post, L. A. *Note on Shakespeare's "King John"*. *MLN*, xli, 535.

Pruvost, René. "*Le Marchand de Venise*" avant Shakespeare. Rev. ang.-am., iii, 511-4.

Quiller-Couch, Sir Arthur, and Wilson, John Dover (eds.). *The Merchant of Venice*. The New Shakespeare. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1926. Pp. xxxii, 193.

Rev. in *LTS.*, June 17, 1926, p. 410; by J. Kooistra in *Engl. Studies*, viii, 156-9; in *N & Q.*, Vol. 150, p. 413; in *Lit. Zentralbl.*, lxxvii, 1819-20.

Perhaps the most significant idea put forward by Mr. Dover Wilson in his history of the copy of *The Merchant of Venice* is his contention that we have to do, not with a manuscript in Shakespeare's hand, but with a play made up of players' parts with stage directions furnished when it was so made up. The reasons seem to be very good. The editor's idea that the play shows abridgment, as evidenced by there being no stated reason for Antonio's sadness, seems less well-taken. That the name Lopez may be reflected in Gratiano's comparison of Shylock to a currish "wolf" is at least possible. ()

Quiller-Couch, Sir Arthur, and Wilson, John Dover (eds.). *Shakespeare's "As You Like It."* The New Shakespeare. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1926. Pp. xix, 181.

Rev. in N & Q., Vol. 151, p. 414; in LTS., Dec. 30, 1926, p. 958.

The editors insist that *As You Like It* is a play bearing marks of revision. One copy Mr. Dover Wilson would date in 1593; the other in 1599. He may be right about the date 1593, but his evidence is unsatisfactory if not nil. The evidence consists in references to Marlowe: the "Dead Shepherd" reference, which may be explained on the basis of the publication of *Hero and Leander* in 1599, and a very doubtful allusion by Touchstone (III, iii, 15) to Marlowe's death. The latter was the subject of a correspondence in last year's LTS., begun by O. W. F. Lodge (see Bibl. 1926, p. 222 *sub* Hotson, J. Leslie). The case for revision is in general good; it consists in inconsistencies in the play and in traces of the rewriting of verse as prose.

Radcliffe, W. "*And there is salmons in both.*" LTS., Mar. 18, 1926, pp. 217-8.

Commentary, learned but not very enlightening, on Fluellen's speech in *Henry V*, IV, vii; see also letter by Herbert Maxwell, LTS., Mar. 25, 1926, p. 236; by L. E. Upcott, LTS., Apr. 8, 1926, p. 264.

Rannie, David Watson. *Scenery in Shakespeare's Plays, and Other Studies.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1926. Pp. 370.

Rev. in LTS., Dec. 16, 1926, p. 930.

Renato, M. C. *La gelosia de Otello nello Shakespeare.* Rass. nazionale, LIII, 21-35.

A study of Shakespeare's hero in comparison with other dramatic heroes subject to jealousy. As Shakespeare criticism, obsolescent if not obsolete.

Rew, Sir Robert Henry. *Farming in Shakespeare's Time.* 19th Cent., xcix, 857-868.

Rhedecynian. *Stammerers.* N & Q., Vol. 151, p. 153.

Inquiry resulting in discussion of the tradition of Hotspur's "speaking thick" (2 *Hen.* IV, II, iii); see letters by M. H. Dodds, N & Q., Vol. 151, p. 301; by Edward Bensly and H. Askew, *ib.*, p. 339.

Robertson, J. M. *Introduction to the Study of the Shakespeare Canon.* London, 1924.

Rev. by A. E. Morgan in MLR., xxi, 86-9; see controversy on Mr. J. M. Robertson and Shakespeare in Nation & Ath., xl, Nov 20 in letter by "Kappa"; J. Middleton Murry, Dec. 4, p. 333, with Kappa's reply; T. S. Eliot, Dec. 18, p. 418; see Bibl. 1925, pp. 303-4.

Robertson, J. M. *The Problems of Shakespeare's Sonnets*. London: Routledge, 1926.

Rev. in *Sat. Rev.*, CXLII, 734-5.

Röttger, Karl. *Shakespeare und der Versicht auf Ruhm*. Kölnische Ztg. Lit. u. Unterhbl. Beil. zu Nr. 759.

Rogers, Louis William. *The Ghosts in Shakespeare*. Chicago: Theo Book Co., 1925. Pp. ii, 185.

Saitschick, Robert. *Genie und Character*. Shakespeare—Lessing—Goethe—Schiller—Schopenhauer—Wagner. 2. verm. u. verb. Aufl. Darmstadt u. Leipzig: Hoffmann, 1926. Pp. viii, 359.

Salmon, David. *Michers and Blackberries*. LTS., Oct. 28, 1926, p. 746.

Sandison, Helen. *The Unblemished Garments in "The Tempest."* MLN., XLI, 44-5.

Further reference to T. S. Graves, *On Allegory in "The Tempest"* (MLN., XL, 396); see Bibl. 1926, p. 239.

Schark, Fr. *Shakespeare und die Astrologie*. Hamburger Fremdenblatt, 1926, 202a.

Schnapp, Friedrich. *Franz Liszt's Stellung zu Shakespeare*. Shakespeare Jb., N. F. II, 67-80.

Schoell, Franck L., and Acheson, Arthur. *Shakespeare, Chapman et "Sir Thomas More."* Rev. ang.-am., III, 428-439, 514-531.

The articles take up a good many questions relative to the stage and the drama of the last decade of the sixteenth century; it is argued, for example, that Chapman began writing for the London stage in 1582 or 1583, and that neither he nor Munday ever wrote a piece intended for Shakespeare's company. The main thesis of the writers, however, is that Chapman and Munday were collaborators in the play of *Sir Thomas More*. Shakespeare's part must have been written, they think, between 1588 and 1591.

Schestow, Leo. *Das ethische Problem bei Shakespeare*. Julius Caesar. Europäische Revue, II, 371-381.

Schücking, Levin L. *Character Problems in Shakespeare's Plays*. New York, 1922.

Rev. by Albert Feuillerat in *Litteris*, III, 16-28; Bibl. 1923, p. 267; 1924, p. 439.

Schütt, Maria. *Hat Calderon Shakespeare gekannt?* Shakespeare Jb., N. F. II, 94-107.

Seligman, Edgar. *Rosencranz and Guildenstern*. LTS., Jan. 7, 1926, p. 12.

Notes the appearance of the names Rosencranz and Guildenstern among the coats of arms of the ancestors of Tycho Brahe as they appear on an engraved portrait of Tycho by Jakob de Gheyn. Fuller and more correct detail on the subject is given by Percy Simpson, LTS., Jan. 14, 1926, p. 28; reply by Mr. Seligman and letter by J. L. E. Dreyer in LTS., Jan. 21, 1926, p. 44; letter by Marcus Rosenkrantz in LTS., Jan. 28, 1926, p. 62; by Mrs. C. C. Stopes, LTS., Feb. 25, 1926, p. 142.

Shackford, Martha Hale. "*Julius Caesar*" and Ovid. MLN., xli, 172-4.

Shackford, Martha Hale. *Sources of Irony in "Hamlet."* Sewanee Rev., xxxiv, 12-27.

Shakespeare, William. *Corrected Texts of Shakespeare*. No. 1, The Tempest. London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1926. Pp. xi, 155.

Notice in LTS., Oct. 14, 1926, p. 703.

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Rev. by Elise Deckner in Beiblatt, xxxvii, 103-115; see Bibl. 1926, p. 254.

Shakespeare, William. *The Tempest*. Illustrated by Arthur Rackham. London: Heinemann, 1926. Pp. x, 185.

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[Shakespeare, William] *Did Shakespeare write Bacon?* London Mercury, xiv, 2-3.

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Sisson, C. J. *Shakespeare in India*. Popular Adaptations on the Bombay Stage. London: Milford, for the Shakespeare Association, 1926. Pp. 26.

Rev. in N & Q., Vol. 151, p. 198; by Émile Legouis in Rev. ang-am., iii, 546-7.

Smyth, P. G. *Shakespeare the Gael*. Cath. World, cxxiv, 195-202.

Southam, Herbert. *Shakespeariana*. N & Q., Vol. 150, pp. 133, 350; Vol. 151, pp. 223-4.

A collection of references to the names Shakespeare and Hathaway, which has been running for some time in N & Q.; see Vol. 147, pp. 188, 244; Vol. 148, p. 348, and Bibl. 1925, p. 305.

Spekmann, H. A. W. *The Cipher Inscription on the Monument of William Shake-Speare at Stratford-on-Avon*. Neophilologus, **XI**, 117-125.

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Stahr, Gerda. *Zur Methodik der Shakespeare-Interpretation*. Gesammelte Dissertationsauszüge . . . Universität Rostock. Rostock, 1926.

Steinhertz, Otto. *Die Scene hinter der Bühne in den Tragödien und Historien Shakespeares*. Summary in Jb. d. Philosophischen Facultät in Prag. **II**. Prag, 1926.

Stobart, J. C. *Shakespeare's Monarchs*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1926. Pp. 255.

Notice in LTS., Feb. 25, 1926, p. 143.

Sullivan, Edward. "*Measure for Measure*," **III**, *i*, 92-5.

Commentary on the word *prenzie*, which he finds in Florio's *New Worlde of Words*, as "*Prenze, as Prencipe*," meaning *prince, potentate*.

Sykes, H. Dugdale. *Sidelights on Shakespeare*. Stratford-upon-Avon, 1919; *Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama*. Oxford Univ. Press, 1924.

Rev. by Baldwin Maxwell in MP., **XXIII**, 365-372. (This is far more than a casual review. It is a careful and discriminating attempt to ascertain the nature and value of parallel passages in the determination of authorship.) Revs. of *Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama* by S. B. Liljegen in Beiblatt, **XXXVII**, 32-4; by W. P. Frijlinck in Engl. Studies, **VIII**, 19-24; see Bibl. 1926, p. 229.

Tannenbaum, Samuel A. *Classified Index of Shakespeareana in the Periodicals of 1925*. Shakespeare Association of America. Bull., Vol. **I**, No. 3, pp. 7-13.

Tannenbaum, Samuel A. *A New Study of Shakespere's Will*. SP., **XXIII**, 117-141.

See letter of protest by Sir George Greenwood, SP., **XXIII**, 473-6.

Taylor, Geo. A. *The "Dark Lady" of Shakespeare's Sonnets*. N & Q., Vol. 150, p. 243.

The writer thinks that the "dark lady" may be Anne Fitton, to whom Will Kempe dedicated his *Nine Days' Wonder*. About this time Shakespeare and Kempe "fell out." Kempe disappears from the records about 1609, when the Sonnets were published. The author finds allusions to Kempe in the Sonnets; such as "jacks that nimble leap" in Sonnet cxxviii. See letter by Charles E. Stratton in N & Q., Vol. 150, p. 341.

Taylor, Geo. A. *Edward IV and Lady Elizabeth Butler*. N & Q., Vol. 151, p. 369.

Inquiry into Shakespeare's use of Edward's contract to Lady Elizabeth Butler in *Richard III*; answer by A. R. Bayley, *Ib.*, pp. 408-9; see letter by Edward Bensly, *Ib.*, pp. 444-5.

Taylor, George Coffin. *Shakspeare's Debt to Montaigne*. Harvard Univ. Press, 1925.

Rev. by Hardin Craig in PQ., v, 912; notice by C. R. B. in MP., xxiii, 499-500; rev. by James W. Tupper in MLN., xli, 209-210; by Émile Legouis in Rev. ang.-am., iii, 345; in N & Q., Vol. 150, pp. 269-270; by Émile Legouis in Rev. litt. comp., vi, 538-9; by Karl Young in Sat. Rev. of Lit., iii, 172; see Bibl. 1926, p. 255.

Thaler, Alwin. *Queen Elizabeth and Benedick's "Partridge Wing"*. MLN., xli, 527-9.

Thompson, Lilian Gilchrist. *Gobbo of Titchfield*. N & Q., Vol. 150, p. 188.

The occurrence of the name "Gobbo" in the Titchfield Registers; see also letter by Waldo Sabine, N & Q., Vol. 150, p. 286; by A. H. R., *Ib.*, p. 426; by A. R. Bayley, *Ib.*, Vol. 151, p. 14.

Tilley, Morris P. *A Parody of "Euphues" in "Romeo and Juliet"*. MLN., xli, 1-8.

Cites a parallel between *R. & J.*, I, ii, 34-61, and the *Epistle Dedicatory of Euphues; the Anatomy of Wit* (Croll and Clemons' ed., p. 5).

Tolman, A. H. *Falstaff: And Other Shakespearean Topics*. New York, 1925.

Notice in LTS., Feb. 11, 1926; rev. by T. W. Baldwin in JEGP., xxv, 588-590; see Bibl. 1926, p. 256.

Tomlinson, M. *Hamlet Again*. Cath. World, cxxii, 782-6.

Türck, Herm. *Der Totenschädel in Hamlet's Hand*. Shakespeare-Jb., N. F. ii, 81-8.

Underwood, F. H. *"Hamlet": an Amendment*. N & Q., Vol. 150, p. 422.

An emendation of the "dram of eale" passage in *Hamlet*; would

read "antidote" for "of a doubt." See N & Q., *Ib.*, pp. 434, 451, and leading article in *The Times* of June 15. See further emendations offered by Chas. Fredc. Hardy, N & Q., Vol. 151, pp. 66-7.

Van Dam, B. A. P. *The Text of Shakespeare's "Hamlet."* London, 1924.

Rev. by Kemp Malone in JEGP., xxv, 142-143; by Elise Deckner in Beiblatt, xxxvii, 360-372; in Museum, xxxiii, Mar. 6, 1926; see Bibl. 1926, p. 256.

van Hamel, A. G. *De Scandinavische Hamletsage.* Neophilologus, -xi, 4.

Vollhardt, W. *Zur Quellenkunde von Shakespeares "Sturm."* Beiblatt, xxxvii, 337-342.

Walmsley, D. M. *Shadwell and the Operatic "Tempest."* RES., II, 463-6.

Walser, Robert. *Hamlet-Essay.* Prager Presse, 1926, No. 129.

Warde, Fredericke B. *Shakespearean Studies Simplified.* Fort Worth: Pioneer Publ. Co., 1925. Pp. 185.

Wareing, Alfred. *A Shakespeare Memorial.* Sat. Rev., cxli, 595-6.

See also *Ib.*, 650, 746.

Wellstood, F. C. "W. S." A Discovery at Anne Hathaway's Cottage. *The Times*, Oct. 8, p. 15.

See *Memorabilia*, N & Q., Vol. 151, p. 271. Mr. Wellstood, secretary and librarian to the Trustees of Shakespeare's Birthplace, describes the mount of a hornbook found under the floor of a bedroom in Anne Hathaway's cottage at Shottery with initials, "W. S." or "W. B.", cut on the back of the mount. The initials seem usually to be taken for "W. S.", although colour is lent to the other reading by the existence of several boys at Shottery named Burnham in Shakespeare's day.

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- Wolff, Max J. *Shakespeares Form*. Germanisch-romanische Mschr., - xiii, 382-390.
- Yates, D. *Grillparzer's Hero and Shakespeare's Juliet*. MLR., xxi, 419-425.
- Zettersten, Louis. "Danskers" in "Hamlet." N & Q., Vol. 150, - p. 99.

Calls attention to an article by Dr. Gosta Langenfelt in *Finsk Tidskrift* which argues that "Dansker" meant properly one from Danzig, although Shakespeare probably used it mistakenly to mean Dane. See letters from G. A. Gibbs and W. A. Prior, *Ib.*, pp. 157-8. The former points out that Dr. Langenfelt's "discovery" was made long ago by George Chalmers.

IV. NON-DRAMATIC WORKS

- Ambrose, Genevieve. *George Gascoigne*. RES., II, 163-8.
- [Andrewes, Lancelot.] *Lancelot Andrewes*. Leading article in LTS., Sept. 23, 1926, pp. 621-2.
- [Aubrey, John.] *John Aubrey* (Born March 12, 1626—Died June, 1697). Leading article, LTS., Mar. 11, 1926, pp. 169-170.
- Review of Andrew Clark's edition of *Brief Lives*; see letter by W. K. Fleming in LTS., Mar. 25, 1926, p. 236, and notice of Mr. Fleming's article *Some Truths about John Inglesant* (Quar. Rev. cxxlv, 130-148) in Bibl. 1926, p. 262. Also on the subject of Short-house's indebtedness to various 17th century authors see correspondence in LTS. under the title *Molinos and "John Inglesant"* as follows: Montague Summers, July 1, p. 448; H. W. Davies, July 8, p. 464; Montague Summers and H. Foxcroft, July 15, p. 480; F. S. Ferguson, July 22, p. 496.
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The copy reproduced was printed by Pynson between 1509 and 1527, since in it appears a printers' device used by him during those years.

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Bush, J. N. Douglas. *Pettie's Petty Pilfering from Poets*. PQ., v, 325-9.

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VIII. CONTINENTAL INFLUENCES

NOTE: Various items which belong logically under VIII are, for the convenience of readers, listed elsewhere. Only a few Dante items, and these by way of continuation, have been included. All studies of any consequence are mentioned in the *Giornale dantesco*, to which readers are referred.

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SENSIBILITY IN THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN NOVEL

BY TREMAINE McDOWELL

Sensibility, in the peculiar meaning given that term in the latter half of the eighteenth and the first decades of the nineteenth century, may be defined as delicacy in perceiving and readiness in responding to emotional stimuli, particularly to the appeal of pathos. The word has had a varied history in the English language; just when it was first applied to exquisite emotional receptivity, it is difficult to determine. Richardson used the term in his novels; Warton in 1756 alluded to the "reader of sensibility;"¹ and in 1762 Cowper prayed that he might ever possess "Sweet Sensibility";² but it is not clear that any of these authors consciously employed the word in its new and particular sense. A definite instance appeared, however, when in 1768 Sterne wrote as follows in *A Sentimental Journey*: "Dear Sensibility! source unexhausted of all that's precious in our joys or costly in our sorrows! . . . Eternal fountain of our feelings!"³ Indorsed by Sterne, the word at once became so popular that when Mrs. Sarah Morton produced in 1789 the first native American novel, sensibility was firmly established on both continents.⁴ Her hero Harrington admirably describes this new gift of heaven in a glowing apostrophe:

¹ *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, London, 1782, I, 262.

² *Poetical Works*, London, 1854, I. 39.

³ London, 1769, p. 141.

⁴ Miss Edith Birkhead gives an admirable account of sensibility in England in her paper, "Sentiment and Sensibility in the Eighteenth-Century

Hail *sensibility*! Sweetener of the joys of life! Heaven has implanted thee in the breasts of his children—to soothe the sorrows of the afflicted—to mitigate the wounds of the stranger who falleth in our way. *Thou* regardest with an eye of pity, those whom *wealth* and *ambition* treat in terms of reproach. Away, ye seekers of power—ye boasters of wealth—ye are the *Levite* and the *Pharisee*, who restrain the hand of charity from the indigent, and turn with indignation from the way-worn son of misery:—But *Sensibility* is the good *Samaritan*, who taketh him by the hand, and consoleth him, and poureth wine and oil into his wounds. Thou art a pleasant companion—a grateful friend—and a *neighbour* to those who are destitute of shelter.⁵

In the American novels which followed, the word in a very few instances is employed to denote sensitiveness to criticism or to sensory stimuli; but in the main it denotes capacity for delicate feeling, particularly for tender response to the pathetic and for refined compassion toward the sons of affliction, a compassion occasionally but by no means universally followed by humanitarian action. Although *sentimentalism* and *sensibility* are today frequently used synonymously, they will be kept distinct in the following discussion. The former term will be applied to all varieties of emotionalism; the latter will be used to indicate the delicate susceptibility of heart upon which late eighteenth century men of feeling prided themselves.

Exactly how many novels were published in America in the eighteenth century perhaps cannot now be determined. Bibliographers of early fiction list forty-five titles;⁶ but investigation shows that of these, only thirty-three are original novels composed by authors who may be termed Americans, and printed in the United States.⁷ To these may be added two condensed novels by John

Novel," in English Association, *Essays and Studies*, XI, Oxford, 1926, pp. 92-116.

⁵ *The Power of Sympathy*, Boston, 1894, II, 30, 31.

⁶ Lillie Loshe, *The Early American Novel*, New York, 1907; Oscar Wege-
lin, *Early American Fiction*, Stamford, 1913.

⁷ Twelve titles are not included in this study for the following reasons. *Cynthia*, Hartford, 1797, was published in London in 1708, and *Plain Sense: or, the History of Henry Villars and Ellen Mordaunt*, Philadelphia, 1799, appeared in London in 1798; each gives every evidence of being written by an Englishman. Francis Hopkinson, *A Pretty Story*, Philadelphia, 1774, and Jeremy Belknap, *The Foresters*, Boston, 1792-6, are fiction, but they are not novels. The authors of *Miss Mac Rae*, *Roman*

Blair Linn, *The History of Elvira and Augustus and Aurelia* (1795), and *Story of Margaretta* (1798) by Judith Sargent Murray. Until further titles are discovered, these thirty-six novels may be accepted as the body of eighteenth century prose fiction in America. This paper is based on an examination of all the books in the group, save only the very rare *Infidelity* of Samuel Relf.⁸ As the content of these novels is relatively unfamiliar to most readers, the following study will be descriptive and evidential rather than critical.

I

The chief physical manifestations whereby sensibility may be detected in characters of fiction are the swelling tear, temporary suspension of the faculties, and their permanent disability or total dissolution. The efforts of American authors to discover unhackneyed phraseology to describe the tears which drip in well nigh every volume reveal considerable ingenuity. Mrs. Morton in the inaugural effort of American novelists demonstrates the refined emotion of her characters by emphasizing their "tears of the most tender affection" and their "eloquent tears of beauty"; their eyes, she writes, are "heavy and smarting with weeping," and with difficulty do they "give vent to the agitation of the heart."⁹ *The Hapless Orphan* (1793), written by an unusual master of diction, contains such choice variants as "the chrystal drop," "the dew of friendship," and "the pearly drop petrified" by the troubled mind.¹⁰ Despite her unparalleled hardihood, "the unfeigned tear of humanity more than once started into the eyes" of Private

Historique, Philadelphia, 1784; *Alexis, or the Cottage in the Woods, a Novel from the French*, Boston, 1796; and *Love and Patriotism*, Philadelphia, 1797, do not appear to be American. Five novels attributed to American authors were printed in London but not in America: Edward Bancroft, *History of Charles Wentworth*, 1770; *The Adventures of Alonzo*, 1775; *Berkeley Hall*, 1796; Helena Wells, *The Stepmother*, 1798; and *Constantia Neville*, 1800: in them, the American element is negligible.

⁸ Philadelphia, 1797.

⁹ *The Power of Sympathy*, II, 56, 86, 139.

¹⁰ Boston, 1793, I, 111, 149; II, 122.

Deborah Sampson (*The Female Review*, 1797),¹¹ the only woman enlisted in the Continental Army. The cultured Gilbert Imlay writes of the big tear starting from the eye, cheeks bathed in tears, and weeping friends who resemble "the mourners of Adonis surrounding the Queen of Love."¹² "Glittering globes of chrystal" fall in *Fortune's Football* (1797).¹³ Mrs. Susannah Rowson contributes "the tear of sensibility," "the large drop of sorrow," "the sympathizing drop," and "the pellucid drop of humanity";¹⁴ and as her highest achievement she presents "scalding tears" on the cheeks of the discoverer of America and "the dew of sensibility" in the eyes of his patroness Isabella, while gushes of tears and effusions of grief give relief to her temperamental Indians.¹⁵ Tears flood the melodramatic *History of Constantine and Pulchra* (1797). Forbidden to marry Louisa, gallant Captain Bellmore in *The Fortunate Discovery* (1798), threw himself on a couch and "gave a loose to the tears which he could not restrain."¹⁶ Even at the end of the century, Brockden Brown introduces a few variants. Wieland's eyes are "dim with unbidden drops";¹⁷ in *Edgar Huntley* (1799) a heart deluged supplies "ever-flowing tears";¹⁸ and in *Arthur Mervyn* (1799-1800) a lady unqualifiedly melts into heart-rending drops. The author himself confesses: "My eyes almost wept themselves dry";¹⁹ and elsewhere he warns his reader: "Thou wilt . . . dissolve with my tears."²⁰

In imposing temporary unconsciousness upon his characters, the eighteenth century novelist was more reasonable than in his

¹¹ Tarrytown, 1916, p. 102.

¹² *The Emigrants*, London, 1793, I. 4.

¹³ Harrisburg, 1797-8, I, 117.

¹⁴ *The Inquisitor*, Philadelphia, 1794, p. 26; *Charlotte Temple*, New York, 1905, I, 104; II, 59, 26. Mrs. Rowson's works offer a bibliographical problem. Born in England in 1762, she was in America from 1767 to 1777. In England again, she wrote and published *The Inquisitor* in 1788 and *Charlotte Temple* in 1790. From 1793 to her death, she was an American. Following the general practice, I have accepted her works as American and have given her books the date of their American, not their English, publication.

¹⁵ *Reuben and Rachel*, Philadelphia, 1798, pp. 37, 43.

¹⁶ New York, 1798, p. 161.

¹⁷ *Wieland*, New York, 1926, p. 250.

¹⁸ *Ormond*, Boston, 1827, p. 25.

¹⁹ Philadelphia, 1801, I, 24.

²⁰ *Edgar Huntley*, I, 6.

irresponsible opening of the flood-gates of grief. Only the most rigorous materialist will cavil at the father whose organs are bereaved of their activity when he beholds the dismal spectacle of his homestead ravaged and his infant cruelly mangled by Indian marauders,²¹ at the sister whose "mental progress was stopped" when her brother murders and mutilates his wife and children,²² at the lover "whose seat of reason instantly became vacant" when he beholds on the dissecting table the corpse of his lost sweetheart.²³ There are instances, however, where inexcusable sensibility intrudes and in a tumult of delicate confusion, reason is suspended on absurd and inadequate pretexts. When in Imlay's *The Emigrants* (1793) the account of Desdemona's death is read to Lady B——, her feeling heart causes her to faint "as completely as though the circumstance had been real and present to her view."²⁴ It is significant that Deborah Sampson loses consciousness not in sanguinary conflicts of the Revolution or when tortured by Indian savages, but when her sensibility is outraged by the necessity of confessing her sex to her superior officer.²⁵ Again, the chords of sympathy are so delicately attuned in the soul of Louisa in *The Fortunate Discovery* that after a few weeks of separation from her lover, she falls prostrate at the mere sound of his voice. And when Amelia heard a proposal of clandestine marriage, her vivid sense of decorum struggling with the excitements of pure passion "deprived her of speech and recollection."²⁶

Not only decaying health but final dissolution was all too frequently the penalty exacted by nature for indulgence in sensibility. The reader can to a degree sympathize with dying unfortunates who have been undone by seduction. Three such tragedies are analyzed in *The Power of Sympathy*, and the problem is discussed from all angles; many a volume contains eloquent denunciation of "the fiendish spirits of seduction." Mrs. Rowson's Charlotte Temple and Mrs. Foster's Eliza Wharton are perhaps the most notable examples of young women thus brought by sorrow to an

²¹ *The History of Maria Kittle* (in Ann Eliza Bleeker, *Posthumous Works*), New York, 1793, p. 44.

²² *Wieland*, p. 174.

²³ *The Hapless Orphan*, II, 231.

²⁴ II, 15.

²⁵ *The Female Review*, p. 157.

²⁶ *Amelia; or, The Faithless Briton*, Boston, 1798, p. 11.

untimely grave; minor characters in *Reuben and Rachel* (1798), *The Hapless Orphan*, and *The Emigrants*, similarly seduced, are destroyed by their own emotions. The death of Amelia is representative of the end of all her sisters. Her infant dead and her mind deranged, she for a time impersonates Shakespeare's Ophelia and then at length succumbs to the heavy hand of affliction. "She uttered a loud and piercing cry—it was the awful signal of her dissolution—and her injured spirit took its everlasting flight."²⁷

For others who die grief-smitten, the reader has less compassion. Fanny Gardener of *The Hapless Orphan* is too impressionable for credulity. She is possessed of "a disposition too tender for her own happiness," which "occasions all her ill health,"²⁸ and only her death at the hand of a mad romantic saves her from gradual dissolution. A superlative martyr to tenderness is found in her patroness, Caroline Francis, for "it is thought that she fell a sacrifice to her distress, and died with a broken heart."²⁹ The most sensational of this long series of tragic deaths occur in *The Power of Sympathy*. Barely saved from an incestuous union, Mrs. Morton's emotional lovers Harriot and Harrington are racked by exasperated despair at the discovery that they are sister and brother. Torn asunder by the ebullition of her veins, the disorder of her nerves, and the intoxication of her brain, the lovely Harriot takes her fatal departure. Thereupon Harrington raves madly, longs for swift death, determines to seek its solace, announces "Tomorrow I shall go,"³⁰ and at the appointed time takes his life that he may hasten to overtake his beloved on her long journey—whether in the role of brother or lover, the reader is left to speculate. The highest point of emotional intensity, however, is reached in *Ferdinand and Elizabeth* (1798) when the frantic Elizabeth writes thus to her penitent seducer: "Come to me this night! my bleseed [*sic*] creature! Bring with thee poison! Bring with thee pistols! and when the clock strikes twelve we'll both become immortal!"³¹ Ferdinand accedes to her request, and together they free their sensible souls from the shackles of mortality.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

²⁸ I, 213.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 233.

³⁰ II, 138.

³¹ John Davis, *The Original Letters of Ferdinand and Elizabeth*, New York, 1798, p. 134.

II

"We sometimes see instances of young ladies who weep away a whole forenoon, over the criminal sorrows of a fictitious Charlotte or Werter, turning with disdain, at two o'clock, from the sight of a beggar, who solicits in humble accents or signs, a small portion only of the crumbs which fall from their father's [*sic*] tables."²² This passage the Reverend Enos Hitchcock quotes in *Memoirs of the Bloomsgrave Family* (1790) to indicate his position (and incidentally that of all serious sentimentalists) toward the problem of applying sensibility to social ends. This novel and *The Farmer's Friends* (1793) are sober accounts of the training which he conceives will produce sensitive yet efficient philanthropists. Applied sensibility is well understood by Brackenbridge, who permits his Captain (infrequently, it must be said) to introduce solace into the house of affliction, and by the author of *The Hapless Orphan*, who portrays Caroline as constantly ready to wipe the tears from the eyes not only of her friends but even of those children of adversity whom she knows only by report. Practical charity is exemplified in solemn fashion in Mrs. Rowson's *Mentaria* (1794). Time and opportunity are found amid the rigors of war for Mistress Sampson of the Continental army to exhibit humanity toward her fellow soldiers, in incidents for which an editor of *The Female Review* could in 1866 discover no basis in fact. Motivated by democratic theories, Brockden Brown similarly interposes among his horrors various acts of humanity induced by sensibility. In these volumes and in the majority of contemporary novels it will be found, however, that such acts of mercy are far less frequent than are fruitless and impotent emotional excitations.

One work is unique in its century in being devoted wholly to the adventures of a Good Samaritan—Mrs. Rowson's *The Inquisitor; or, Invisible Rambler* (1794). Here in episode after episode, the Rambler, his eyes filled with the tears of humanity, alleviates the woes of all ranks and types of men. At the cost of eighteen pounds he frees a total stranger from an inhuman creditor; he saves a virtuous girl from a house of infamy at the risk of his own

²² *Memoirs of the Bloomsgrave Family*, Boston, 1790, II, 296.

defamation, and rescues an unsophisticated girl from an elopement with a fortune-hunting rake; he assists a youth disinherited because he has married for love, leads an erring daughter back to her forgiving parents, relieves the aged in distress, and restores to reason Julietta, the fair maniac. To obtain further funds for the execution of these good deeds, the Rambler even goes to the extreme of dismissing a member of his retinue of servants, disposing of one of his various carriages, and selling two of his numerous horses.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of practical sensibility in these eighteenth century novels is the frank sympathy for the negro and the opposition to slavery which are frequently manifested. As a rule, the institution is condemned in rather vague terms as unchristian: typical blanket indictments of this sort may be found in Mrs. Rowson's *The Inquisitor*³³ and Brackenridge's *Modern Chivalry* (1792-7).³⁴ Dr. Hitchcock supports this position by a novel argument based on the Bible. Man, he recalls, is given by the Creator dominion over "the fish of the sea, the beasts of the earth, the fowl of the air, and everything that CREEPETH upon the earth." But as the Africans in no respect answer this description, he concludes that there is no sense in which we can claim them as property.³⁵ Royall Tyler makes evident in *The Algerine Captive* (1797) the inhumanity of slavery by putting side by side the hardships of negroes in the hands of American slave-traders and the sufferings of an American citizen at the hands of Barbary pirates. The influence of the institution on the inhabitants of Southern states alarms Mrs. Morton's Harrington, particularly as he is devoted to "the democratical form of government." The Southerners, he declares, "accustomed to a habit of domineering over their slaves, are haughtier, more tenacious of honour, and indeed possess more of an aristocratic temper than their sisters of the confederacy."³⁶ As a solution of the problem, the radical Imlay puts into the mouth of one of his young ladies the proposal that those concerned in the traffic be dealt with by society as homicides, inasmuch as all enlightened governments should punish

³³ P. 88.

³⁴ Wilmington, 1825, pp. 114-118.

³⁵ *Memoirs*, II, 240.

³⁶ *The Power of Sympathy*, I, 74.

"monsters of every sort."³⁷ Dr. Hitchcock, more humane, urges as a remedy the education of the public mind against slavery through the media of "short dialogues, and other pieces, suitable for schools and academies."³⁸ It is the indefatigable Harrington, however, who proposes the solution most thoroughly in accord with the doctrines of sensibility. Exhorting a comely negress, he thus disposes of the problem:

May thy soul ever be disposed to SYMPATHIZE with thy children, and with thy brethren and sisters in calamity—then shalt thou feel every circumstance of thy life afford the [sic] satisfaction; and repining and melancholy shall fly from thy bosom—all thy labours will become easy—all thy burdens light, and the yoke of slavery will never gall thy neck."³⁹

III

Despite the misery entailed by permitting emotion to overstrain the chords of the feeling heart, and despite the frequent avowal of philanthropic purpose in their alleviations of the unfortunate, many early sentimentalists in reality venture to become deliberate epicures in emotion. Accepting sentimental excitations as an end in themselves, they welcome the stimuli necessary to an emotional debauch. Sensibility thus becomes the basis of one's very life. "To be devoid of feelings, is to be reduced to a state of barbarism," declares Fanny in *The Hapless Orphan*;⁴⁰ it is the fundamental principle of her conduct and her universe that happiness depends chiefly on "the benevolent temper of the heart."⁴¹ Like her, Caroline Francis finds that sweet sensibility "gives us the true relish of our joys"; her philosophy she states thus: "My feelings have hitherto been my guide, and by their decision, I hope to have sufficient virtue, to direct my future conduct."⁴²

These delicious titillations may be induced in various fashions. After listening to the woes of a chance-met stranger, Mademoiselle V. in *The History of Maria Kittle* (1793) remarks, "My heart is now sweetly tuned to melancholy. I love to indulge those divine sensibilities which your affecting histories are so capable of inspir-

³⁷ *The Emigrants*, I, 137, 138.

³⁸ *Memoirs*, II, 238.

³⁹ *The Power of Sympathy*, II, 29. ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II, 141.

⁴⁰ II, 150.

⁴² *Ibid.*, I, 201; II, 141.

ing.”⁴³ Harrington is able to cause his heart to “glow with feelings of exquisite delight” merely by expressing a kindly wish for the comfort of a negress.⁴⁴ Finding that good deeds resulting from tenderness of heart in turn produce further tenderness, all too often the sentimentalist prostitutes philanthropy to the production of emotional thrills. The activities of the Invisible Rambler himself, it must be confessed, were at times motivated not by an altruistic desire to do good but by a selfish desire to enjoy delicious sensations—as will soon be made clear. Another finds that “To drop a tear upon the recollection of my friends, is luxury to my soul.”⁴⁵ Anyone so fortunate as to be a father or mother can continuously produce this desired end of existence merely by allowing “all the feelings of the parental bosom to vegetate in luxuriance.”⁴⁶ Reversing the relationship, the son of Columbus, locked in his father’s arms, enjoys “some of the most delicious tears he ever shed.”⁴⁷ And “what pleasure expands the heart of an old man when he beholds the progeny of a beloved child growing up in every virtue!”⁴⁸ The lover obviously is fortunate. Yet only in *The Emigrants* and *Ferdinand and Elizabeth* are the resources of romantic attachment fully exploited in the stimulation of exquisite agony. In the former, while Caroline sleeps on a raft floating down the Mississippi, the hero gazes on her lips and agitated bosom until he confesses he was “obliged to extinguish the light, to preserve my reason.”⁴⁹ In the latter, “humid kisses” so “overcome with love” the heroine that the hero’s “transports approach to phrenzy.”⁵⁰ And when external stimuli are lacking, there is always the resource of one’s own sorrows. Ferdinand exclaims: “Blest Sensibility! Exquisite meliorator of the mind! Touched by thy magic wand, the heart finds grief delicious!”⁵¹ Brockden Brown’s Clara Wieland is typical in finding it “a luxury thus to feast upon my woes”; it can therefore be readily understood how to her, “weeping was a solace which . . . was peculiarly delicious.”⁵²

⁴³ P. 73.⁴⁴ *The Power of Sympathy*, II, 29.⁴⁵ *The Hapless Orphan*, I, 85.⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.⁴⁷ *Reuben and Rachel*, p. 38.⁴⁸ *Charlotte Temple*, I, 97.⁴⁹ III, 41.⁵⁰ Pp. 29, 31.⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.⁵² *Wieland*, pp. 248, 131.

These gratifications to be enjoyed to the utmost should be savored in strict epicurean fashion. "Oh! thou sensualist," cries the Invisible Rambler, "could'st thou but in imagination taste the luxury of my feelings at this moment, thou wouldst henceforth forego the gratification of thy grosser appetites, to feast thy mind with the highest of human pleasures."⁵³ To him who has never indulged in the delicate voluptuousness of allowing the feelings to run in soft, luxurious flow, the discovery of the resources of emotionalism comes with an exquisite shock of delight. When a youth cries joyously: "I never before knew the deliciousness of tears!", a convert has been gained for epicurean emotionalism.

IV

Although the general forces in foreign literature which shaped the American novel in the eighteenth century are self-evident, the specific influences which are responsible for its sensibility are not equally obvious. It is clear, however, that the entire responsibility cannot be placed upon continental European authors. It is probable that Rousseau encouraged emotionalism in America, but he is usually regarded by the novelist as a dangerous being. Dr. Hitchcock accepts Rousseau's theories of education only with reservations;⁵⁴ Mrs. Sally Wood admits that he wielded "a pen of fire," but she fears French republicanism;⁵⁵ the author of *The Art of Courting* (1795) grants that he wrote "many things worthy of being treasured up by the female mind," yet he produced much "which cannot fail of giving disgust to a lady of sensibility";⁵⁶ and Mrs. Rowson condemns *Eloise* as "a pernicious novel" which perverts the judgment.⁵⁷ Gilbert Imlay, having spent some time in France (where he became the "protector" of Mary Wollstonecraft and the father of her first child), is unique in frankly advocating French thought. Even less approval was granted Goethe. Werther confirmed Harrington in his thoughts of suicide, and after the event "a copy of *The Sorrows of Werter* was found lying

⁵³ *The Inquisitor*, p. 25.

⁵⁴ *Memoirs*, I, 52.

⁵⁵ *Julia, and the Illuminated Baron*, Portsmouth, 1800, p. 183.

⁵⁶ Newburyport, 1795, p. 39.

⁵⁷ *The Inquisitor*, p. 172.

by his side.”⁵⁸ As Mrs. Morton approves of this act, Goethe may be considered influential upon *The Power of Sympathy*. On the other hand, Dr. Hitchcock considers the love of Charlotte and Werther as criminal. In *The Hapless Orphan*, Goethe’s volume is held responsible for an unworthy and distorted form of sensibility. Mr. Ashley, rejected by Fanny, insists upon reading to her long passages from *Werther*; just before he murders Fanny and kills himself, he remarks: “The Sorrows of Werter is now open upon my table. It animates my heart; it cheers my soul; it will sustain me through the scene which I am about to act.”⁵⁹ Ferdinand, however, refuses to view the book seriously: he can hardly restrain his laughter because “‘a novel-reading nymph’ said ‘she slept every night with the Sorrows of Werter under her pillow!’”⁶⁰

The extremely sensible eighteenth century drama may well have borne fruit in the American novel, but the extent of its influence is difficult to determine. Few reviews of sentimental drama appear in eighteenth century periodicals; plays figure infrequently in the catalogues of libraries of the period; and attendance at plays other than Shakspeare’s is disapproved by the novelists who touch the subject. These facts, combined with the absence of references to the drama of sensibility in the novels of the century, leave its influence upon the early novelists entirely hypothetical.

Numerous quotations from and allusions to eighteenth century English poets indicate that novelists may have been affected by British melancholy. References to Pope, Churchill, Gay, and Garth are not significant in this connection, save that Pope is now and then presented as a sentimentalist in such a line as “Teach me to feel another’s woe.” As for the later poets of gloom, *The Grave* is quoted only rarely,⁶¹ although *Night Thoughts* appears with some frequency;⁶² the melancholy of these poems is so pervasive that even limited familiarity with Blair and Young may have had its influence. *The Seasons* is so often quoted, always

⁵⁸ *The Power of Sympathy*, II, 142.

⁵⁹ II, 213.

⁶⁰ *Ferdinand and Elizabeth*, p. 63.

⁶¹ *E. g.*: *The Algerine Captive*, Hartford, 1816, p. 150.

⁶² *E. g.*: *Memoirs*, I, 192; *The Hapless Orphan*, I, 22; II, 180; *The Algerine Captive*, pp. 123, 128, 208; *Julia*, pp. 21, 218.

with approval,⁶³ that Thomson appears to be the favorite non-dramatic poet of early American novelists. In view of his definite attempt to inculcate sympathy, he may with some certainty be accepted as a force in encouraging sensibility in America.

Almost invariably excusing their own efforts on the dual merits of moral purpose and factual plot, the American novelists nevertheless regard promiscuous reading of fiction as a dangerous occupation, particularly for young females. Mrs. Bloomsgrave thus advises dear girl readers: "Nothing can have a worse effect on our sex, than a free use of these writings which are the offspring of our modern novelists. Their only tendency is to excite romantic notions, while they keep the mind void of ideas, and the heart destitute of sentiment."⁶⁴ A specific instance of the ills which follow the rejection of such precepts appears in the sad fate of Fanny, who in *The Hapless Orphan* comes to misfortune because her taste was poisoned by romantic volumes through which "the passions too often become inflamed" and "pure ideas become injured."⁶⁵ It will be found, however, that certain eighteenth century American novelists who condemn their fellow craftsmen are much in their debt.

The best known of English novelists in America in the last decades of the century was Samuel Richardson, of whom, according to tradition, Jonathan Edwards could not approve. He was generally accepted as a commendable author, though an occasional novelist qualified his approbation. "Among all the writings," says Dr. Hitchcock, "which unite sentiment with character, and present images of life, Richardson's, perhaps, may be placed at the head of the list." Richardson is to be read, nevertheless, "with caution, and under the direction of a guide," for he "has laid open scenes which it would have been safer to have kept concealed."⁶⁶ Rich-

⁶³ E. g.: *Memoirs*, I, 112; *The Hapless Orphan*, II, 89; *The Emigrants*, I, 189; II, 126; *The Inquisitor*, p. 16; *The Coquette*, p. 61; *The Algerine Captive*, p. 31; *Julia*, p. 13.

⁶⁴ *Memoirs*, II, 82.

⁶⁵ I, 57.

⁶⁶ *Memoirs*, I, 86, 87. Mrs. Murray writes in similar vein of *Clarissa* in *Story of Margaretta*, reprinted in *The Gleaner*, Boston, 1798, II, 65-67. Three abridgements of Richardson appeared in 1798: a *Grandison* and a *Clarissa* in Hartford and a *Clarissa* in Philadelphia.

ardson's influence is wide-spread. Due directly or indirectly to his models, all the highly sentimental novels of the decade, save Mrs. Rowson's, are put in epistolary form. In volume after volume appear passages of moralizing comparable to Pamela's: they range from a sentence to a page in length and deal with married love, female frailty, the loss of friends, and similar themes. Eliza Wharton in *The Coquette* (1797) is urged not to become another Clarissa; and her future destroyer, Major Sanford, is stigmatized as "a second Lovelace" in his insinuating attentions.⁶⁷ Equally clear is the indebtedness in *Amelia*: mortally wounded, the seducer exclaims of his death: ". . . it is the vengeance of Amelia; and oh! may it serve to expiate the crime of her destroyer."⁶⁸ Although Richardson may have been the father of sentimentalism in the novel, it must be remembered that in his day sensibility in its strict interpretation had not yet appeared.

The robust Brackenridge relished the work of classical, continental, and English satirists, but thorough-going sentimentalists had nothing good to say of Fielding or Smollett. The former, we are informed, "may corrupt the mind not well established in the principles of virtue," and Smollett "on account of his unpolished humor, is not read with the same pleasure."⁶⁹ As no novelist save Brackenridge shows indebtedness to either, it would appear that the realism of those authors blinded American sentimentalists to their undeniable touches of tearfulness. In the same fashion, the emotional hysteria of the Gothic romancers in England was not effective on early American novelists. Preoccupied with her elements of terror, readers and critics alike ignore the sensibility of Mrs. Radcliffe; it is thus in Royal Tyler's supercilious comment: "Dolly the dairy maid, and Jonathan the hired man . . . now amuse themselves into so agreeable terror with the haunted houses and hobgoblins of Mrs. Ratcliffe [*sic*], that they were both afraid to sleep alone."⁷⁰

Three books, not alluded to by name in the novels of the period, suggest themselves as significant: Henry Mackenzie's *The Man of*

⁶⁷ Boston, 1797, p. 55.

⁶⁸ P. 33.

⁶⁹ *Memoirs*, II, 87, 88. An edition of *Tom Jones* was published in Philadelphia in 1795.

⁷⁰ *The Algerine Captive*, p. vi.

Feeling, Henry Brooke's *The Fool of Quality*, and Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield*. These books were known and owned in late eighteenth century America and were accessible in various libraries. Until further evidence can be presented, nothing more specific is to be said of *The Man of Feeling* than that its tone and spirit are to be felt in many of the more sensible novels of early America. *The Fool of Quality* is similarly indefinably suggested by the good deeds committed in *The Hapless Orphan*. Mrs. Rowson in *The Inquisitor*, however, is specifically indebted to Brooke: that uninventive and not entirely literate authoress could have conceived the philanthropic wanderings of her Rambler only under the stimulus of the Fool of Quality. It is Mrs. Rowson, also, who seems most influenced by Goldsmith: in *The Inquisitor*, a certain Olivia is seduced in a manner reminiscent of *The Vicar of Wakefield*, while in *Charlotte Temple* (1794) there appear a quotation from Goldsmith's verse, a dream of country life done in his spirit, and a prison scene strikingly like passages in his novel.

Conjecture gives place to certainty when one reaches Laurence Sterne, for he is demonstrably the most powerful of the influences which produced sensibility in America. That Mrs. Foster knew *Tristram Shandy* is indicated by the fact that in *The Coquette* Eliza writes of her youthful follies: "I trust that the recording angel has blotted [them] out with the tear of charity," and that Major Sanford alludes to Shandy's comment on Yorick's sermon.⁷¹ Sterne's stylistic mannerisms appear now and then in *The Emigrants*. That Sterne also stimulated Imlay's sensibility is evident from a scene in which a captive humming bird, descendant of Uncle Toby's fly, is freed by Caroline, who exclaims with Sterne's own variety of emotionalism: "Go thou little innocent thing, you shall not be a moment longer confined, for perhaps, already have I robbed thee of joys, which the exertions of my whole life cannot repay."⁷²

Mrs. Morton accepts Sterne as mentor throughout *The Power of Sympathy*. He is quoted as saying that in a desert he would

⁷¹ Pp. 12, 212. An edition of Sterne was printed in Philadelphia in 1774. It includes *Tristram Shandy*, *Sermons*, *A Sentimental Journey*, *A Political Romance*, and *Letters*.

⁷² III, 45, 46.

⁷³ I, 113-126.

share the emotions of some sweet myrtle or melancholy cypress, and two pages are devoted to a defence of *A Sentimental Journey*, which concludes with a harangue in what Mrs. Morton terms the "Shandean tone." The same influence often appears throughout the book in diction and turn of phrase, nor are episodes in the manner of Sterne infrequent. The most striking example in the story of Fidelia, who is found "with a plaintive musical voice, singing a melancholy tune." When approached, she "immediately rose from the ground; 'I was tired,' said she, 'and sat down here to rest myself.'" Her appearance, her song, a second meeting, her father, and her tragic story follow in the same style,⁷³ every phrase and cadence being reminiscent of Sterne and his Maria.

An avowed imitation of Sterne is found in *The Inquisitor*. In her preface, Mrs. Rowson makes "apology for attempting to write in the style of the inimitable Sterne."⁷⁴ "Sterne is a pleasing author" she later asserts, and the Rambler appears to agree with her, for he is much moved by the story of Le Fevre.⁷⁵ The book is a series of loose episodes from a page to several pages in length: all open in the tone of Sterne, and most end in the same manner, but between these extremes Mrs. Rowson often becomes her commonplace self. Her obligation to *The Sentimental Journey* may be exemplified by the typical introduction and conclusion of the episode entitled "Honesty":

This woman has certainly got more than she had a right to, said I, standing with my right hand on the top of the lower balustrade, and holding my purse, which I had not yet tied up, in my left. . . .

With all my heart, said I, putting up my purse, and offering her my hand.—The chaise was at the door, and I was actually stepping into it, without once recollecting that I had not spent a single half penny for the good of the house.⁷⁶

A single sentence, chosen from many such, indicates the model for the Rambler: "I took my hat," he says, "and stood full two minutes undetermined which to do first—they were both actions of benevolence."⁷⁷

Conventional morality occasionally forces a novelist to protest, as does John Davis, that although "The letters from Sterne to

⁷³ P. I, viii.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 63, 49.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 39, 40.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 49.

Eliza are soft and sentimental . . . Yorick had a wife of his own." But in the main, the novelists agree that Sterne writes with "a beautiful simplicity, eloquence and pathos."⁷⁸ It is therefore just to term the sensibility of eighteenth century American novelists highly Shandean.

It should now be possible to summarize the effect of sensibility on the early American novel. First of all, it cannot be questioned that its vogue was all but universal. Implicit or expressed, incidental or predominant, sensibility in some form appears in every novel of the century save *The Oriental Philanthropist* (1800) by Henry Sherburne.⁷⁹ Only twice is sensibility presented in an unfavorable light: in both instances, humor is its foe. Although *The Art of Courting* was designed for "persons of sensibility,"⁸⁰ its broad jocularity so often caricatures tenderness of feeling that the book becomes an adverse criticism of emotionalism, undesigned and yet so definite that a contemporary reviewer condemned the volume as lacking "tender sensibilities." The only deliberate enemy of excessive expansiveness is Brackenridge. In *Modern Chivalry*, "a young man of great sensibility of feeling" falls into "the state of sighing and dying" for his charmer; whereupon the Captain calls him a fool, for "while you sigh in the night, she snores." Brackenridge then burlesques the sensitive lover by throwing the servant-man Teague into such a sea of sentiment that the landlady's daughter gives him "the colic and heartburn" whenever he looks into her eyes.⁸¹ Save in these two volumes, the triumph of the feeling soul is complete: throughout the early novel the favorite children of wretchedness open the sluices of grief, and sorrow corrupts like a pestilential exhalation the literature of our young Republic.

Naturally, the subject matter of the novel was predetermined to a considerable degree by this wide vogue of the feeling heart. The action of *The Power of Sympathy* and of *The Inquisitor* avowedly centers about sensibility; it is equally dominant if less articulate in *The Hapless Orphan*, *Ferdinand and Elizabeth*, and *Female*

⁷⁸ *Ferdinand and Elizabeth*, p. 17.

⁷⁹ The title of this novel is misleading; sensible humanitarianism is not to be found in the book.

⁸⁰ P. v.

⁸¹ Pp. 54, 55, 57.

Friendship (1797). Tenderness of heart determines the fate of the heroine in both of the novelettes entitled *Amelia*, and at several points motivates the action in the *Story of Margaretta* and *The Fortunate Discovery*. That a considerable portion of the action of the early humanitarian novels originates in sensibility has already been pointed out. And in addition, sensibility always appears as the moving power in at least one episode in the remaining novels of the period. But it must be emphasized that sensibility led to no structural changes in the novel; its technique remained unaltered.

Characters were of course provided with gentle hearts suited to the action in which they appeared. Not only thorough-going sentimentalists but didactics, romancers, and historical novelists unquestionably assumed that to command respect, a man must be, like Mercutio, animated by a sensibility "of that kind which is denominated the most delicate."⁸² Regardless of sex, rank, occupation, or *milieu*, the favored characters of every high-minded author are uniformly endowed with feeling souls and fluent eyes. The resultant precedent was to encourage the ignoring of probability, congruity, and historicity in the characterization of sentimental novelists until well after the Civil War.

Sensibility likewise shaped the author's conception of himself and of his audience. Brown's bleeding heart has already been revealed; Mrs. Rowson in *Trials of the Human Heart* (1795) is particular to inform the reader that she is "a person of sensibility."⁸³ The same reader is in *Charlotte Temple* frequently complimented by Mrs. Rowson's assumption that he too possesses the feeling soul. Unca Winkfield trusts that her *Female American* (1790?) may be found "not unworthy of the most sensible reader."⁸⁴ The audience of *Female Friendship* is even more limited: "To you," the author declares, "ye virgins, who by nature are endowed with an uncommon share of tenderness and sensibility, this story is addressed."⁸⁵ These novels, it would appear, can properly be composed and read only by the sentimentally elect.

⁸² *Fortune's Football*, Philadelphia, 1794, I, 85.

⁸³ Philadelphia, 1795, I, xi.

⁸⁴ Newburyport, [1790?], p. 3.

⁸⁵ Hallowell, 1797, II, 56.

Most significant of all is the degree of success with which the novel is employed as a weapon in the defence of sensibility; for, although propaganda may not be the highest art, here is revealed the skill of the novelist in shaping his material to a preconceived end. That soulful authors wished to make sensibility both respected and attractive is clear; and yet in their pages calamity falls on sensible and insensible alike, and disaster is the lot of their choicest creations. *The Inquisitor* is unique in its portrayal of a happy and contented servant of society. Regardless of their humanity, the Amelias, the Marias, the Emilys, Elizabeth and Ferdinand, Charlotte Temple and Eliza Wharton are crushed beneath the cruel trials of the human heart. Particularly ineffectual are Mrs. Morton and her characters in the novel most inappropriately called *The Power of Sympathy*: sensibility gushes from every mouth, but in providing solace or aid, sympathy is utterly impotent. These novels, then, are in reality anti-sentimental in their logical effect.

In all truth, the early novelists wrote better than they knew. Lacking imagination and ignorant of the technical devices today familiar even to hack-writers, they turned to the life about them for their simple plots: seven of the first twenty American novels bear on their title pages the statement that they are founded on fact, and the same assertion appears in many a preface. Once committed to a factual basis, these amateur fictionists were unwilling or unable to break away from reality. Since their models in actual life accepted emotionalism as a guide to conduct and came at last to disaster,⁸⁶ they imitatively meted out a similar fate to the figures in their novels. Thus in the appropriate destruction which sweeps away hapless orphans and innocent sufferers, they became unconscious realists. Capable of saturating themselves and their readers, their plots and their characters in the crystal dew of tenderness, they eventually found life a medium too rugged to be more than temporarily distorted: in their concluding pages, these

⁸⁶ It has been clearly demonstrated that contemporary figures and events are reproduced in *The Power of Sympathy* (Notes, II, 153-159); *The History of Maria Kittle* (pp. i-xviii); *Charlotte Temple* (pp. xxiv-xl); *The Female Review* (pp. 1-24); and *The Coquette* (see C. W. Dall, *The Romance of the Association*, Cambridge, 1875). The claim of authenticity made by other novelists is in most cases borne out by internal evidence.

novelists revealed, despite their predilections, the ultimate futility of sensibility.

It is patent that the eighteenth-century American novel is not of momentous import in the history of fiction or in the development of aesthetics in the United States. To the modern historian and the socially-minded student of literature, however, these old volumes are vivid with life and rich with significance. From them such readers can learn little, perhaps, of art but much of the opinions and emulations of post-Revolutionary Americans.

Yale University.

THE DUNLAP DIARIES AT YALE

BY ORAL SUMNER COAD

A short while ago six volumes of the manuscript diary of William Dunlap, early American playwright and theatrical manager, were presented to the Library of Yale University.¹ These small volumes held a more than passing interest for me, inasmuch as their former owner's unwillingness to allow me access to them had proved a considerable obstacle some years back when I was preparing a study of Dunlap's life and works. So, with more than a little curiosity, I recently took the opportunity, extended through the courtesy of the Yale Library authorities, of giving these diaries a careful examination.

Nothing of a startling nature was brought to light by this reading, nothing was disclosed that might not have been anticipated from the four volumes of the diary to be found in the New York Historical Society Library. At the same time, the occasional side-lights these records throw on Dunlap's personality, and still more the frequent bits of information they contain in regard to stage problems and people of their author's day, may justify a digest of their contents. I offer this paper the more gladly for the reason that it in a sense rounds out my study of Dunlap, published in 1917, which was necessarily incomplete through the circumstance just alluded to. Let me here request the privilege of proceeding in a more or less disorderly fashion, as the nature of the material makes such a presentation almost unavoidable.

The first of the Yale volumes belongs to the year 1786, when Dunlap was in England studying painting, and so has no special bearing on his literary and theatrical activities, with which we are primarily concerned. It is, however, the most readable of the series, for the young American took with him a lively interest in human nature and a keen eye for unusual customs and types. For instance, in describing a walking trip to Oxford, which he made with Dr. Samuel Mitchill, he reports a drinking party with a

¹ This lot of diaries is sometimes described as consisting of seven volumes. But the seventh proves to be merely a collection of household recipes, written in an unidentified hand.

group of jolly farmers at an inn along the way. Under the gentle persuasion of the English beverages, the customary constraints existing among foreigners were discarded, and Dunlap notes that he addressed one of the rustics in these convivial words: "I wish you joy give me your hand you damn'd hearty old cock you, here's to you." He then gave them a hunting song, and all joined in the Harkaway "with a most glorious noise."

For the grounds and buildings of Oxford the diarist has no word of comment, but certain of the Oxford customs made an unmistakable impression upon him. He observes that at "Brazen Nose," where the two Americans were entertained, "When dinner is over the Principal rises & walks down the Hall followed by the Fellows, at the door he turns & bows to the Senior Fellow, who bows to him & turning bows to the next & so on; shaking their heads like Mandarin figures on a chimney piece; a more ridiculous scene Oxford does not afford, and that's saying a great deal."

Another noteworthy sight was a drunken gownsman in the kitchen, roaring and swearing at the chambermaid and other virgins of the house "in a stile that will not bear repeating—, though from prehaps a future son of the Church & teacher of ye Gospell."

Dunlap may have smiled at his English cousins now and then, but of animosity on the part either of American or of Birton there is no evidence in this instalment of the diary, in spite of the decided recentness of the Revolution.

It is interesting to observe that the future playwright was, at the age of twenty, possessed of considerable literary consciousness. The style of this volume, if somewhat stilted, is unusually full and careful for a diary and is liberally sprinkled with literary allusions. Perhaps he contemplated developing his chronicle into a book of observations on foreign life, after the manner of the typical traveler of all times.

The second volume, which covers June to December, 1798, plunges us into the midst of Dunlap's labors and tribulations as a theatrical manager. It opens, however, with a philosophical episode that reveals him as the Godwinian radical his intimacy with Charles Brockden Brown had for the time being made him. The recent report of a horsewhipping administered by the Secretary of State to the Spanish Ambassador for an undiplomatic use

of the word traitor, was the subject of a conversation between Dunlap and certain of his Connecticut relatives. In the face of unanimous opposition he advocated non-violence. He reports himself as saying that one ought not to forfeit his own good opinion by doing what he knows to be wrong for the chance of retaining the good opinion of the world. "It matters not," he roundly declared, "if I am right, tho' I should be one alone of five million." His final comment on the discussion is, "I could not help reflecting on the situation of the poor Infidel philosopher combatting for virtue, even for Christian Virtue with the brother in law, sister & son of the President of Yale Colledge, the author of Sermons on the nature & danger of infidel philosophy."

The manifold theatrical trials that Dunlap records in this volume are noteworthy not so much for their biographical significance as because they suggest the nature and quantity of petty obstacles—and some not so petty—against which the drama had to struggle in one of the two leading cities of America a century and a quarter ago. These experiences probably could have been duplicated in substance in any of the few cities where something like a regular theatre was maintained.

In April of 1798 Dunlap had dissolved his partnership with the temperamental John Hodgkinson, who from the beginning had been an affliction to his associate. Dunlap, however, offered to retain him and his wife as actors at a joint salary of \$100 weekly. Hodgkinson rejected the offer in a violent letter, filled with unfounded charges, that contrasted noticeably with the firm but friendly manner his former partner had employed in making the proposition. But the managership of the Boston theatre was being dangled before the player's eyes; so he resolved to forsake the boards of New York.

At his withdrawal Hodgkinson sold to Dunlap for \$1,600 his share of the wardrobe, music, musical instruments, scenery, properties, etc., of the Park Theatre. But when the latter took an inventory of his stock, he discovered that the thrifty actor had carried off several costumes to the value of over \$200, two kettle drums and a double bass worth \$200, more than half the music and many prompt books. The fact also came to light that for a long time Hodgkinson had been employing a man to copy for him

such music as he intended to sell. Dunlap seriously considered legal procedure against the recreant Thespian, but apparently more sober counsels prevailed.

Dunlap's vexations were by no means banished by the departure of his one-time partner. The members of the company who did not leave were also a frequent trial. One June day he made a social call on the Tylers and found the Hallams present. The conversation quickly veering around to the stage, Mrs. Hallam loaded everything connected with the theatre with "every species of odium." Hallam concurred. Mrs. Tyler praised her own acting, and Tyler pointed out the great abuses that had crept into the company. "A more compleat picture of selfishness and envy I never saw," declares the manager.

His opinion of the taste and judgment of at least one of these persons seems to have been shortly confirmed, for a few days later appears this entry: "Mrs. Tyler's night 'She stoops to conquer' in which the fat old woman advertised her last appearance & *did* Miss Neville."

Dunlap no doubt faced Mrs. Tyler's retirement philosophically. But about the same time a more serious loss impended when the mother of the Misses Westray, two of his most talented actresses, threatened to forbid their continuance in the company on the grounds that they had become estranged from her and had renounced all filial duty. The mother ended her complaint by appealing to his feelings as a father; so there was no other course possible but to effect a reconciliation, which incidentally retained for him the service of two valuable players.

By nature Dunlap was a gentle soul who hated quarrels and found it difficult to assume anything like a despotic manner even on his own stage, a fact of which the actors took advantage to the detriment of the theatre. To illustrate: T. A. Cooper one day asked Dunlap to postpone that evening's play on the plea that one of the actors was ill. But when another actor offered to go on and read the part, the manager objected to a postponement. Nevertheless the play was later put off—seemingly by Cooper's manipulation, the real reason being that he was not ready in his rôle.

With the intention of partly filling the gap in his ranks occasioned by the loss of Mr. and Mrs. Hodgkinson, Dunlap made an offer of \$50 a week to G. L. Barrett and his wife, late of England.

A protracted correspondence followed, in which Barrett, with admirable perseverance, insisted that they stood at the head of their profession and were entitled to first parts, while Dunlap, with tactful firmness, maintained that he himself was the director and must be left free to cast plays as he saw fit. Barrett now affected to lose his zeal for New York in view of a liberal offer from the Philadelphia manager, which offer Dunlap advised him to accept. But the Barretts would deprive Philadelphia of their talents for an additional consideration of \$10 weekly. In the end the New York manager hired them at \$50 a week, plus \$10, about which latter sum they were to say nothing to the other actors, that their employer might be spared a like demand from each. Barrett's letter of acceptance contains a sentence as diplomatic in its phrasing as it is curious in other regards: "I forbear saying more about *parts* as I have not an opinion you would ask Mrs. B or self to any thing to injure Either or lower us in the Idia of the Audiences."

As the fall opening of the theatre drew near, various members of the company began soliciting the manager for money to pay their traveling expenses to New York. The Westray sisters had undertaken summer acting in Boston with Hodgkinson. But the season having proved a failure, they had received only \$10 from him and were destitute. Cooper wrote that he was stranded in Poughkeepsie. Dunlap decided to advance \$50 from his slender coffers to the Westrays and a like sum to the Barretts, but Cooper was apparently allowed to get out of Poughkeepsie as best he could.

With the company all assembled, Dunlap announced the casts for the opening plays, and a small mutiny was the immediate response. Tyler disdained to do the king in *Hamlet*, and Bates rejected Sir Oliver in *The School for Scandal*; Jefferson and Mrs. Hallam likewise scorned the parts assigned them. So the manager perforce must rearrange the casts, but he attempted to fortify himself for the future by drawing up regulations which imposed forfeits for such conduct—which regulations one of the leading actors refused to sign.

Three days before the opening, Dunlap wrote: "The disposition of the Company seems eminently hostile to each (as usual) and to me." Reports that Mrs. Hallam, one of his prominent actresses, was daily intoxicated could scarcely be regarded as welcome under the circumstances.

Toward the end of this volume the diarist records a sufficiently unusual incident. Mrs. Oldmixon, just before going on the stage in the part of Ophelia, was taken ill in her dressing room. She "goes home," we are told, "and is brought to bed of a daughter."

During this period Dunlap was associating intimately with Charles Brockden Brown, as the frequent appearance of his name indicates. Of the two letters from Brown to Dunlap which are copied into the diary, one has never been printed. It was written on September 21, during a severe epidemic of yellow fever, which had taken off their friend Elihu H. Smith and had nearly proved fatal to Brown.

Well my beloved friend! [it reads.] It may afford you some satisfaction to recognize my hand once more tho' vague & feeble in a degree that astonishes myself. I can add little to what is before said by William [William Johnson had just written to Dunlap, announcing Smith's death]. Most ardently do I long to shut out this City from my view but my strength has been, within this few days, so totally & unaccountably subverted, that I can scarcely flatter myself with being able, very shortly, to remove. I do not understand my own case, but see enough to discover that the combination of bodily & mental causes have made deep inroads on the vital energies of brain & stomach. I am afraid I cannot think of departing before Monday at the least.

Let me join in congratulations on your domestic serenities.

I suppose when we reach Woodbridge a conveyance to your village is procurable.

Farewell

C. B. B.

The next instalment of the diary at Yale covers the year 1806, in which began Dunlap's second connection with the theatre, his first having ended in bankruptcy in 1805. In the spring of 1806 T. A. Cooper approached him with the information that J. K. Beekman had agreed to purchase the Park Theatre for \$50,000 and to lease it to the actor, to whom he would advance \$15,000 or more for alterations. Cooper offered Dunlap a position as stage manager and general agent at a yearly salary of £300 sterling (\$1,312.50), plus a benefit guaranteed to yield \$400. Dunlap, who was then attempting to support his family by portrait painting, was not slow in accepting this proposition.

The details presented in this volume are more meagre than one would wish, but some light is thrown upon the scale of salaries

prevailing in the different departments of the theatre. One of Dunlap's first duties was to interview at Philadelphia a Mrs. Hamilton and to engage her for New York if he thought best. She proved to possess some talent, a fine voice and good face; but clumsiness, ignorance of the stage and lack of feeling more than offset these advantages. She was excessively vain, however, and thought \$100 or \$200 a week was too little for her services. Dunlap decided it would be possible to get along without her aid.

This demand contrasts interestingly with the following figures: A representative of Cooper's being about to sail for England, Dunlap empowered him to hire a "first performer" and a "first lady" to take leading parts in comedy and tragedy at a salary of \$1,750 each for a season of forty-three weeks. In addition each would receive passage money and an annual benefit. This representative was also authorized to engage a scene painter who was at the same time a stage machinist—a man capable of taking charge of the whole department of scenery and machinery. He was to be offered six guineas (about \$27.60) a week and in addition, if necessary, a benefit each year warranted to bring in \$300. An assistant to the scene painter was to be obtained at \$14 a week. In both cases the passage was to be paid by their employers.

The fourth of the Yale diaries is devoted almost wholly to the visit of George Frederick Cooke to this country in 1811. Dunlap's contact with this veteran actor was very intimate, inasmuch as he was appointed by the New York managers to serve as a sort of guardian to the gifted but bibulous tragedian during his tour of the American cities. The entries made in this volume were later worked into Dunlap's *Memoirs of the Life of George Frederick Cooke*, and hence no object would be served by summarizing them here. One of Cooke's countless anecdotes of the stage, however, which is to be found only in the diary, may be worth quoting. Cooke asked one day, "Is this Mr. Calbraith in business now?"

"No," was the reply; "I suppose he thinks it easier to be an actor as that requires no industry talent or education."

"I suppose so," Cooke agreed. "That's the last resource. Anything can be an actor. Foote dismissed his old prompter but gave the same salary & sent him on for little things—James Aiken says to him one day—'So Sir we have lost our old prompter'—'Yes,' says Sam, 'the fellow couldn't read so I made an actor of him.'"

Dunlap appears to have shared Cooke's unflattering opinion of the profession, for at Philadelphia he made this entry: "Dined at Francis's. The company was players consequently dull & noisy."

In these pages is found the information that the publisher D. Longworth offered Dunlap \$300 for the first American edition of the *Memoirs of Cooke*. Since it was Longworth who in 1813 published the work, one concludes that \$300 was the sum the author received for his eight-hundred page biography.

Incidentally this portion of the diary is no despicable example of character portrayal. Because of its greater compactness, it draws a picture that is perhaps superior to that in the *Memoirs*. Cooke is vividly sketched, with his normal courtliness and affability of manner, his petty quarrelsomeness when drunk, the endless and maudlin repetition of his crapulous talk, his pitiful vacillation and complete lack of will. One glimpses the ruins of an amazing physical constitution and of truly rare dramatic powers.

The fifth volume extends from August, 1820, to April, 1822, and is wholly devoted to the writer's experiences as an itinerant painter.

The final instalment covers a little over a year, from March, 1832, to June, 1833. Dunlap had long since deserted the playhouse, but his interest was still alive, for he was busy preparing his *History of the American Theatre* for the press. Anxious to publish in England as well as America, he enlisted the aid of his old friend James Fenimore Cooper, who was residing abroad. In a letter copied into the diary, the novelist writes that he is doing all he can to obtain an English publisher, but he adds this admonition: "You can't imagine the pleasure I have in thus patronizing youthful talent, but you young rogues are so apt to look at the world en couleur de rose, that I feel forced to caution you against critics and all the evils to which flesh is heir."

Dunlap, with pardonable pride, refers in this volume to a letter from his fellow artist, Washington Allston, who wrote that Charles Lamb, in conversation with him, had spoken highly of the *Memoirs of Cooke*. Praise from that ardent devotee of the stage and authority on the subject of drunkards must have been welcome indeed to George Frederick's biographer.

As an appropriately unrelated conclusion to a rambling paper, I wish to add two or three bibliographical notes. Under date of

November 30, 1798, appears the entry, "Finish my comedy of 'Rule a Husband & have a husband or the way to tame him,'" a play on which he had been working for some months. Why this comedy was never acted or why he failed to list it among his plays in the appendix to his *History of the American Theatre* it is impossible to say. As to its contents, one may hazard the conjecture that it was a sort of counterpart to Fletcher's *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, or possibly to *The Taming of the Shrew*.

In that appended list of Dunlap's plays just referred to, is to be found the title *Forty and Twenty*, about which nothing further is known. The diary yields the meagre information that William B. Wood, manager of the Philadelphia theatre, accepted the play on April 20, 1811, with the understanding that the remuneration was to be according to its success. Apparently Wood decided that its chances were slight; at least I find no evidence that it was ever staged.²

Let me bring this paper to an end by expressing the hope that further portions of Dunlap's journal may yet come to light. It was not so long ago that two of the known volumes were picked up on the five and ten cent counter of a second hand book-shop; and since the entire chronicle ran to thirty or more volumes, of which only ten have been found, it is not impossible that still others may be

² The following note has no relation to the diary, but since it has to do with a Dunlap play, it may be inserted here. The list of plays above mentioned contains the title, *The Natural Daughter*, concerning which we have known only what the playwright tells us in his *American Theatre*—that it was a poor piece badly acted to empty benches on February 8, 1799. In looking through some old files of the *New York Commercial Advertiser* recently, I happened upon a review of this performance in the issue of February 11. The play, which had the subtitle of *Old Sins with New Faces*, told this story: The natural and deserted daughter of Sir Stephen Sternford is brought to London to claim her father's protection. Charles, a deserted but legitimate son of Sternford's, is acting as footman for one Sir Richard Rusport in order to be near the latter's daughter. Sir Stephen marries a Miss Darwin, a girl of wit and spirit, who convinces him of his duty to his children. Charles in the end marries Emily Rusport. According to this critic, the play had many points of dramatic merit, including a variety of forcefully delineated characters. But the dialogue appeared flat and much too long. Moreover the actors were uncertain in their parts, and the prompter was very audible; so that many rejoiced when the curtain dropped.

brought from their hiding places. Investigators have pretty thoroughly canvassed the field of the early American theatre in recent years; it is only by the discovery of these or other similar manuscript records that we can expect to add materially to our knowledge of the subject.

*New Jersey College for Women,
Rutgers University.*

DUNLAP AND THE "THEATRICAL REGISTER" OF THE NEW-YORK MAGAZINE

BY MARY RIVES BOWMAN

From November, 1794, to April, 1796, the *New-York Magazine* ran, under the title of "The Theatrical Register," a series of very creditable dramatic criticisms, presenting general theories of the theatre, and commenting upon the repertoire of the New York company, the plays themselves, the attitude of the audience, and the performance of the actors. The critic was clearly well-equipped for his task. He was comfortably familiar with foreign plays from which English translations were made, with a great number of English plays, and with the English stage, as well as with the New York company and the plays it presented. He wrote vigorously and effectively, leaving in the "Register" not only a critical account of the New York theatre during those two years, but also some very easy reading. The editors of the *New-York Magazine* evidently valued his work, for of the eleven numbers of the "Register" which appeared, seven occupied the lead-off position in the publication, and three more had second place.

Yet there is no word anywhere in the magazine or in any other document relating to the period, so far as I have been able to discover, that even hints at the identity of the critic. In the entire absence of direct proof of the authorship, however, there is an extensive and solid body of evidence that the reviews are from the pen of William Dunlap, the dramatist, manager, and most important figure in the early American theatre. Some of the evidence presented may seem too general to be significant in itself, and yet may have a definite value in the final judgment.

To begin with the most general, Dunlap had, as no other writer we know of in that day, the knowledge of foreign plays,¹ of the English theatre, and of the New York company shown in the "Register."² He had lived in England for four years, from 1784

¹ Oral Sumner Coad, *William Dunlap, a Study of His Life and Works and of His Place in Contemporary Culture* (New York: The Dunlap Society, 1917), pp. 65-70, deals with Dunlap's translations from the French and German before the end of the eighteenth century.

² Of the writers of real ability then living in New York, only John Blair Linn, beside Dunlap, showed any particular interest in the theatre, and he

to 1788, supposedly studying art, but in reality devoting his time, money, and interest to a first-hand study of the stage.³ In his *History of the American Theatre*, where he introduces reluctantly a bit of autobiography, he says of himself at the time when he took over the management of the New York theatre, just at the close of the "Register's" brief career:

Of plays, and the merits of their performers, I had some knowledge, more than most men of my age. I had read all the dramatic authors of England, and seen their best works represented by the best English players.⁴

Later in the same work he remarks, "German plays were the rage in England."⁵ That he knew German is proved by the appearance in the *New-York Magazine* for January, 1795, of a signed translation of a poem by Gessner.⁶ We have Dunlap's own testimony that he was in constant attendance upon the New York theatre at this time,⁷ and that "tragedies and comedies occupied his mind, his time, and his pen."⁸

We know, too, that he was publishing in the *New-York Magazine* at the time when the "Register" was appearing. Oral Sumner Coad remarks of this period:

He was a prolific writer for the New York periodicals. The extent of his work in this direction cannot be ascertained because of the practice of anonymity already referred to. Yet some of his articles were signed, and to others he alluded in his Diary, so that I have been able to locate about nineteen contributions to magazines and newspapers. These represent various types of composition,—translation, philosophy, biography, criticism, and story.⁹

The first three articles on Coad's list appeared in the *New-York Magazine*, but the translation of 1795 noted above is the earliest

had had no foreign experience whatsoever. See the sketch of his life prefaced to his *Valerian*, Philadelphia, 1805. Furthermore, Dunlap knew Linn and in his *History of the American Theatre*, New York, 1832, commented on his interest in the theatre and on his dramatic writings, with no reference to any criticisms.

³ *American Theatre*, pp. 239-247.

⁴ P. 247.

⁵ P. 254.

⁶ *New-York Magazine*, VI, 67-69, "The Zephyrs, An Idyl. (Translated from the German of Gesner, by W. Dunlap)."

⁷ *American Theatre*, pp. 77 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, 272.

contribution recognized. The "Theatrical Register" is not mentioned.

These general facts—that Dunlap had the knowledge of the drama shown in the "Register," that he was publishing in the *New-York Magazine* at the same time, and that he frequently left his writings anonymous—show only that Dunlap *could have been* the author of the criticisms. No other New Yorker of the 1790's can present an equally strong claim to being even a possible author. For Dunlap, however, this is only the beginning of the case, and there are many specific reasons for connecting him with the "Register."

If Dunlap really wrote the "Register," the otherwise puzzlingly sudden cessation of the reviews is easily explained. The last number to appear, II of the New Series, closes with the promise, "We will take another opportunity to speak of the performance." This number was published in the magazine for March, 1796, which could not have come out until some time in April, since the March 30th performance is reviewed in it. On the first of May, Dunlap entered upon his career as manager of the New York company.¹⁰ He would hardly have cared to continue an active criticism of his own enterprise.

Much more important evidence is revealed by a close examination of the "Theatrical Register's" comments upon Dunlap's plays, and of Dunlap's references to the "Register" in his *History of the American Theatre*, which covers the period of the reviews. In each case, the writer varies noticeably from his customary procedure. One of the most marked characteristics of the "Register" is the strong element of personal opinion found in even the shortest reviews. Yet when Dunlap's plays are under discussion, the critic never gives one judgment of his own, no matter how much he writes. Two plays of Dunlap's, *Fontaineville Abbey* and *The Fatal Deception*, better known as *Leicester*, and an interlude entitled *Shelty's Travels*, were presented during the term of the "Register." The first draws the most detailed comment, more than two columns of fine print, beginning thus:

This tragedy is said to be an American production, although not announced as such on the bills. Can it be possible that the author thinks such an avowal would operate against it? On which ever side of the water

¹⁰ *American Theatre*, p. 148.

it has been written, it is new here, and it is our duty to give some account of it.¹¹

After this rather stiff introduction, a detailed discussion of the plot and its origin in Mrs. Radcliffe's novel follows, showing close familiarity with the play; and then the writer excuses himself from rendering judgment by saying, "This is as much as we dare say of a piece only from seeing it once represented"—a hesitation not shown in connection with other plays of which he evinces less knowledge. The remainder of the review is occupied with complimentary and appreciative comment on the performance of the actors, concluding:

Much praise is due to the Managers and Company in general, for their exertions in bringing forward this piece. The new scenery, by Mr. Ciceri, is everything that so small a stage will admit.¹²

This sounds suspiciously like thanks, considering the fact that the critic had no word of praise for the play itself.

Twice more that season *Fontaineville Abbey* comes before the reviewer, and still he refrains from any personal comment, remarking on the performance of the actors each time, and once observing that "the fourth act appeared to interest the audience, and called forth repeated applause."¹³

Similarly, when *The Fatal Deception* is played, the only opinion stated explicitly is that indicated by the reaction of the audience:

The public opinion appeared to be much in its favour on the first representation, and the piece has lost none of its claims to it since, by the many judicious alterations it has undergone.¹⁴

Of *Shelty's Travels* the "Register" remarks only that it "seemed to please the most noisy part of the audience very much."¹⁵

In each case where Dunlap's work has to be reviewed, we find the critic consistently withholding any personal opinion and substituting the reaction of the audience. This modesty is in no way inconsistent with Dunlap's own mention of his work. When he has occasion, in the *History of the American Theatre*, to mention his own plays, we find him similarly modest. Of *The Fatal De-*

¹¹ "Register" No. IV: vi, 67.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹³ "Register" No. IV: iv, 69; and No. V: vi, 130.

¹⁴ "Register" No. VI: vi, 194. ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

ception he says, "As a tragedy, it is justly doomed to oblivion";¹⁶ of *Fontaineville Abbey*, "It was published by Longworth some years after, and is forgotten";¹⁷ and of another, "The characters and incidents were not in sufficient number, and the piece is long since, though published under the title of Ribbemont, or the Feudal Baron, forgotten."¹⁸

The distinctly unusual treatment the "Register" accords Dunlap is paralleled by Dunlap's treatment of the "Register." He is customarily simple and explicit in his references to other figures in his *History*, but he speaks of himself in the third person and by no more specific name than "the author of *The Father of an Only Child*," until the matter of the managership comes up in 1796. Then he is referred to a few times as W. Dunlap, and usually as "the dramatist" or "the manager." On page 232 he finds himself obliged to give some personal account of himself, and then he drops into the first person reluctantly, and with a formal apology for using the "much-dreaded pronoun 'I'."

In quoting from the works of others, Dunlap customarily makes careful acknowledgments. Newspaper accounts are quoted merely as from such and such a paper, frequently with the date given. But in the first two hundred pages he quotes at least twenty-five times from others, giving their names, as contrasted with only three times when the authorship is not given. Of these three, once he extracts from merely "a letter,"¹⁹ and twice from his own diary, which he calls simply "a diary kept at the time,"²⁰ and "a manuscript diary of a citizen of New York."²¹

A portion of the history is devoted to critics of the late 1790's.²² One group, beginning its operations in 1796, the year that the "Register" closed, occupies three pages. The names of the individuals, their system of writing their reviews and signing them with initials, and a critical survey of their reviews, are given. With regard to the signing Dunlap remarks:

The letter D is frequently inserted, although no person whose name begins with that letter belonged to, or wrote for the club. The rogues intended to throw some of the credit on the writer of this work.²³

¹⁶ P. 114.

¹⁷ P. 137.

¹⁸ P. 155.

¹⁹ *American Theatre*, p. 213.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 168 ff.

²² *Ibid.*, Ch. XVI, pp. 193-97.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

So it seems that Dunlap was readily connected with dramatic criticism by the reading public of the day, although we have no record of his reviews. Later, the criticisms of Washington Irving are mentioned, and Dunlap announces his intention to quote largely from them.²⁴

But in recognizing the "Theatrical Register," a superior set of criticisms written at practically the same time, he again, as in handling the Diary, drops into the passive voice and gives no hint of authorship:

Before the opening, a series of numbers on the theatre were commenced in the New-York Magazine for November, 1794, called the Theatrical Register.²⁵

Yet in quoting from the "Register," as in quoting the Diary, Dunlap allows the quotation to speak for him. He takes considerable liberty in arranging his first extract, collecting four different sections out of the first two numbers of the "Register," and presenting the result as one continuous quotation.²⁶ In describing a favorite actress of the day, Madame Gardie, he uses another quotation from the "Register" instead of a comment of his own.²⁷ But the most interesting use of the reviews is a reference to the section quoted above²⁸ on the American authorship of *Fontaineville Abbey*:

The new tragedy was not announced as the production of an American, and we find in a publication of the day the following remark, "Can it be possible that the author thinks that such an avowal would operate against it?" There can be no doubt that he did think so, and no doubt but that such an avowal at that time would have been enough to condemn the piece.²⁹

Thus we find the "Theatrical Register" handling Dunlap's plays with gloves on, and Dunlap quoting from the "Register" in the same anonymous manner as from his Diary, letting both speak for him, whereas he carefully identifies other critics of the period, and comments on the quality of their reviews.

A comparison of the two works on the basis of underlying ideas and conceptions reveals a consistent similarity. I give below the introduction to the "Register" in one column, and beside it,

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

²⁵ *American Theatre*, p. 135.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

²⁸ See p. 000 above.

²⁹ *American Theatre*, p. 137.

parallel passages from the *History of the American Theatre*, written nearly thirty years later.

"Theatrical Register" No. I

Mankind, in all ages of the world, of which we have any knowledge, have not failed to divide their time between action and repose, and to intermix some kind of recreation with the sterner employments which necessity and duty demand. The genius of the nation, and the manners of the age have always given a peculiar coloring to the existing amusements; as these also have had no inconsiderable influence in varying the one and forming the other; and hereby philosophers have been better enabled to determine the actual character of a people than from all those laboured volumes which arrogate the name of history. In this view all amusements are of importance; but not in this view only. That circumstance which gives them this importance in the eyes of the philosopher, is that, of all others, which makes them most worthy the attention of the legislator and the moralist.

Of all those arts which have been considered as valuable chiefly as a source of entertainment, no one, among all polished nations, has obtained so great a share of public regard as that of the player. The Theatre, therefore, has, in every such nation, received a degree of attention sufficient to make it an object deserving the enquiries and study of every lover of mankind. From a thorough knowledge of its state and progress, in any country, will he be able, most accurately, to estimate and ascertain the state and progress of morals, art, government, literature and manners.

History of the American Theatre

Page 66:

There are no people on earth who have advanced the least step forward toward civilization, who have not their public amusements.

If we look back upon the history of nations, we shall find that their amusements mark the progress or degree of civilization they had attained at any one period.

Page 2:

It's [the histrionic art's] history, as a part of the history of any country, is positively necessary to the understanding of its literature and its manners. The rise, progress, and cultivation of the Drama mark the progress of refinement and the state of manners at any given period in any country.

To elucidate this let us cast a glance at the English Theatre. When the nation was emerging from darkness, under Elizabeth, Shakespeare burst forth like light from Chaos,—the Sun of the Dramatic System. Under the successors of that princess the nation and stage declined together: see it in the reign of the licentious Charles teeming with loathsome obscenity, and reflecting, as in a mirror, the immoralities of the court and of the city.

From this state it slowly recovered, and the works of the first wits of England are sullied by the remains of filth from the augéan stable of Charles.

[The progress of the English drama on to contemporary times is traced in the next paragraph.] . . .

From this statement it must appear, that although our stage has sprung from the English, and although the old English plays, properly selected and chastised, will ever afford a standing dish at our theatrical entertainments, yet we must not look for our novelties from that country.

Page 3:

It appears to us that a history of the American Theatre is a subject of importance as connected with the history of our literature and manners.

Pages 66-67:

In England the dawning of "learning's triumph o'er her barbarous foes" is marked by the rearing of the stage, and mighty bursting forth of those dramatic luminaries whose light has only been obscured by the greater splendours of Shakespeare.

Page 67:

The indecency and immorality of the plays of Charles the Second's time, and after, belonged to the state of society, and not to the stage or the writers for it, otherwise than as a part of society.

Page 67:

From this degraded state, the dramatic literature of England, which is ours, has been rising in purity, though declining in force."

Pages 85-86:

It may here be a fit subject of inquiring how far we ought to wish for a national drama, distinct from that of our English forefathers. The plays of Shakspeare, and Jonson, and Ford, and Marlowe, of Beaumont and Fletcher, of Wycherly,

³⁰ "Theatrical Register" No. III: vi, 2, says "It is a fact beyond dispute, that the dramatic writers of the present time in Great-Britain, want that happy talent for observation, which distinguished their more licensed predecessors."

and all the old poets of the drama are ours, as *much ours*, being the descendants of Englishmen, as if our fathers had never left the country in which they were written. . . . Old English literature, as well as that of remote antiquity, on which it is founded, is the basis on which we build, and is an integral part of our mental existence.

The genius

of the two nations differs more and more every day; we must look to ourselves for proper exhibitions to set before a free and well ordered people, and it is ardently to be wished that some of the genius and taste which our country possesses may be directed to this desirable end.

That the Theatre must always have great effects upon the manners and taste of a people we presume even its enemies will not deny; that it has been prostituted to the purposes of vice and immortality, cannot be denied by its friends—

Page 86:

The first efforts at dramatic literature in this country were wild. The essays of youth, not sufficiently instructed in anything, and deficient in literary education; and though received favourably by a people beginning to feel that they were called to a new state of existence, and wishing a literature identified with themselves, and distinct from that of Europe, both the dramatists and the people they addressed had not yet sufficiently matured their notions.

Page 2:

That there are evils and perversions, and abuses attendant upon theatrical exhibitions, as on all sublunary things, no one is more ready to admit than the writer, and it shall be his aim to point them out as it is his wish to remedy them; but he firmly believes that the theatre is in itself a powerful engine well adapted to the improvement of man, and that it only wants the directing hand of an enlightened society to make it the pure source of civilization and virtue.

Title Page Quotations:

"Where's that palace whereunto
sometimes
Foul things intrude not?"

Alas!

which of the arts have not? But we have the pleasing prospect of the stage in this country becoming more and more purified from the licentiousness of its European original: if it is not, in a short time, not only an elegant amusement, but an advantageous school for manners, taste and morals, it will be altogether chargeable to the inattention and conduct of our citizens.

Many of our men of respectability are in the habit of thinking the stage a matter of small consequence, a trifling amusement and beneath their notice: they, therefore, seldom visit the Theatre. Another class of citizens, judging from plays which they have read, and which were filled with obscenity and immorality, (as many of the plays in Bell's British Theatre are) condemn the Drama in the gross, and are never seen at a playhouse: thus is the Theatre deprived of many of those persons in whose power it would be to influence the Managers in their choice of pieces, and by their approbation or disapprobation, make this species of entertainment as pure as it is rational: for on this we may rely, no Managers will bring forward that which is displeasing to their audiences. These gentlemen may reply, "we find the stage trifling and licentious, therefore we stay from, to discountenance it." But recollect, fellow citizens, that our children will find their way thither; your children have already done so: recollect that, to the inexperienced mind of youth, Licentiousness dressed in the garb of Pleasure is an alluring object.—Go to the Theatre, ye fathers; go to the Theatre,

"The corruption of the Theatre is no disproof of its innate and primitive utility."

Pages 67-68:

If the theatre is abandoned to the uneducated, the idle, and the profligate, mercenary managers will please their visitors by such ribaldry or folly, or worse, as is attractive to such patrons, and productive of profit to themselves.

Page 70:

The manager . . . has but one object in view, and is as careless of the tendency of the plays he adopts for his stage as the player. Money is his object. Both say, "we must please the public."

Page 68:

Let those who seek rational

ye friends of virtue and good order; and support by your applause every chaste and moral production of the Muse; indulge in innocent mirth with the playful sallies of genuine wit; join in heart-refining sorrow with the plaintive Melpomene; encourage genius, taste and industry in the actor; do this, and we shall hear no more of the erroneous complaints and commonplace arguments, which are urged against the morality of the stage, and the propriety of frequenting theatrical exhibitions.

amusement and elevating pleasure, and know the value of such amusements in a political point of view upon the mass of the people . . . unite in supporting, and by their presence purifying and directing the theatre. [Dunlap goes on to suggest that the government take over the direction of the theatre.]

Here we find the same set of ideas concerning the drama, its history, its significance, and its future, with only such alterations as may be accounted for on the basis of the thirty years intervening between the two documents. The only real addition is the suggestion in the history that the government take a hand in the direction of the theatres, whereas the "Register" only urged people to attend and influence them, by their manifested approval or condemnation. Yet the germ of this idea is in the "Register," too, for at the close of the first paragraph in this quoted section,²¹ the theatre is pronounced "worthy the attention of the legislator and moralist." The general expression of ideas is not the same, although there are such structural and verbal resemblances at some points as might indicate that the "Register" was fresh in Dunlap's memory when he wrote those parts of the history. We know that he had the reviews before him at least part of the time of writing.

But it is hard to believe that William Dunlap took his ideas of the theatre from some other person who happened to be the author of the "Register"; and the law of averages alone makes it quite improbable that two individuals arrived independently at identical conclusions. It is hard to believe that Dunlap simply did not know the identity of a critic with such sympathetic conceptions, in a theatrical world as small as his; and harder to believe that Dunlap, knowing him, did not mention his name in quoting from his work. Granting an acquaintance between the two, we would assume some influence at the time of the writing of the

²¹ See page 419 above.

"Register" rather than at the writing of the history. But in addition to his customary care in acknowledging quoted material, Dunlap had great pride in his associates in those early New York days, and took occasion several times in the history to record their part in progress, whether or no that activity had any connection with the theatre.³² It is distinctly improbable that he would have failed to give one of his friends credit for so praiseworthy a work as the "Register," were credit so due. On the other hand, it is easy to believe that this earlier statement of the ideas was from Dunlap himself, and that he used it as he pleased in his later work, continuing his customary practice of omitting any mention of his own name or previous activities not necessary to his narrative.

These similarities in general philosophy of the theatre are by no means the only parallels to be found in the ideas of the two works. They agree on all plays that are mentioned in both, and they agree on the abilities of all the players who were members of that company. Not one critical judgment of the "Register" is reversed in the history. Again we must doubt that Dunlap took over the "Register's" opinions entire, and feel equally uncertain that the agreement is a mere coincidence.

Nor are the agreements limited to things dramatic. Dunlap was actively interested in the problem of negro slavery.

Coad tells us:

One of his first acts after his father's death was to free the family slaves, retaining some as hired servants. He was active in the Manumission Society, and this deed proved the sincerity of his pretensions. In 1793 he became a trustee of the free school for African children.³³

In the "Register" for February, 1795, we find almost a column of applause for Sir Richard Cumberland's attitude toward slavery, as shown in his opera, *Inkle and Yarico*, and a vehement attack upon the legislator of the day:

Hearken to him while he proclaims his love of justice and the rights of man—he wishes that every slave was set free:—then hear him conclude, that, the law having sanctioned slavery and the commerce in human blood, the sacred rights of property must not be violated, and the child unborn must follow the condition of the mother. But let me stop before indignation takes the place of philanthropy in my breast. . . .

³² *American Theatre*, pp. 143-44, and 156.

³³ *William Dunlap*, pp. 23-24.

Shall we apologize to the reader for leading him into a consideration of the unalienable rights of man, and his duties in society, when he expected only to be amused by trivial commendations, or disapprobations of plays or their performers? no: we are happy at all times to view those principles on which human happiness depends—and truth needs no apology.⁴⁴

Such similarities might be multiplied indefinitely, even down to the fondness for puns which appears in both the "Register" and Dunlap's history,⁴⁵ the constant characterization of the theatre as a *rational* amusement, and the use of the same quotation by each document, in somewhat similar applications.⁴⁶ None of these agreements is at all distinctive, and even taken all together, they have little value except as they indicate the thoroughness of the *possibility* that Dunlap did write the "Theatrical Register." No reason can be found for believing that he was not the author.

On the other hand, if we assume that Dunlap did not write the "Register," we are confronted with the presence of another writer who either miraculously shared all of Dunlap's opinions, or had a strong influence on them; a writer who had a similar style and very similar tastes; a writer whom Dunlap either did not know as he did everyone else connected with the theatre at that time, or whom, contrary to his unfailing custom, he did not care to credit for his work. Moreover, we should still leave unexplained the sudden and unforeseen end of the "Register," and the self-conscious, unaccustomedly reserved treatment which the "Register" gives all of Dunlap's plays that come before his notice. It seems to me that credulity is strained far less in believing that Dunlap was the author of the "Register."

Chicago, Illinois.

⁴⁴ "Register" No. I, New Series: I, 92-93.

⁴⁵ In the "Register" No. V: vi, 128, the critic says that jokes in *The Jew* "on an empty stomach and an empty kitchen" are "in our opinion, very *starved* kind of witticisms."

Dunlap records, in the *American Theatre*, p. 134, that two actors named Baker had left the company, and adds, "We hope the Bakers made bread elsewhere, but we hear no more of them."

⁴⁶ In the *American Theatre*, p. 96, Dunlap applies the quotation "Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice" to his attitude in a truthful narrative of the rather chequered career of Hodgkinson, the actor.

The "Register" No. III: vi, 1, uses a variation of the same, "nothing extenuate, nor aught set down in malice," of the intended policy of the criticisms.

NOTES ON THE KNOWLEDGE OF FRENCH IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AMERICA *

BY HOWARD MUMFORD JONES

While working at a book on the American reception of French culture, it became necessary for me to ascertain as well as I could to what extent the French language was understood by the Americans. The following notes dealing with the knowledge of French up to 1770 may be of value to other scholars, and are published here in advance of the book.

I—1620-1700

Aside from instruction by the Huguenots in French,¹ the evidence for assuming some mastery of French among the colonists of the seventeenth century rests upon the possession by them of French books. When books were scarce and costly, it is unlikely that a New England scholar or a Virginia gentleman would acquire a book in a language he could not read. Moreover, with reference to New England, it is to be noted that the center of Protestant theology was Calvinistic Geneva; and although much of the theological literature was in Latin, the fact that Calvin and his disciples wrote in French tended to make French the secondary modern foreign language among the Puritan divines. To give the actual titles of French books in these libraries would take too long,² but it is clear that the Puritan fathers often read in French. In the period from 1620 to 1670 Wright lists Miles Standish, John Harvard, Governor Thomas Dudley, John Winthrop, Jr., Thomas Grocer, Nathaniel Morton, and Anne Bradstreet as, either by the possession of French books, or by their correspondence or literary

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¹ At New Rochelle, Charleston, and other Huguenot centers, as well as by individual Huguenots in the colonial towns. The Huguenot libraries must also be reckoned with. Thus Pierre Daillé left all his French and Latin books to the French church in Boston (1715); Peter Faneuil bought French books abroad; James Rawlings, the "French Schoolmaster in Boston" had a library, etc.

² This point is discussed in some detail in chapter ten of my *America and French Culture*.

citations, exhibiting some knowledge of French.³ John Winthrop, Jr., on March 28, 1648/9, wrote a friend asking him to procure "Vigineere des Cyphres" (*Traité des chiffres* by Blaise de Vigenère) "wch you know is to be had in Paris," and indisputably the book must have been read in French,⁴ when, or if, it was procured. This same Winthrop, dying in 1676, left behind him a library of three hundred titles, including an unusual number of books in the modern languages;⁵ and as showing some interest in modern language instruction, it is to be noted that John Harvard's library included Minsheu's *Guide Into the Tongues*.⁶ The inventory of Thomas Dudley of Suffolk, who died in 1653, credits him with fifty books, among them eight French books, which he, or some one connected with him, could read.⁷ Thomas Grocer died in Boston in 1664 in the possession of "Six Sermons de la Reconciation de l'homme avec Dieu," a book printed by Gilbert Primrose at Sedan in 1624,⁸ and presumably took his knowledge of French with him to the grave. From facts like these it is at least a fair inference that French was not unknown in early New England.

In the thirty years from 1670 to 1700 the evidence for some knowledge of French in the same region increases. Samuel Sewall, Harvard, 1671, criticises the translation of the English Bible and compares it to a French translation; of John 10:16, for instance, he observes that the English "flock" is in French, *un seul troupeau*.⁹ Cotton Mather possessed enough knowledge of the language to write at least one tract in French; and in the *Magnalia* he quotes from Ronsard's commentary on Du Bartas (*Magnalia*, II, 28) and from Rabelais (*Magnalia*, II, 645). The same estimable divine has a number of references to other French works which, in the

³ Wright, *Literary Culture in Early New England*, pp. 25-71.

⁴ Wright, pp. 45-46.

⁵ Dexter, "Early Private Libraries in New England," *Publications of the American Antiquarian Society* (new series), XVIII, 139.

⁶ Dexter, *op. cit.*, p. 140. Upham, *French Influence on English Literature*, gives a list of English texts in the French language published between 1566 and 1656, taken from the *Stationer's Register* (pp. 9-11). Unfortunately I am not able to say how many of these early language books emigrated to New England.

⁷ Herrick, "The Early New-Englanders: What Did They Read?" *The Library*, IX, 4.

⁸ Ford, *The Boston Book Market, 1679-1700*, p. 74.

⁹ Wright, p. 105.

opinion of Wright, he could not have read in translation.¹⁰ The references to French literature in Increase Mather are, however, chiefly to Latin works.¹¹ William Bradford knew Dutch, French, Latin, and Greek.¹² In the Prince library there were a good many French books, including a "Royal Dictionary," English and French, published in London in 1699; F. Chéneau's French grammar, London, 1685; a "Compleat Frenchmaster"; and apparently another later edition of the same book (11th edition, London, 1733).¹³ A knowledge of French was sufficiently widespread in New England to permit the printing of a pamphlet in French by Samuel Green; the book was written by Ezechiel Carré, "cy deuant ministre de la Rochechalois en France, à present ministre de l'église française de Boston en La Nouvelle Angleterre," and is directed against the Jesuits.¹⁴ Apparently some influence was being felt from the Huguenots in Boston and New England generally: at any rate, "N. Walter" of Boston knew enough French to translate into English a sermon by this same Ezechiel Carré, *The Charitable Samaritan*, published by the said Green in 1689.¹⁵ With a French church in Boston, a French work being translated in a Boston print shop, and another translated by a Boston man, French, it is evident, takes on the character of a living language in New England. We must remember the little groups of Huguenots scattered over these colonies in the epoch.

In New York, meanwhile, a knowledge of French was steadily

¹⁰ Wright, pp. 111, 147, 242-254. Cotton Mather knew Hebrew, Latin, Greek, French, Spanish, and one Indian tongue, and composed or published works in most of these languages. Cf. Tyler, cited below, II, 78.

¹¹ Wright, pp. 237-42. Increase Mather read French, however; for instance, he possessed a copy of Paul Pellison's history of the French Academy; one of Lazare Rivière's *Practice of Physick*; and the *Philosophical Conferences of the Virtuosi of France*. Murdock, *Increase Mather*, pp. 125; 75-76; 175. Some of these may have been in English.

¹² Cf. Tyler, *History of American Literature (1607-1676)*, I, 118, note 1.

¹³ Winsor, *The Prince Library*. Prince died in 1758.

¹⁴ Item 504 in Evans, *Bibliography*: "Enchantillon. De la doctrine que les Jesuites enseignent aus sauvages du nouveaux monde, pour les convertir, tirée de leurs propres manuscrits trouvés ces jours passés en Albanie proche de Nieuyorke. Examinée par Ezechiel Carre (sic)," etc.

¹⁵ Item 464 in Evans. "The Charitable Samaritan. A Sermon on the Tenth Chapter of Luke, ver. 30-35, pronounced in the French church at Boston . . . Translated into English by N. Walter, Boston. Printed by Samuel Green, 1689." There is a copy in the New York Public Library.

spreading, due largely to the influence of the Huguenots. All the town proclamations were in French and Dutch by the year 1656,¹⁶ and the first schoolmaster, Dr. La Montagne, who came in 1637, was a Frenchman.¹⁷ By 1698 Governor Bellomont was writing to the Board of Trade that "I must acquaint your lordships that the French here are very factious and their numbers considerable. At the last election they ran in with the Jacobite party, and have been so insolent as to boast they had turned the scale and could balance the interests as they pleased"¹⁸ Insolence or not, French became a living tongue in New York: the public documents were in French, Dutch and English; and by 1688 one-quarter of the population were French.¹⁹ Shortly the French church became a fashionable place in which to learn correct accent, and to this educational agency one must add the schools at New Rochelle, where in 1690 there was no one who knew enough English to serve as justice of the peace, and whither English boys were sent to live and learn French.²⁰ That the quality of the instruction was good may be inferred from the social status of one of the teachers; his story is told by Smith. Daniel L'Estrange of Orleans, France, who matriculated as a student of philosophy in the Academy of Geneva in 1672 (the only place where a Huguenot could be educated), was afterwards an officer in the royal guard and subsequently in that of James II. Upon the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes he fled to America (his wife going a different route and the children yet another), settled in New Rochelle, and later in New York, where this polished officer taught French and the classic tongues to the Americans.²¹ With the increase in the number of French-speaking people in New York and its vicinity, it became possible and profitable to publish works in French: for instance, *Le Trésor des consolations divines et humaines ou traité dans le quel le Chrétien peut (peut?) apprendre à vaincre et à surmonter les afflictions et les*

¹⁶ Fosdick, *French Blood in America*, p. 216.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

¹⁸ Quoted in Fosdick, p. 224.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 224. In 1661 half the inhabitants of Harlem were French Huguenots.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 231-246. The settlement was begun in 1689, though some came earlier. John Jay, Washington Irving, and General Philip Schuyler are among those who learned French at New Rochelle where in the grammar school French was spoken generally.

²¹ Smith, *Colonial Days and Ways*, pp. 130-138.

*misères de cette vie. A New-York chez Guillaume Bradford, a^r enseigne de la Bible, 1696.*²²

Meanwhile we are neglecting the South. In Maryland the connections between the Catholics and Catholic France were close, and the scions of the wealthy were frequently sent to the Jesuit colleges in the Old World where they learned French.²³ In seventeenth century Virginia we can trace here and there a reading knowledge of French. Thus when John Kemp of Lower Norfolk county died in 1648 he left behind him "Mr. Calvin's Institutions," in what language does not appear. The inventory of Captain William Moseley, however, dated November 10, 1671, is more explicit: it includes "a pceell of Books Some french, duch, Latten & English." In York county, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Ludlow, dying, left in 1660 "one little chest wth some French bookes in it." Mathey Hubbard (Huberd), also of York county, who died seven years later, left behind him "Astrea, a french Romance q^{to}," which may have been English, and also a "french Accident q^{to}," which certainly points to an interest in French. In 1690 Colonel John Carter of Lancaster county left Howell's *French and English Dictionary* behind him, as well as two volumes of French "chirurgery" and a volume of "Spanish and French Dialogues."²⁴ And in this period was begun the collecting of the superb library of the Byrd family, shelf upon shelf of which was French.²⁵ Obviously some of the Virginia gentry read French.

Perhaps none of this knowledge is either widespread or profound. When Jasper Danckaerts, a Dutch scholar, visited Harvard in 1680 he could not speak English fluently, but he "understood Dutch or French well, which they (the students) did not."²⁶ When, however, one remembers that for every list of books which has come down to us, six or eight other lists have perished; when one

²² Item 775 in Evans. It is a work in 98 pages, printed for a Mr. Pintard in fulfillment of a vow, according to Hildeburne, *Printers and Printing in New York*, pp. 5-6.

²³ Hinsdale, *Foreign Influence upon Education in the United States*, I, 594.

²⁴ From the lists of inventories compiled by E. W. James, "Libraries in Colonial Virginia," *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, II, 175; III, 43-44, 181; VIII, 18.

²⁵ See the list in the appendix to Bassett, *The Writings of Colonel William Byrd of Westover, in Virginia, Esquire*.

²⁶ Wright, p. 101.

recalls that of all human accomplishments in the seventeenth century, a knowledge of French is not the likeliest to be recorded; when one argues from these scanty records back to the proportion of those for whom no records exist, it is safe to assert that a reading knowledge of French was not uncommon in America in the seventeenth century. Other languages there were—Dutch, Swedish, Spanish, Walloon; Latin was still the great learned tongue, and Greek and Hebrew were known to all theologians; but French was more likely to be generally known than any other foreign language, except perhaps Latin. It is something to build on, this seventeenth century knowledge of French.

II—1700-1750

The period from 1700 to 1750 is not distinguished by any great growth of an interest in the French language. The era is marked, it is true, by the adoption of French into the curriculum of Harvard and of certain smaller colleges; there are French dancing masters, who frequently taught French as well; and there are the usual indications of the possession of French books by the colonists. But at Harvard the teacher of French was dismissed;²⁷ and the best that can be said of the period from our point of view is that the knowledge of French did not, in all probability, decline. On the other hand it did not increase with the growth of the colonies, perhaps because so much of the time was devoted to warring against the French.²⁸ Foreign languages do not grow in popularity during war, especially when they are spoken by an enemy bitterly hated and feared.

The formal teaching of French in America begins with the Catholic missionaries, who, as early as 1608, if Handschin is to be believed, were instructing the Maine Indians in the Gallic tongue.²⁹ No results flowed from this casual instruction of course; however, it may be noted that in the future Northwest Territory and in the vast regions of Louisiana, Sulpitian and Jesuit priests were here and there engaged from 1700 to 1750 in the more or less formal

²⁷ See Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, I, 574-6. This was in 1735.

²⁸ 1701-1713, Queen Anne's War; 1745-1748, King George's War; 1754-1763, French and Indian War.

²⁹ Handschin, *The Teaching of Modern Languages in the United States*, p. 9; Dexter, *History of Education in the United States*, chap. VIII.

teaching of French in the wilderness. Formal French instruction in New Orleans was offered to girls in 1727, with the coming of the Ursuline nuns.³⁰ In Alabama, where the French held sway after 1702, conditions were much the same as in Louisiana proper—that is to say, there were occasional private teachers and schools. It is needless to remark that French was the language of daily life, both in Mobile and New Orleans, as in the Louisiana territory generally.³¹ And if we turn to the British colonies, although the general statement may be hazarded that “French was taught early in private schools in the colonies,”³² but few references appear for the first half of the century, barring what we know of centers like New Rochelle and Charleston. These were the years when Franklin was learning French, Italian, and Spanish in Philadelphia.³³

In New England, however, we note that French books are still being bought and presumably read. Samuel Sewell ordered from England in 1705 Crompton's *L'Autorité et Jurisdiction des Cours* and Horn's *Miroir des Justices*; and six years later, all of Calvin's commentaries. An advertisement in the *Boston News-Letter* for February 6, 1715/16 announces the sale of books in Latin, English, and French at the Crown Coffee-House in Boston; Wright quotes it in his volume. Among the seven hundred volumes sent to Yale from England there were certainly some French books, just as John Harvard's library contained a number of similar books.³⁴ The Mather books, as descending to Samuel Mather in

³⁰ Handschin, p. 10; Fortier, *History of Louisiana*, I, 105. Handschin estimates 400 children in French schools in Louisiana up to 1788 as a normal number.

³¹ John B. Trudeau, the only schoolmaster in St. Louis under the Spanish rule, continued to teach his little French school until 1825 or so. Fortier, II, 315.

³² Handschin, p. 13.

³³ Morse, *Benjamin Franklin*, p. 35.

³⁴ Wright, pp. 174-5, 177 and note, 179, 265-272. Other booksellers advertisements may include French books. Thus on May 14, 1716, “a Valuable Collection of Books & Pamphlets . . . in several Languages” is to be sold. (*Boston News-Letter*, no. 630.) August 27, 1716, “A Collection of Choice Books, Ancient and Modern, in several Languages” is offered. *Ibid.*, no. 647. June 9, 1718, “a Collection of very valuable Books in most Languages” is to be sold. *Ibid.*, no. 738. January 15, 1729, “a Collection of very valuable BOOKS, English, French, Latin, &c.” is offered. *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, no. 107. Similar advertisements appear on November 5, 1730, July 8, 1731, December 16, 1731, etc.

1745, include volumes in French,³⁵ and there is in the Harvard Divinity School a French Bible given the French church in Boston by Queen Anne. Huguenots like Peter Faneuil were accustomed to import books in French,³⁶ and all in all there was enough interest in the language to call for some manuals of instruction—for instance, Blair's *Some Short and Easy Rules Teaching the True Pronunciation of French*, published in Boston in 1720.³⁷ One finds also that the printing of books in French at Boston is not uncommon.³⁸ Such straws indicate that if French was not spreading, it was at least not retrograding. Even the servants occasionally know French.³⁹ And there are a succession of advertisements of French tutors.⁴⁰

In New York likewise William Bradford possessed types and secured printers who would set French books.⁴¹ In Philadelphia there was enough interest in French to call for advertisements of French school books in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*,⁴² Rabelais was

³⁵ Tuttle, "Libraries of the Mathers," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, xx, 301-310.

³⁶ Weeden, *Economic and Social Life of New England*, II, 628. Peter Faneuil imported a book of Common Prayer "in French for my own use" about 1739. Apparently this was to replace one stolen and advertised for in the *Boston Weekly News-Letter* of September 23, 1731.

³⁷ Item 2096 in Evans.

³⁸ Item 1493 in Evans: *A. B. C. des Chrétiens*. Boston. Printed by B. Green (?), 1711; Item 1498: John Hill, *De par Son Excellence M. Jean Hill, Général & Commandant en chef les troupes de sa Majesté Britannique en Amérique*. A Boston: chez B. Green, 1711. (Broadside folio); and two translations of Cotton Mather's sermons, *Le Vrai Patron des Saines Paroles* (Boston, 1704) and *Voix du Ciel à la France*. (Boston, 1724). One notes the propaganda character of these printings.

³⁹ "A short thick Indian girl, named Grace, age about 17 years" who "speaks English, Dutch and French" is advertised after by "Master Nicholas Jamain of New York Merchant" in the *Boston News-Letter*, no. 148, February 17, 1706.

⁴⁰ French tutors began to advertise by 1719. See the *Boston News-Letter* for November 2, 1719; February 2, 1727; March 12, 1730, etc. One man offers "Writing, Cyphering, Latin, French, Geography" and Latin and French conversation.

⁴¹ He printed in 1696 *Le Trésor des consolations divines et humaines*, as we have seen.

⁴² Evans, item 3249, notes "A French School Book" advertised as being for sale in that periodical April 16, 1730. The book is to be printed by Franklin and Meredith and is by Thomas Ball.

being advertised for sale in 1738-9, and Voltaire was included in Franklin's first library catalogs;⁴³ and in the various catalogs of imported books in Evans' *Bibliography* for this epoch, we should find upon consultation a number in the French language.

In the South, meanwhile, there are traces of a knowledge of French. When Richard Hickman of Williamsburg died, for example, he left behind him a "Law french dictionary," "Hurdes french Dictionary, French Litturgy, and Boyers French Dictionary," not to speak of a copy of *Télémaque*. Ralph Wormeley of Middlesex county owned "a french & English Dixionary," a "french gramer," an "easy Compendium french gramer," "a Dialogue of french English & Latin," and "a sure guide to the french tongue," not to speak of numerous pieces of French literature. Richard Lee of Westmoreland county (died 1715) had a "french Dictionary," "Mangers french Grammar," a "french schoolmaster," and the "Gold mine of the french tongue," besides numerous French works. Dr. David Black of Prince George county died possessed of a French dictionary and other works.⁴⁴ Obviously a good many Virginians read French. Doubtless there were tutors of French unknown to history; in his *Reminiscences*, for instance, Wheeler quotes the will of a North Carolinian, dated 1735, which provides for the education of the testator's children in French among other things; "perhaps," the document suggests, "some Frenchman on the Pee Dee might be engaged."⁴⁵ Certain it is that Charleston was a center for the acquirement of the French tongue, where French books were printed by Louis Timothée,⁴⁶ and where Timothée's *Gazette* carried advertisements of "the most modern books in English and French."⁴⁷ French verse was also appearing in the *Gazette* in

⁴³ Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-6; 113.

⁴⁴ James, "Libraries in Colonial Virginia," *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, III, 250-251; II, 171-174; 248-250; XI, 23, 26; VIII, 149.

⁴⁵ Weeks, *Libraries and Literature in North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 176.

⁴⁶ Louis Timothée (Timothy), the son of a Huguenot refugee, was employed by Franklin and by the Philadelphia Library Company; he removed to Charleston in 1733; published his first permanent newspaper in 1734, and founded a family of printers. For books printed by him, consult Evans.

⁴⁷ Edward Wigg is importing French books in 1732; Whitmarsh in

the forties. It is safe to say that in any of the larger cultural centers of America no French document need have gone untranslated from 1700 to 1750 if there was need to put it into English.

III—1750-1770

What progress, if any, was made in the acquiring of French in America in the years 1750 to 1770? We may say, first of all, that there is no reason to suppose any lower percentage among the Americans could read or understand French than in the previous years; and we may add, in the second place, that the period is marked by an increase in the amount of formal instruction in the French language.

Thus, following the débâcle of Langloiserie at Harvard, Mr. Curtis, on avowing himself to be a protestant, was permitted to teach French in 1769. At the future University of Pennsylvania in 1754 Professor William Creamer became the first faculty member to teach French and German, continuing until 1775; Professor Creamer's position originated from Franklin's idea of teaching French at the Academy of Philadelphia (founded in 1749) as an extra-mural or private study. In the same university Paul Fooks commenced to teach French and Spanish in 1766.⁴⁸ Paul Fooks, by the by, did legal work in three languages.⁴⁹ In the same city Elizabeth Murphy offered instruction in French from seven to nine in the morning so that children might go to school—a fact in itself significant as to the spread of French.⁵⁰ Meanwhile the *petits maitres* were regularly offering to teach French as well as dancing and fencing. In 1750 Franklin drew up a scheme for the university in which French had a prominent part.⁵¹ At Princeton President Witherspoon introduced French into the curriculum in 1768.⁵² At Yale in 1770 Louis Delille of the Univer-

1732-3; Crockatt and Seaman on September 18, 1736, have just imported a "curious collection" of English and French books. Cook, *op. cit.*, 249-256.

⁴⁸ See the convenient table in Handschin; and for the particular facts, see him, p. 13.

⁴⁹ Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, II, 887. They give the date when Fooks began as 1768.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Faÿ, p. 26, citing *Franklin's Writings*, III, 24-28; IV, 419-423.

⁵² Hageman, *Princeton and Its Institutions*, II, 260-2. He gave 300 volumes to the library, some of them French. Maclean, *History of the College of New Jersey*, I, 338.

sity of Bordeaux gave lessons in French and history; later he went to Harvard.⁵³ At New Rochelle, as of yore, French was regularly taught; for example, Gouverneur Morris learned there "to speak and write this language almost as well as he could write English."⁵⁴ Robert Livingston "spoke and wrote the English, French, and Dutch languages with fluency and clearness" apparently as the result of similar instruction.⁵⁵ In Maryland rich planters were learning French abroad.⁵⁶ In Virginia in 1752, at the age of nine, Thomas Jefferson was placed under the care of the Rev. William Douglas, a Scot, who taught him the beginnings of Latin, Greek, French, and mathematics; at fourteen the future president went to a school kept by the Rev. James Maury, a Huguenot, and when he left William and Mary it was with "a sound knowledge of French, Greek, Latin, and the higher mathematics, good health, and an open inquisitive mind."⁵⁷ The school founded by this same Maury or Marye, by the way, grew into the Fredericksburg Classical and Mathematical Academy, the principal educational institution of northern Virginia in its day, and Washington attended Maury's school.⁵⁸ Even in backward Southern colonies like Georgia and North Carolina there was an increasing number of French books, and presumably of people to read them.⁵⁹

⁵³ *Diary of Ezra Stiles*, I, 338.

⁵⁴ Roosevelt, *Gouverneur Morris*, p. 3.

⁵⁵ Smith, *Colonial Days & Ways*, p. 193.

⁵⁶ See letters from Charles Carroll to Charles Carroll of Carrollton advising the latter to study French (1754-59), French manners, and good society abroad. *Unpublished Letters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, pp. 20-35.

⁵⁷ Forman, *Life and Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, pp. 3-4, 5. On Jefferson as a translator of French cf. Chinard, *Jefferson et les idéologues* and *Volney et l'Amérique*. As a youth Jefferson read Greek, Latin, and English classics, and "to some extent also in French and Italian." Morse, *Thomas Jefferson*, p. 6.

⁵⁸ M. D. Conway, *Autobiography*, I, 35.

⁵⁹ "This province (Georgia) was scarcely settled thirty years before it had three fine libraries in the city of Savannah, the fourth at Ebenezer, and a fifth 96¾ miles from the sea, upon the stream of Savannah. In these libraries could be had books written in the Chaldaic, Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Coptic, Malabar, Greek, Latin, French, German, Dutch, and Spanish, besides the English: viz., in thirteen languages." From a MS. in Harvard Library, quoted in *Report on Public Libraries. House Miscellaneous Documents No. 50, 31st Congress, 1st Session*, p. 168. For North Carolina turn to the lists of books in colonial libraries in Weeks, *op. cit.*

While the formal instruction in French was thus increasing in these twenty years, the importation of French books was likewise increasing. The more books, the greater the desire to read them; and the greater the knowledge of French, the greater the demand for French books. When now it is remembered that these two decades were years of growing uneasiness regarding the political situation, and that after Hobbes and Locke the sceptre of eminence in political speculation had passed to Montesquieu, some reason for the growing prestige of the French language appears. In the next place, following 1750, there was an increase in the number of French *petits maîtres*, particularly in such intellectual capitals as Philadelphia and Charleston, and in addition to its intellectual prestige, a social prestige came to attach itself to French. French is no longer the language of the theological student, of the diplomat, of the merchant, alone, it is also the language of the salon, of the novel, of the memoir-writer. We may rightfully attribute to these early years the beginning of the social prestige which French as a language has since possessed in America. Thereafter the history of the study of French becomes entangled in a new, and complicated, set of political and social forces; namely, those released by the two Revolutionary movements, American and French—a problem in history so involved as to require separate treatment. Not until after the War of 1812 was there a return to quiescence. If the American Revolution favored the spread of French instruction, the American reaction to the French Revolution at first favored, and then bitterly fought, that instruction, and for a while it seemed that all of the ground painfully gained by 1770 had been lost. But the social and intellectual prestige of French, established by the theological scholar, the cosmopolitan gentleman, and the merchant prince in the eighteenth century was not easily shaken; and the nineteenth century bourgeoisie accepted French along with the use of the globes as one of the polite vacuities of a truly cultured education in the days of Mrs. Mowatt and Nathaniel Parker Willis.

University of North Carolina.

EMERSON AND CARLYLE

BY FRANK T. THOMPSON

There is a tendency at present to give to Carlyle the credit for Emerson's acceptance of Transcendental philosophy and to ignore the contribution of Coleridge. In a previous article I pointed out that we must establish a distinction between the nature of the influence of Carlyle and of the influence of Coleridge upon Emerson.¹ We need, also, to determine more clearly than we usually do the net result of Carlyle's influence upon Emerson. For the sake of convenience, I shall divide the years that intervene between Emerson's first reading of *Wilhelm Meister* and the last letter to Carlyle into four periods: 1830-33; 1834-36; 1837-49; 1850-73. This paper deals in the main with the first two periods, since they cover the years that appear to be most vital. In particular, however, I wish to stress the years 1830-33, in which Emerson turned to Coleridge, Carlyle and Wordsworth for guidance.

Though Emerson read Madame de Staël's *Allemagne* as early as 1826, and though Dr. Hedge suggested in 1828 that Emerson would do well to learn German, the *Journals* do not show that he became acquainted with Carlyle's work until 1830. In that year we find this bald statement: "Goethe, *Wilhelm Meister* (Carlyle's translation.)"² In the two years following, except for copious references to *Wilhelm Meister*, the journal account would not lead us to think that Emerson paid much attention to Carlyle until the fall of 1832. It is true that the editor of the *Journals* says that Emerson was becoming acquainted with "Carlyle and others in *Fraser's Magazine*, the *Foreign Review*, and other sources,"³ but it was Goethe and not Carlyle, except as *Wilhelm Meister* is an expression of Carlyle's own life, that claimed Emerson's absorbing interest. This interest in Goethe was a constant force in Emerson's life until the end. He was beginning to translate from

¹ "Emerson's Indebtedness to Coleridge," *Studies in Philosophy*, **XXIII**, 1, January, 1926. A fuller study may be found in my doctrinal dissertation entitled *Emerson's Debt to Coleridge, Carlyle, and Wordsworth*, University of North Carolina, 1925.

² *Journals*, Vol. 2, pp. 329-30.

³ *Loc. cit.*

Goethe's letters in February of 1836, and in 1840 he tells Carlyle that he has read nearly all of Goethe in the original.⁴

The next clear reference to Carlyle is in October, 1832. The reference is to "Corn-Law Rhymes," in which Carlyle expressed his determination to give up all effort to write verse and to devote himself to the development of a style best suited to express the inner man. It is this determination of Carlyle to stand on his own footing that caught Emerson's attention, even though he did not know at the time who was the author of the article.⁵ I would suggest that until Emerson read the "Corn-Law Rhymes" Carlyle was really a stranger to him. That it was the "Corn-Law Rhymes" rather than "Signs of the Times," published in 1829, which first marks a distinct recognition of Carlyle by Emerson is significant. In "Signs of the Times" Carlyle reflected the spirit of his work in German Romance. In "Corn-Law Rhymes" Emerson caught the spirit of the man he met the following year; for Carlyle had completed his work with the Germans and was seeking a publisher for *Sartor Resartus* when he sent the "Rhymes" to the *Edinburgh*. There was one other article of the same nature, "Characteristics," but Emerson does not give any reference to it until after his return from Europe in 1833. The importance of knowing the Carlyle of 1832-33 will be more apparent when we deal with Emerson's visit.

As the days passed by, Emerson more and more turned his attention to Carlyle. "If Carlyle knew," he exclaims on the nineteenth of October, 1832, "what an interest I have in his persistent goodness, would it not be worth one effort more, one prayer, one meditation? But will he resist the deluge of bad example in England? One manifestation of goodness in a noble soul brings him in debt to all the beholders that he shall not betray their love and trust which he has awakened."⁶ From this point Goethe begins to sink into the background, and Carlyle, rather than his book, *Wil-*

⁴ In *Emerson and Goethe*, Ann Arbor, 1915, Frederick B. Wahr has analyzed carefully Emerson's debt to Goethe.

⁵ *Journals*, Vol. 2, p. 515. "I am cheered and instructed by this paper on Corn Law Rhymes in the *Edinburgh* by my Germanick new-light writer, whoever he be. He gives us confidence in our principles. He assures the truth-lover everywhere of sympathy. Blessed art that makes books, and so joins me to that stranger by this perfect railroad."

⁶ *Journals*, Vol. 2, p. 524.

helm Meister, becomes dominant. The reference placed after this quotation indicates this point more clearly: "(Mem.) *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol. III, March, 1831, Carlyle's notice of Schiller."

That Emerson was reading the article that appeared on Schiller's life in March, 1831, eighteen months after its publication seems to substantiate my claim that he read little or nothing of Carlyle's except *Wilhelm Meister* during 1831 and the first eight months of 1832. Furthermore, we shall find that Emerson had not at that time read the 1824 edition of the *Life of Schiller*. In the March, 1831, account of Schiller, Carlyle quoted freely from Schiller's play *Die Räuber*, and supplemented his quotations by quoting extensively from a criticism of the play given in his earlier work. The footnote gave "*Life of Schiller, Part I.*"¹ Emerson looked up this reference, as is shown by the following:

Carlyle says it was complained of Schiller's *Robbers* that the moral was bad, or it had none, and he saith, 'but Schiller's vindication rests on higher grounds than these. His work has on the whole furnished nourishment to the more exalted powers of our nature; the sentiments and images which he has shaped and uttered, tend, in spite of their alloy, to elevate the soul to a nobler pitch; and this is a sufficient defence,'²

Had Emerson given no other indication of his reaction to Carlyle and Carlyle's interpretation of the life of Schiller, we would have sufficient proof of his esteem for Carlyle. We would also have sufficient material for tracing an indebtedness on Emerson's part to Carlyle distinct from the indebtedness to *Wilhelm Meister*. But this interpretation of Schiller's life by Carlyle drew from Emerson a comment which is the key to his life and thought during the trying years 1831 and 1832. It is upon what follows that I base my conclusion that this early period of Carlyle's influence upon Emerson is of prime importance and that in its immediate results outweighs everything else that Emerson gained from him.

I propose to myself to read Schiller, of whom I hear much. What shall I read? His *Robbers*? Oh, no, for that was the crude fruit of his immature mind. He thought little of it himself. What then: his *aesthetics*? Oh, no; that is only his struggle with Kantian metaphysics. His *poetry*? And so with all his productions; they were the fermentations by which his mind was working itself clear, they were the experiments by which he got his skill, and the fruit, the bright pure gold of all was—Schiller himself.³

¹ *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, p. 81.

² *Journals*, Vol. 2, p. 525; *Life of Schiller*, p. 23.

³ *Journals*, Vol. 2, p. 525.

From this passage we gather that Emerson had at least glanced through the *Life of Schiller*, and we may surmise that he soon read the book carefully. We may also infer that Emerson would never have found in Carlyle's interpretations of Kant the stimulus for his ten years' devotion to the leading Kantian distinctions. It is significant, too, that Carlyle did not induce Emerson to take up Schiller's work. Goethe seems to be the only German that Emerson came to know directly. But in the "Life" of Schiller Carlyle gave to Emerson a tonic that was sorely needed.

The situation in which Emerson found himself in September, 1832, when he first began his serious consideration of Carlyle's power as a writer, was similar to the situation that had confronted Schiller. That Carlyle was able to present the matter with so much appeal was primarily owing to the fact that he was interpreting his own life. All three men were dedicated to the ministry in childhood, though only Emerson ever entered it. Like Carlyle, Emerson began his career as a school teacher; and from school teaching both men returned to college to study Divinity. Here the parallelism ends. Emerson entered the ministry, whereas Carlyle turned to law. On the other hand, Schiller gave up his hopes for the ministry to study law. After two years at law, he began a course in medicine which he finished. The parallelism between the early lives of these men is not absolute; Emerson began with teaching and ended in the ministry; Carlyle tried teaching, then Divinity, and finally became a lawyer; Schiller first studied law, and then finished a course in medicine. But there is a close parallelism in the subsequent lives of all three men. Carlyle gave up law, Schiller never practised medicine, Emerson left the ministry after a severe inner struggle; and all three entered upon a literary career.

In the *Life of Schiller*, Carlyle gave a searching analysis of the possibilities of a career as a man of letters. To Emerson when he first read this book the question was of vital importance. He had just given up the ministry and knew not what to do. With Schiller's life as an example, Carlyle held out no "fool's paradise" either for himself or for Emerson. He saw clearly that such a career was one of loneliness, privation, and misunderstanding. There was no certainty of success; and even if success came there was no surety of reward. Still both Carlyle and Emerson, as Schiller had done, entered the field of letters, and both achieved success.

We cannot determine from the *Journals* to what extent Emerson continued to go back to Carlyle for inspiration and sympathy during the remaining months of 1832. We do know, however, that he was reading at the Athenaeum. Since he had no routine duties to perform, we may surmise that he made a daily pilgrimage to the library. After one such occasion, somewhere between the thirteenth and twenty-fourth of November, he met a young friend "Who, I understand, cuts his own clothes, and who little imagines that he points a paragraph for Thomas Carlyle."¹⁰ Not finding a source for the passage, the editor gave "[Sartor Resartus]." But *Sartor Resartus* was not published until the fall of 1833. Furthermore, the preliminary sketch for *Sartor* which Carlyle wrote in 1830 and entitled "Clothes" was never published, although it was sent to Fraser for publication. A similar reference to the clothes philosophy by Emerson while en route for Europe is indicative that he was reading Carlyle with the closest attention. A search for the original source of these passages has led to an interesting and profitable study.

If there is any reference to the clothes philosophy in Carlyle's work, except in *Sartor Resartus*, we should naturally expect to find it in his magazine articles during the two years that intervene between the completion of "Clothes" in 1830 and of *Sartor* in 1832. So far as I can determine, such a philosophy is not definitely mentioned except in "Jean Paul Friedrich Richter," published in the *Foreign Review*, No. 9, in 1830. Even "Characteristics," said to be more nearly like *Sartor* than anything else Carlyle wrote, does not refer to it. The long discussion given to Jean Paul's seven year "Costume controversy," in which we find that "he had shirts à la Hamlet; wore his breast open, without neckcloth," naturally leads us to think that it was this essay which Emerson read. The essential quality of the clothes philosophy comes out in such a passage as follows:

It was here that he learned to distinguish what is perennial and imperishable in man from what is transient and earthly; and to prize the latter, were it king's crown and conqueror's triumphal chariots, but as the wrappage of the jewel; we might say, but as the finer or coarser Paper on which the Heroic Poem of Life is to be written.¹¹

¹⁰ *Journals*, Vol. 2, p. 530.

¹¹ *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, p. 24.

But possibly a closer analogy to *Sartor Resartus* is to be seen in the three pages devoted to an account of the "three little volumes of that Wahrheit aus Jean Pauls Leben."¹² If Emerson read this essay, as it seems evident he did, we can understand why he remarked upon reading *Sartor Resartus* in 1834 that he had read it all before.

In *Carlyle, and the Open Secret of His Life* Larkin states that in Carlyle's conception of Teufelsdröckh, "Clearly Richter and Goethe, more than any other, were continually in his mind."¹³ Though Larkin points out in his analysis of *Sartor Resartus* similarities between Carlyle's philosophy and that of Goethe and Richter, he does not seem to make as clear a case for Richter as he might have made. Rather he lists the typical work of Carlyle during the years 1827-31 and draws this conclusion: "The net result of the teachings of Novalis, Richter, Goethe, Schiller, Fichte, Kant, and others—what is it but a Philosophy of Clothes?"¹⁴

We have seen that prior to his trip to Europe Emerson was already familiar with the men Larkin specifically mentions. We may infer, too, that Emerson had read all the essays that he lists, as well as the longer *Life of Schiller* and *Wilhelm Meister*. Doubtless Emerson saw the implied Transcendentalism in these essays. Certainly he was aware of it in Schiller and Jean Paul Richter. But, though he later read and re-read *Sartor Resartus*, he did not care for Carlyle's method of presenting the philosophy that formed the background of the German Romantic movement. Rather, he went back to Coleridge's clearer distinctions between the Understanding and the Reason, between the Productive and non-Productive Imagination, and between Genius and Talent. We must conclude that, when he was in the most receptive mood to accept Carlyle's teachings, he was interested not in Transcendentalism so much as he was in Carlyle's presentation of the inner workings of these men's minds: "The bright pure gold of all was—Schiller himself."

I have stressed the distinction between Emerson's debt to Carlyle and to Coleridge because I think we may discern a clear parallelism between Emerson's own development and that of the Renaissance of the German spirit in the second half of the eighteenth century. In each there was a reaching back to the Renais-

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8.¹³ Page 16.¹⁴ Page 15.

sance in England, as well as to the philosophy of Locke, Berkeley, and Hume and the reflection of the pseudo-classicism of France in the work of Dryden, Pope, and their followers. Next came the period of Storm and Stress. Then came the ten years of Kant's philosophy, which paved the way for Fichte, Schelling, and the Romanticists. As I have previously shown, Coleridge helped to span the gap between Emerson's Platonism and his Transcendental philosophy.¹⁵ To Carlyle we must give credit for bringing to Emerson the full force of the Sturm and Drang period of Germany.

Though *Wilhelm Meister*, Part I, heralded the German Romantic movement in 1795, still its essential spirit is that of the period of Storm and Stress. Goethe's emphasis upon the kindred themes of indecision and insanity found ripe soil in Emerson, for the sudden breakdown of his brother Edward in 1828 gave Ralph Waldo fears for his own sanity. The death of his wife, Ellen, in 1831 added to Emerson's gloom; but in this calamity, for it was no less, Emerson seems not to have had recourse to Carlyle. Even in his doubts about the ministry, which became of serious moment in January of 1832 and did not end until he handed in his resignation in September of the same year, Emerson does not seem to have relied upon the guiding hand of Carlyle. He fought out his battle alone in the White Mountains, much as he had struggled with his grief in the previous year in the Green Mountains and at Lake Champlain. The decision to give up the ministry having been made, however, Emerson did turn to Carlyle much as he would have turned to a friend. He felt that no one could understand his distress. But in the fierce struggle undergone by the men of the Storm and Stress to find light upon the dark waters of human existence, he saw clearly a picture of his own condition. No wonder he expected much from a visit to Carlyle. And had he not set sail for Europe in mid-winter, he would have gone straight to Carlyle.

What Emerson would have gained from a visit to Carlyle in January of 1833 is problematical. Possibly they were both in much the same mood. Carlyle saw no prospects worth while in his work in German literature; he could not even get a publisher for *Sartor Resartus*, which he had just completed. Emerson felt that his career up to that point had been a grievous mistake. It

¹⁵ "Emerson's Indebtedness to Coleridge," *Studies in Philology*, xxiii, 1, January, 1926, pp. 60-75.

was well for them, and especially for Emerson, when they did meet in August that they had practically worked clear of the past. Fraser had agreed to publish *Sartor*; John Carlyle had only a short time before returned from Italy with splendid prospects ahead of him; Carlyle had begun his work on the French Revolution, and was planning to go to London, where he would have the use of the necessary material. Emerson, on his part, had spent the winter and spring in Italy; had toured through the Alps; had visited the Jardin des Plantes; had met Coleridge in London; and had "romanced" through the Highlands. These two men might differ about Plato and Bacon, but each was prepared to give to the other his very best.

In *English Traits* Emerson has given us a fairly complete account of his visit of one day to Carlyle; but we get a more pleasing and more vital story of what took place from their correspondence and from Emerson's journal after he had time to think over his European trip. While waiting for his boat at Liverpool, he summed it all up in terms of what he had gained from Landor, Coleridge, Carlyle and Wordsworth. This was the order in which he had met these men; yet we may be sure, since Carlyle was more nearly his own age, that the Scotsman had made the greatest impression upon Emerson. "The comfort of meeting men of genius such as these," says Emerson, "is that they talk sincerely, they feel themselves to be so rich that they are above the meanness of pretending to knowledge which they have not, and they frankly tell you what puzzles them. But Carlyle—Carlyle is so amiable that I love him."¹⁶

On the following day, still having to wait for his steamer, Emerson longed for Carlyle: "Ah me! Mr. Thomas Carlyle, I would give a gold pound for your wise company this gloomy eve."¹⁷ Remembering their happy hours of bright and sweeping conversation, Emerson continues, "Ah, we would speed the hour. Ah, I would rise above myself." Though Carlyle could draw Emerson out, still there was more than one subject upon which they disagreed. Possibly Emerson wished for another opportunity to persuade Carlyle of the majesty and intrinsic worth of Plato's ideas. Possibly he thought he might convince him that Democracy was no idle word in America. Possibly he wanted to discourse more

¹⁶ *Journals*, Vol. 3, pp. 185-88.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 189-90.

freely on the subject that still lay nearest his heart. In any event, while on his way home he reiterates the clash he had encountered on things religious. "Carlyle almost grudges the poor peasant his Calvinism," begins Emerson. "And Unitarians, he thought, were a tame liminary people, who were satisfied with their sciolistic system, and never made great attainments—incapable of depth of sentiment."¹⁸ But Emerson was not able to present his arguments, and when he next met Carlyle, 1847-48, Unitarianism as a vital issue was dead.

The autumn and winter following the European tour were spent by Emerson, to a great extent, in mastering Coleridge's interpretation of Kant's philosophy. During the same period Emerson was reading *Sartor Resartus*, which was appearing monthly in *Fraser's Magazine*. In April he was reading Montaigne again, and found a study of rhetoric that he determined to use as the substance of a similar treatise in *Nature*. He was also thinking of writing to Carlyle; he felt that Carlyle needed to turn to Montaigne. Though he did not admire Carlyle's style in *Sartor*, still he had not lost sight of the *man* he had come to admire and love. "I read so resolute a self-thinker as Carlyle," he says, "and am convinced of the riches of wisdom that ever belong to the man who utters his own thought with a divine confidence that it must be true if he heard it there."¹⁹ He proceeds with his praise of Carlyle, and from what he says we know that he cannot long refrain from telling his friend what he thinks of him:

We live, animals in the basement story, and when Shakespeare, or Milton, or even my fantastical Scotchman who fools his humor to the top of his bent, call up into the high region, we feel and say, 'this is my region, they only show me my own property. I am in my element. I thank them for it.'

We need not attempt to give a digest of this first letter to Carlyle. From our point of view, possibly the most important thing is the confirmation of the thesis presented in regard to Emerson's first enthusiastic praise of Carlyle in the fall of 1832 when he found in the "Corn-Law Rhymes" and in the *Life of Schiller* consolation in his perplexity and counsel for the course that lay ahead of him.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, pp. 198-201.

¹⁹ *Journals*, Vol. 3, p. 272.

Some chance wind of Fame blew your name to me, perhaps two years ago, as the author of papers which I had already distinguished (as indeed it was very easy to do) from the mass of English periodical criticism as by far the most original and profound essays of the day,—the works of a man of Faith as well as Intellect, sportive as well as learned, and who, belonging to the despairing and deriding class of philosophers, was not ashamed to hope and to speak sincerely.²⁰

The second important thing of note is the summary Emerson gave of much of the material we have been considering from the *Journals*. For over eight months he had been thinking of his entire relation to Carlyle in preparation for his first letter: his enthusiastic reading of Carlyle's essays and books; his visit; his reaction to the European trip; and his impression of *Sartor Resartus*. Not often do we find a letter so carefully written and so indicative of sincerity. But the striking thing about all these early letters to Carlyle is the care with which Emerson collected his thoughts. This habit is of value to us, for it enables us to determine the exact date in the development of his attitude toward his friend, and helps us to pronounce with some assurance upon the sincerity of Emerson's friendship for Carlyle. He continues his letter by referring to the visit and his favorable impression of Carlyle and his home:

Well, it happened to me that I was delighted with my visit, justified to myself in my respect, and many a time upon the sea in my homeward voyage I remembered with joy the favored condition of my lonely philosopher, his happiest wedlock, his fortunate temper, his steadfast simplicity, his all means of happiness;—not that I had the remotest hope that he should so far depart from his theories as to expect happiness. On my arrival at home I rehearsed to several attentive ears what I had seen and heard, and they with joy received it.²¹

Emerson also carried out his idea of instructing Carlyle in "rules of rhetoric." The position taken by Emerson in this letter in regard to Carlyle's style is the position he maintained even when the other Transcendentalists were loud in their praise of *Sartor Resartus*; if anything, the more Emerson studied the book, the less he liked the style. He also makes clear for us that it was in *Fraser's* he first read *Sartor*.

²⁰ *Correspondence*, p. 11, May 14, 1834.

²¹ *Correspondence*, p. 12.

Emerson quickly appreciated the fact that in *Sartor* he was reading Goethe anew. On the twentieth of June he wrote, "What a charm does *Wilhelm Meister* spread over society, which we were just getting to think odious. And yet, as I read the book today and thought of Goethe as the *Tag und Jahres Hefte* describes him, he seemed to me—all-sided, gifted, indefatigable student as he is—to be only another poor monad, after the fashion of his little race bestirring himself immensely to hide his nothingness, spinning his surface directly before the eye to conceal the universe of his ignorance. . . ." ²² And a few days later he brings Carlyle and Goethe together on the question of morality. Emerson usually grouped Goethe and Byron in regard to this matter. He could never accept their attitude toward "free love." Carlyle, Emerson would say, evaded the issue on artistic grounds.

Goethe and Carlyle, and Novalis, have an undisguised dislike or contempt for common virtue standing on common principles. Meantime they are dear lovers, steadfast maintainers of the pure ideal morality. But they worship it as the highest beauty; their love is artistic. Praise Socrates to them, or Fenelon, much more any inferior contemporary good man, and they freeze at once into silence. It is to them sheer prose."²³

In addition to Emerson's hostility to Goethe's attitude toward morality, we find in this passage one more illustration of an essential antagonism that existed between Emerson and Carlyle. With Socrates we naturally associate Plato. Evidently at Craigenputtock Emerson failed to find a sympathetic ear for his Platonism. The "contemporary good man" might well have been Coleridge. That Emerson could overlook this antagonism is indicative of his breadth of vision. The same thing is true in regard to his attitude toward *Sartor Resartus*. He openly assailed the form, but at the same time he was sensitive to its spiritual value. Perhaps he never rose again to as high praise of the book as when, in the journals, he criticises it in its relation to philosophy and art:

As to Carlyle, he is an exemplification of Novalis's maxim concerning the union of Poetry and Philosophy. He has married them, and both are the gainers. Who has done so before as truly and as well. *Sartor Resartus* is a philosophical poem."²⁴

²² *Journals*, Vol. 3, pp. 309-10.

²³ *Journals*, Vol. 3, p. 313.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 315.

This passage should be considered in the light of Emerson's attitude toward Goethe's art and philosophy. He could not understand how Goethe "even in the arms of his mistress at Rome" could study "sculpture and poetry." Nor could he reconcile Goethe's high ideals of "Self-renouncement, Invisible Leader, Powers of Sorrow" with his immorality.²⁵ So in regard to *Sartor*, Emerson could not understand why Carlyle chose to present the same high ideals in "so defying a diction."

In the midst of his comparison of Goethe and Carlyle, and while he was still debating the value of *Sartor Resartus* and wrestling with its ideas, Emerson received the reply to his first letter. He could not but be pleased with Carlyle's friendly spirit and rejoice that the memory of their meeting also lingered in his mind. Interested as he might have been in hearing of Carlyle's new life Emerson could not, however, but regret that the Carlyle he was still endeavoring to understand was the Carlyle of London rather than the Carlyle of Craigenputtock. What follows will show how far apart were their thoughts:

I brought a manuscript with me of another curious sort, entitled *The Diamond Necklace*. Perhaps it will be printed soon as an Article, or even as a separate Booklet,—a *queer* production, which you shall see. Finally, I am busy, constantly studying with my whole might for a book on the French Revolution. It is part of my creed that the only poetry is History, could we tell it right. This truth (if it prove one) I have not yet got to the limitations of; and shall in no way except by *trying* it in practice. The story of the Necklace was the first attempt at an experiment.²⁶

We have here an outlook upon life vastly different from that of Richter, and Schiller, and Goethe, and Teufelsdröckh. Carlyle could not know how deeply his American admirer was immersed in all things German and how little his thoughts were turned toward France. It is hard to realize how little Carlyle seemed to care for the enthusiasm of his youth:

From Germany I get letters, messages, and even visits; but now no tidings, no influences, of moment. Goethe's *Posthumous Works* are all published; and Radicalism (poor hungry, yet inevitable Radicalism) is the order of the day.²⁷

²⁵ *Loc. cit.*

²⁶ *Correspondence*, p. 25.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

There was nothing of moment coming from Germany, said Carlyle. Yet had he chosen, with his wide knowledge of German literature and philosophy, he could have interpreted the new Germany of Hegel to Emerson and the Transcendentalists. But he was weary of the subject, and besides had come to see that England was weary of trying to understand German thought. Hegel was for a later day. Not till Darwin had startled England, did men really feel the need of a philosophy that would unify, or reconcile, their conflicting conception of life. So, too, could he have interpreted the French Romantic movement, had he not considered it even worse than Radicalism; for the French movement, beginning with Hugo's *Hernani* in 1830, was fashioned after the German and early English movements. Nay more, as we shall presently see, Carlyle could have directed personally the growth of the Transcendental movement in America. But all this ferment over Transcendentalism really struck him as "moonshine." His mind was following in the direction of Schiller's devotion to history, and could not resist the appeal of the French Revolution.

Carlyle's antipathy to the things which were of vital interest to Emerson is shown nowhere better than in his criticism of Coleridge in a postscript. "Coleridge," says Carlyle, "as you doubtless hear, is gone. How great a Possibility, how small a realized result! They are delivering Orations about him, and emitting other kinds of froth, *ut mos est*. What hurt can it do?" He could not have known how dear to Emerson was becoming the "Realized Result" of Coleridge's philosophy and theory of literary criticism.

But Emerson was not to be side-tracked in his effort to master the Transcendental philosophy of Germany and to determine the spirit of German Romance. In his reply to Carlyle's letter, though he evinced interest in his friend's new field of work, he dealt almost entirely with *Sartor* and Goethe. This brief passage shows how closely he followed the train of thought that appeared in his journal:

Far, far better seems to me the unpopularity of this Philosophical Poem (shall I call it?) than the adulation that followed your eminent friend Goethe. With him I am becoming better acquainted, but mine must be a qualified admiration. It is a singular piece of good-nature in you to apotheosize him. I cannot but regard it as his misfortune, with conspicuous bad influence on his genius,—that velvet life he led. . . . Then the Puritan in me accepts no apology for bad morals in such as he."²²

²² *Correspondence*, p. 29.

Emerson's dislike of Goethe's morals was easily dismissed by Carlyle.²⁹ His advice to study the *man* was later followed by Emerson, who learned German that he might read Goethe in the original.

But in the same letter Carlyle again wrote at length about his work and his inability to gain recognition in England. He was looking with favor upon Emerson's desire that he come to America. Without any loss of time Emerson dispatched a letter to London. He reviewed Carlyle's work in German literature, and made it clear that the men most worth while in New England were equally as desirous as he that Carlyle seek his fortune in America. With the prospect of finding friends and the assurance of financial independence, especially since these things were so slow in coming to him in England, Carlyle might well have accepted the invitation of the New England Transcendentalists. Had the opportunity come while he was deeply immersed in his work in German literature, surely he could not have refused the call. It would be interesting to speculate on what he would have meant to America had he come at either time. After all, however, his heart was not now with the Transcendentalists, and an unforeseen accident made such a course impossible: the first book of the French Revolution, which he had lent to Mill, had been accidentally burned.

The courage with which Carlyle immediately began to rewrite this book won Emerson's enduring admiration. How vitally Carlyle's energy and hopes were bound up in his work on the French Revolution may be seen when he exclaims in June of 1836:

It is impossible for you to figure what mood I am in. One sole thought, That Book! that weary Book! occupies me continually; wreck and confusion of all kinds go tumbling and falling around me, within me; but to wreck and growth, to confusion and order, to the world at large, I turn a deaf ear; and have life only for this one thing,—which also in general I feel to be one of the pitifulest that ever man set about possessed with. Have compassion for me.³⁰

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 39. "Your objections to Goethe are very natural, and even bring you nearer to me: nevertheless, I am by no means sure that it were not your wisdom, at this moment, to set about learning the German Language, with a view towards studying *him* mainly."

³⁰ *Correspondence*, p. 90.

In spite of the fact that Carlyle had turned "a deaf ear" to the desires of the Transcendentalists for two years, and had shown clearly that his "one sole thought" was his book on the French Revolution, Emerson did not weary of tempting him to come to America. Thinking that Carlyle was sincere in his cry for compassion, Emerson in his letter of September seventeenth once more extended an invitation with the added inducement of giving to his friend "sound eyes, round cheeks, and joyful spirits."

The significance of Emerson's optimism comes out quite forcibly when we consider that with the same letter he sent a copy of *Nature*. Three days later the Transcendental Club was organized, and at the second meeting in October it was Emerson himself rather than Carlyle that became the leader and spokesman of the New England Transcendentalists. Yet Emerson, realizing that his friends still yearned to have Carlyle among their number, did not lose hope until the *French Revolution* was published and he could plainly see that Carlyle had lost all contact with the Transcendental movement.

In dealing with the enthusiasm with which Emerson and his New England friends endeavored to bring Carlyle to America, we have temporarily lost sight of *Sartor Resartus*. We found that Emerson first encountered the clothes philosophy while reading *Jean Paul Friedrich Richter* in the fall of 1832. In the fall of 1833 he began reading *Sartor* in *Fraser's Magazine*, and in the spring of the following year he wrote to Carlyle primarily to tell him what he thought of the book. By the fall of 1834 he had decided that it was a "philosophical poem." It would be difficult, however, to find in *Nature* any trace of Carlyle's peculiar method of presenting his philosophy. We must admit that in so far as the book expresses Transcendental philosophy, it does so in the terminology of Kant as interpreted by Coleridge. Emerson's final criticism of *Sartor*, virtually repeated in the introduction to Dr. Le Baron Russell's American edition in 1836, may be found in Emerson's letter of October 7, 1835. He cannot relinquish "a salutary horror at the German style," even though Doctors of Divinity and the "solemn Review are loud in its praise." Emerson wrote this letter in the same period when he was warmly praising Coleridge as a philosopher and psychologist. and two months later in his journal he leaves no room for doubt as to his attitude toward Carlyle's work as a whole: "Carlyle's

talent, I think, lies more in his beautiful criticism, in seizing the idea of the man or the time, than in original speculation."²¹

The conviction that Carlyle was not essentially original, or creative, remained with Emerson. Even in 1850 he exclaims that Carlyle forever repeats the same thing. Emerson on his part was looking for a final book from Carlyle that never came. And Carlyle was forever urging Emerson to come down to earth, to leave the Transcendental "moonshine." The clash was more fundamental than Carlyle was willing to admit even though he once said that essentially there was no clash. The intellectuality that Carlyle disliked in Emerson, or the attempt to be philosophical, was the quality that Emerson wished Carlyle to acquire. The clash was virtually the same that existed between Carlyle and Coleridge, and is an illuminating explanation of the fact that Emerson turned to Coleridge rather than to Carlyle as an interpreter of Transcendental philosophy.

If it be true that it was Carlyle's criticism, rather than his philosophy, which influenced Emerson most, then it must follow that not in the years 1833-36, nor even in the years 1837-47 when he was Carlyle's American editor, but in the years 1830-33 must we look for his real inspiration for Emerson. It was in those years that Emerson needed the sort of inspiration that Carlyle could give him by reason of his earnest work in the lives of the men who were swept along with the tide of Storm and Stress that dominated Germany for ten years. That Emerson gave two years of constant thought to *Sartor Resartus* and that in those same years he recognized in Carlyle the greatest living force in England cannot be ignored. Still the friendship begun in 1833 and established in 1834 by Emerson's criticism of *Sartor* had little value in strengthening his Transcendentalism, and we almost come to the conclusion that from this time Carlyle is debtor to Emerson.

Woman's College of Alabama.

²¹ *Journals*, Vol. 3, p. 573, December 7, 1835.

THE CREED OF LOWELL AS LITERARY CRITIC

BY NORMAN FOERSTER

James Russell Lowell has commonly been regarded as a delightful interpreter of literature, illuminating in his random comments but wanting in the critical habit of mind. Thus Ferris Greenslet, contrasting him with Sainte-Beuve, maintains that "With Lowell, criticism is rather a matter of adventurous sallies and spectacular sword-play," and W. C. Brownell concludes that "His critical work as a whole lacks the unity of a body of doctrine." I do not believe that these assertions are just. While I hold no brief for Lowell as a critic, mainly because he appears to me wanting in both weight of temperament and force of mind, I think it can easily be shown that his criticism, while indeed sword-play in its method, was a fairly steady defense of principles, and that it does contain "the unity of a body of doctrine." Like many another so-called impressionist, Lowell was informal in critical technique, rather than wayward in respect to criteria. The object of this study will be to discover the criteria that permeate his thought, and to relate them to each other according to the system that they themselves suggest.

I

The unifying principle in the artistic and literary creed of Lowell lies in his attempt to use the best ideas offered by the two great critical traditions, the classic and the romantic. His favorite examples, however, he found neither in the ancient world nor in the nineteenth century, but in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Dante, Chaucer, Shakspeare, Cervantes, Calderon, and other of the early "moderns."

In one of his essays he assures us that he is not going to renew the Battle of the Books; yet he did repeatedly renew it, fighting sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, sometimes viewing the battle from the safe vantage point of a neutral, and giving in the end the impression of a struggle waged inconclusively within his own mind. At one time it is a question of taste, not to be authoritatively settled; at another, it appears that both the ancients and the moderns are necessary, to clarify each other;

now it is plain that the moderns have the better of it, giving us examples of form and the grand style in addition to their own special excellences; and again it is just as plain that the ancients are victorious, speaking to us with a clearer voice than that of any living language, through a literature "rammed with life" and "as contemporary with today as with the ears it first enraptured." The key to this confusion in strategy is doubtless to be found in Lowell's reaction from the tyrannical "formula which prescribed the Greek and Latin Classics as the canonical books of that infallible Church of Culture outside of which there could be no salvation." "I was a great while emancipating myself," he says, "from this formula—"indeed, I am not sure that I have wholly emancipated myself even yet" (this as late as 1889). Having the protestantism of the protestant religion, Lowell balks at receiving anything on authority; truth itself, on these terms, ranks as superstition. That on the whole he regarded the supremacy of the ancients to be truth is the final impression left by a consideration of the drift of all his passages bearing on the Battle of the Books. Even in his address to the Modern Language Association, as a teacher speaking to teachers, he confides his pleasure that his grandson is "taking kindly to his Homer," for "I had rather he should choose Greek than any modern tongue," a language that taxes the sinews of the climber but leads him at last to the summits; while in favor of the modern languages he merely concedes that it may be prudent to allow them as avenues to literature in the case of minds "of softer fibre, and less eager of emprise" than the commendable grandson aforesaid.

While Lowell with a characteristic inner disunion gave his heart to the older moderns and his head to the ancient Greeks, within the sphere of art his recognition of the supremacy of the Greeks was almost constant. His most serious discontent with their art (stated but once, I believe) is that their tragic agents "seem to be commonly rather types than individuals," wanting "that exquisite analysis of complex motives" which reached its height in Cervantes and Shakspeare; yet while this is so, he observes in the same passage, it is likewise true that the simplicity of Greek tragedy "is by no means that of expression, but of form merely." And in respect to form—"to those laws of grace, of proportion, of design"—he remarks in the same essay (that on Shakspeare, one of his best)—in respect to form, which he holds to be vir-

tually synonymous with art, he asserts that its laws are "more clearly to be deduced from the eminent examples of Greek literature than from any other source." He goes on to say:

It is the Greeks who must furnish us with our standard of comparison. Their stamp is upon all the allowed measures and weights of aesthetic criticism. . . . The model is not there to be copied merely [Lowell repeatedly condemns the modern antique], but that study of it may lead us insensibly to the same processes of thought by which its purity of outline and harmony of parts were attained, and enable us to feel that strength is consistent with repose, that multiplicity is not abundance, that grace is but a more refined form of power, and that a thought is none the less profound that the limpidity of its expression allows us to measure it at a glance. To be possessed with this conviction gives us at least a determinate point of view, and enables us to appeal a case of taste to a court of final adjudication, whose decisions are guided by immutable principles.

To the Greeks Lowell was indebted for the principles or qualities that constantly guided his aesthetic criticism: *unity, design, proportion, clearness, economy, power, control, repose, sanity, impersonality*, all of which are involved in the conception of self-subsistent form. Among nineteenth-century English critics we think of Matthew Arnold as almost solitary in urging impressively the claims of form as understood by the Greeks; but Lowell was a more frequent champion, who lacked impressiveness largely because his doctrine on this subject as on all subjects was set forth somewhat in the manner of *obiter dicta*, which is to say that he himself was deplorably wanting in that sense of design that he includes among his immutable principles. He preaches the gospel of form the more strenuously because as Anglo-Saxons "we care nothing about Art," and because romanticism led to a criticism "which regards parts rather than wholes, which dwells on the beauty of passages." Passages, he says, are good only "when they lead to something, when they are necessary parts of the building, but they are not good to dwell in." Thus, Carlyle is an ineffective humorist because of his indifference to form, whereas Cervantes "had been trained to authorship in a school where form predominated over substance, and the most convincing proof of the supremacy of art at the highest period of Greek literature is to be found in Aristophanes." Fine passages do not make fine literature, nor do "admiring italics" constitute criticism. In the

pseudo-classical eighteenth century, which had nearly all the classical qualities except *power*, as romanticism later had power but was deficient in the rest, Lowell praised writers like Pope and Gray for keeping alive for us the tradition that writing *was* an art; nor did he hesitate to put in the forefront of one of his definitions of form a term dear to pseudo-classicism but anathema to romanticism, the term "decorum": form, he says, is "the artistic sense of decorum controlling the coördination of parts and ensuring their harmonious subservience to a common end." And it was for not keeping decorum that he was all but ready to hang William Wordsworth, acquitting him at last only on the plea of a divine insanity.

When speaking of decorum, Lowell is not thinking of an arbitrary standard of propriety and elegance as the grand masterpiece to observe, but of "a higher or organic unity." He makes much of that contrast between organic and mechanical form adumbrated by the ancients and brought to clearness by Schlegel, Coleridge, and Emerson. Emerson himself he attacks for violating the law of life:

Roots, wood, bark, and leaves singly perfect may be,
But, clapt hodge-podge together, they don't make a tree.

One of Lowell's most explicit statements of the contrast is the following passage, written quite in the manner of Aristotle, on the requirement of organic unity in the drama:

In a play we not only expect a succession of scenes, but that each scene should lead, by a logic more or less stringent, if not to the next, at any rate to something that is to follow, and that all should contribute their fraction of impulse towards the inevitable catastrophe. That is to say, the structure should be organic, with a necessary and harmonious connection and relation of parts, and not merely mechanical, with an arbitrary or haphazard joining of one part to another. It is in the former sense alone that any production can be called a work of art.

This use of a biological analogy, he goes on to remark, legitimately implies a principle of *life* or *soul* in a work of art, and elsewhere he reminds us of the Platonic enthusiasm of Spenser for the idea that "Soul is form, and doth the body make." The thought-and-emotion—the intuition of our latter-day expressionists—grows into bodily form, as in *Hamlet*, for example, in which the character of the Prince was "the ovum out of which the whole

organism was hatched." From the inner life proceed even the rhythm—whether verse or prose—and the very words themselves. "He who is thoroughly possessed of his thought, who imaginatively conceives an idea or image, becomes master of the word that shall most amply and fitly utter it"—hence it was that Shakspeare was not constrained to blot his manuscripts, his language being not the vehicle of his thought but "its very flesh and blood." It follows that translation is essentially impossible, for we soon discover "not only that there is a best way, but that it is the only way." The line from Pope about wit and nature, while itself, as Lowell might have remarked, a capital instance of organic expression, misrepresents the true concept of form, which "is not a garment, but a body." The creative idea and the form created "cannot be divided without endangering the lives of both. For idea and form, substance and expression, matter and style, meaning and music, thought and word, are not two things but merely two aspects of one thing. We may discover a similar correlation between a writer's experience of life and his artistic product. Behind the product lies, or should lie, the writer's experience, "because nothing that has not been living experience can become living expression"; and behind his personal experience of life, furthermore, there lies "the collective thought, the faith, the desire of a nation or a race," which is "the cumulative result of many ages, is something organic, and is wiser and stronger than any single person, and will make a great statesman or a great poet out of any man who can entirely surrender himself to it." Thus it appears that the organic principle is active in the entire functioning of a poet, from the message given him to communicate to the means of expression; and thus does Lowell repeat, in less mystical language, what we have already found in Emerson.

Form, then, is Lowell's primary criterion of a work of art, sometimes conceived in its structural effect, sometimes in its organic cause. So far he may be termed an Aristotelian, an exponent of the *Poetics* and of romantic critical theory that amplified Aristotle's conception of a work of art as an organism. We may next observe that he again follows Aristotle in requiring not merely organic form but *ideal* form, "that sense of ideal form which made the Greeks masters in art to all succeeding generations." Twice in his essay on Shakspeare he defines art essentially in the Greek way, once as "that ideal representation of the great

passions" and elsewhere as "Nature as it is ideally reproduced through the imagination." We are here treading on dangerous ground, inasmuch as modern romanticism, while eagerly availing itself of the words *ideal* and *imagination*, has robbed them of their old meaning without offering a definite new meaning (or, at least, a new meaning that the ancients could have accepted). Other passages in Lowell, however, make it quite clear that his own sense of the ideal is substantially that of the Greeks. He agrees with Aristotle as to the relation of poetry and history, asserting that "the proper object of poetry" is ideal nature, and that history, "far from being ideal," is "still farther from an exclusive interest in those heroic or typical figures which answer all the wants of the epic and the drama." "Do we know as much of any authentic Danish prince as of Hamlet?" "Truth to nature," he concludes, "can be reached ideally, never historically." Again, he agrees with Aristotle as to the relation of the ideal and the actual, when he writes: "The true ideal is not opposed to the real [actual], nor is it any artificial heightening thereof, but lies in it"; although in some passages his conception of the ideal is akin rather to Plato's. Here we may pause, for it is to this ideality that Lowell assigns the signal excellencies of not only the Greeks but also the greatest of English poets—it is the secret of Shakspeare's supremacy and permanence.

Precisely what, then, in Lowell's mind, is the relation of the actual, the real, and the ideal? "Am I wrong," he asks, "in using the word *realities*? wrong in insisting on the distinction between the real and the actual? in assuming for the ideal an existence as absolute and self-subsistent as that which appeals to our senses, nay, so often cheats them, in the matter of fact?" In the type of writer whom he depreciates as "the so-called realist," we do not find "the facts of life" but merely "the accidental and transitory phenomena" of life. Whereas the Greeks in their tragic art removed everything in some degree from "the plane of the actual and the trivial," showing nothing that "could be met in the streets," "we barbarians, on the other hand, take delight precisely in that. We admire the novels of Trollope and the groups of Rogers because, as we say, they are so *real*, while it is only because they are so matter-of-fact, so exactly on the level with our own trivial and prosaic apprehensions." Even on the occasion of the unveiling of the bust of Fielding, Lowell fully

expresses what might be called his conscientious scruples with regard to realism. Fielding, he concedes with damnatory parentheses, "has the merit, whatever it may be, of inventing the realistic novel, as it is called"; and for the praise of Fielding he is driven to a contrast between him and "some French so-called realists for whose title-pages I should be inclined to borrow an inscription from the old tavern-signs, 'Entertainment for Man—and Beast'." For if Fielding painted vice "as a figure in the social landscape, . . . he at least does not paint the landscape as a mere background for the naked nymph," nor does he fail to indicate the consequences of sin upon the fortunes of his characters. In his blunt way he wrote with a serious moral purpose, and his deficiency lies rather in his literary creed, which calls for exactitude, not for truth, the actual, not the real. From the same point of view Lowell deprecates also the detailed exactitude of "what is called pre-Raphaelite on canvas and in verse," a mode of art which gives an "uncomfortable feeling of *costume*" and a merely cluttered landscape, instead of that sense of reality everywhere present in a true pre-Raphaelite like Dante.

"The real and abiding facts," then, we are to seek, not as the realist and naturalist affirm, in the transitory phenomena of life, but in "those everlasting realities of the mind which seem unreal only because they lie beyond the horizon of the every-day world." Not even Spenser, with a Platonism that carries him far from the actual, transports us to a world of unreality—"it is only a world of unrealism. It is from pots and pans and stocks and futile gossip and inch-long politics that he emancipates us." The right use of the actual life surrounding an author, as the examples of Homer, Dante, Shakspeare, and Goethe suffice to show in all the great ages of literature, is not to rest content with depiction of it but to "levy" upon it for images and illustrations in the service of a higher reality.

Thus, while ideality involves a certain remotion from actuality, it at the same time *uses* the actual, by drawing upon it in order to envisage and represent types of human nature. The true ideal, we have already quoted Lowell as saying, lies *in* the actual. To take a crucial instance, the poet Chaucer, a close observer of manners who held the mirror to contemporary life, we perceive that he "reflected life in its large sense as the life of *men*, from the knight to the ploughman—the life of every day as it is

made up of that curious compound of human nature with manners." In contrast with a poet like Crabbe, who scatters rather than deepens "the impression of reality," and makes us "feel as if every man were a species by himself," a poet like Chaucer, "never forgetting the essential sameness of human nature," gives not only the individuality of each character but his type, which "will continue contemporary and familiar forever." "So wide," Lowell concludes, "is the difference between knowing a great many men and that knowledge of human nature which comes of sympathetic insight and not of observation." Or, to return to the case of Fielding, we must admit that, great as was his genius, it was a genius "incapable of that ecstasy of conception" which "produces figures that are typical without loss of characteristic individuality, as if they were drawn, not from what we call real life, but from the very source of life itself."

II

Now, the faculty that perceives the essential type and disengages it from accidental particulars, and then reclothes it with fitting particulars through an ecstasy of conception, is the imagination. Although the Greeks exemplified this and all other workings of the faculty of imagination, they did not use the term itself for any of its higher manifestations. From romantic theorists, Coleridge most of all, Lowell derived a theory of the imagination that runs everywhere through his writings. This was true of Emerson likewise, only whereas Emerson preferred to speak transcendently of the Reason (a synonym used sparingly by Lowell) and suffused his doctrine with not a little of the Coleridgean moonshine, Lowell made a comparatively successful effort to lay hold of the term with his Understanding and to distinguish with clearness and consistency the various offices of imagination. Noting carefully all his important passages on the subject, we shall discover, I think, no fundamental contradictions of the following summary.

Imagination is a faculty that operates in three ways. First, there is a *spiritual imagination*, a power of intuitive insight indispensable for great art yet not specifically aesthetic; secondly, there is a *plastic imagination*, a creative power of shaping materials into organic unity, which is the primary aesthetic imagina-

tion; and thirdly, there is an *expressive imagination*, a power of realizing or representing the parts of the whole, which is the secondary aesthetic imagination.

Imagination is, first of all, "the spiritual eye." Lowell is perhaps quite as insistent as Coleridge and Carlyle and Emerson upon the insufficiency of the Understanding, without sharing, however, their inclination to brush it hastily aside. While invariably suspicious of cloud castles, he readily concedes that Coleridge was "a main influence in showing the English mind how it could emancipate itself from the vulgarizing tyranny of common sense, and teaching it to recognize in the imagination an important factor not only in the happiness but in the destiny of man." Thus does he describe the spiritual influence of the stimulating mind that, in *The Friend and Aids to Reflection*, addressed itself to all that lay deepest and unexpressed in the young men of England and America. In his literary essays, however, Lowell is of course not concerned with the direct use of spiritual imagination, the highest reach of human power, but with its indirect use in literary art. It appears, for instance, in the brave translunary things of Donne that "open vistas for the imagination through the blind wall of the senses," and among modern English poets it appears most signally in Wordsworth, who, notwithstanding the most egregious artistic weaknesses, "seems to have caught and fixed forever in immutable grace the most evanescent and intangible of our intuitions, the very ripple-marks on the remotest shores of being." In his enthusiasm for "the incomparable Odes to Duty and on Immortality," Lowell was at one with Emerson and the other Transcendentalists. And yet he could not forget that it was only in height and depth that Wordsworth excelled and not also in breadth, that his was "a piecemeal insight," a receptive or feminine imagination; and consequently he refused to allow him "a place beside the few great poets who exalt men's minds, and give a right direction and safe outlet to their passions through the imagination, while insensibly helping them toward balance of character and serenity of judgment by stimulating their sense of proportion, form, and the nice adjustment of means to ends." He is not with Shakspeare; he is not even with Spenser. He could give us only momentary vistas of that ampler realm which the great poets disclose to us—"not the world of abstraction and non-entity, as some conceive, but a world formed out of chaos by a

sense of the beauty that is in man and the earth on which he dwells. It is the realm of *Might-be*, our haven of refuge from the shortcomings and disillusionings of life. It is, to quote Spenser, who knew it well—

The world's sweet inn from care and wearisome turmoil.

Divine glimpses Wordsworth could give us of a world more truly real than the world of appearance, but he had not the masculine, creative energy needed to give shape and clarity to that world and make it habitable. He could not reach to the ultimate effect of idealization, which is the creation of a whole world superior to our own ("better," in Aristotle's sense) because freed from embarrassing accident and rendered in its pure type.

Thus, in its ultimate reaches the spiritual imagination can shape a typical cosmos, an approximation to the type intended by nature. This is the achievement, for example, of Dante, "the highest spiritual nature that has expressed itself in rhythmical form," who has shown us the way by which that country far beyond the stars may be reached, may become the habitual dwelling-place and fortress of our nature."

But the Ineffable is not alone the goal of the spiritual imagination: it has likewise its less aspiring but invaluable aim of envisaging the constitution of man rather than the secret order of the cosmos, and man in his total humanity rather than pure spirituality. Such is the imagination of Homer and the Greeks generally, and of Shakspeare and Cervantes among the moderns—an humanistic or ethical imagination, dwelling upon the ethos or permanent elements in human nature, which resolves the many men into a few types of man. It is the function of this imagination to mark "the outlines and boundaries of character, not by arbitrary lines drawn at this angle or that, according to the whim of the tracer, but by those mountain-ranges of human nature which divide man from man." *Alcestis* and *Antigone*, *Hamlet* and *Cordelia*, *Don Quixote* and *Sancho Panza* are not persons whom we have seen but persons whom we might see if we were so fortunate, not persons "who have been" but persons who "might have been." Superior to all such types is the "type of what is highest in human nature"; rising supreme over all mountain-ranges of character is the grand form of the loftiest mountain. Whereas Emerson centers his gaze upon this absolute ideal as seen from the plain

of the commonplace, seeking to possess it in ecstatic contemplation, Lowell is content to pursue it by the arduous way that leads from range to range toward the summit. Between men as they are and ideal Man are those many-formed types which constitute the chief substance of enduring literature. Lovers of outlines and boundaries, the Greeks delineated these types, and the comprehensive intellect of Shakspeare, adding an "exquisite analysis of complex motives," revealed them with unexampled truth and variety. If Dante, master of the human soul, showed best the capacities of spiritual imagination, Shakspeare, master of men, excelled all other poets in humanistic or ethical imagination.

Imagination, in these activities, is for Lowell the main instrument in the attainment of understanding of life, and of the happiness that springs from understanding. It was consequently natural for him to tend to measure a work of art by the vitality of its ethical or spiritual insight. This would determine its quality of beauty, and quality, he everywhere implies, is the *final* and highest consideration. Explicitly, however, he insists again and again that the *initial* and inescapable consideration in a work of art is quantity, that is, its degree of beauty rather than its kind, since it is this which determines whether indeed it may be called a work of art at all. Accordingly, his primary criterion, as we have already observed, is that of form. Form being the *sine qua non* of art, Lowell maintains that first among all the functions of the imagination is form-giving. Imagination is from this point of view to be defined as "the faculty that shapes, gives unity of design and balanced gravitation of parts"; it is a faculty that "looks before and after" (connecting beginning, middle, and end, as Aristotle would say); and the seat of this presiding faculty "is in the higher reason"—reason, as Wordsworth phrases it, "in its most exalted mood." Of imagination thus conceived as a shaping or creative faculty, Wordsworth himself was "wholly void," for though he owned a rich quarry he could not build a poem. As his "insight" was "piecemeal," so was his "utterance." Approaching, at his finest, the majesty of Milton, he ever lapsed into the diffuse and commonplace. And not only Wordsworth, foremost of the English romantic poets, but virtually all modern writers in Europe and America, Lowell rated as wanting in this *sine qua non* of art because they neglected the whole in their concern for expressive parts; Matthew Arnold's own indictment of

modern poetry is not more sweeping. Not occasionally but in nearly every essay that he wrote, Lowell demands of his subjects that they reveal the presence of "the plastic imagination, the shaping faculty," "that shaping imagination which is the highest [primary, rather] criterion of a poet."

Yet expressive parts are, of course, needed to constitute the whole, and although modern criticism makes too much of them, they must be provided for in an adequate aesthetic. Subordinate to the plastic imagination, then, as means are subordinate to an end, the expressive imagination nevertheless plays an essential role. It provides the images, the feelings, the concepts, the rhythms, the words that will fitly represent what the writer wishes to convey. Shakspeare has this excellence with all the rest, finding in that teeming mind of his the vehicle for communicating his every intention. A writer like Carlyle, on the other hand, has the power of expression without the plastic sense, stimulating us endlessly without leading us toward any large and luminous object. Lowell might as well have instanced himself as an example; for assuredly his merit as an artist is the modern merit of brilliant piecemeal insight and utterance, both in his poems and in his essays, and his defect is the absence of the shaping faculty and the higher spiritual imagination that makes a cosmos out of chaos. In his capacity of literary critic, however, he did not rest content, as Poe constantly and Emerson sometimes inclined to do, with the judgment of others in accordance with his own merits and defects, but frankly invoked standards that would depreciate himself along with his contemporaries. This argues a disinterestedness and a breadth as rare as they are admirable.

It remains to say that all these kinds of imagination, spiritual, plastic, and expressive—corresponding nearly with the vision, the faculty divine, and the accomplishment of verse required of the poet by Wordsworth—must be authenticated by other human faculties. Possibly having in mind another phrase of Wordsworth's, "emotion recollected in tranquillity," Lowell speaks of profound poetry as "very passion of very soul sobered by afterthought and embodied in eternal types by imagination." Before passion is fit to be embodied, it must be worked upon by the mind in its reflective and contemplative activity, which deepens and enriches while it tranquillizes, and, melting away the dross of egoism, begets "that concurring instinct of all the faculties which is the self-forgetting

passion of the entire man." The essence of this selfless passion is not the superficial excitement of the emotions, nor even the "fine madness" of the soul, but that "something even finer than fine madness," viz., "the imperturbable sanity" that characterizes the great poets. This Lowell everywhere insists upon, under a variety of names: "reserve," "restraint," "sobriety," "repose," and the like. In his enthusiasm for imagination, which in his day had only recently been made the central term in literary criticism, and had not yet fallen into the limbo of the trite where it now dwells not without hope of restoration, Lowell contrived to maintain his critical equilibrium by steadily insisting upon the ineluctible claims of its "less showy and more substantial allies." "There must be wisdom," he writes, "as well as wit, sense no less than imagination, judgment in equal measure with fancy, and the fiery rocket must be bound fast to the poor wooden stick that gives it guidance if it would mount and draw all eyes." The image, to be sure, is romantically derogatory to the allies, making them only a poor wooden stick; yet, after all, the stick that gives guidance is indispensable for right aspiration toward the heavens. A more ordinary but juster image appears in the essay on Percival, whose verse "carries every inch of canvas that diction and sentiment can crowd, but the craft is leaky, and we miss that deep-grasping keel of reason which alone can steady and give direction." The most enlightening example, however, is that of Dante, who in his *Vita Nuova* enables us to see in some sort "how, from being the slave of his imaginative faculty, he rose by self-culture and force of will to that mastery of it which is art." For Dante attained the harmony of his faculties, imaginative, moral, and intellectual, essential to his great poetic achievement, and his aspiration toward the heavens was not a flight into the inane but a steady climb "to that supersensual region where the true, the good, and the beautiful blend in the white light of God." Platonist by nature, Aristotelian by training, and the very avatar of the Christian idea, "his feet keep closely to the narrow path of dialectics, because he believed it the safest, while his eyes are fixed on the stars." Allowing no "divorce between the intellect and the soul in its highest sense," he makes "reason and intuition work together to the same end of spiritual perfection." Though of aspiration all compact, he will not, like so many moderns, trust himself to the thin air with-

out guidance, but will follow the leading of reason till it can lead no more:

What Reason seeth here
Myself [Virgil] can tell thee; beyond that await
For Beatrice, since 'tis a work of Faith.

These are lines quoted by Lowell himself; and they may be taken to have expressed for him his conviction that in literature no less than in life the value of imagination, the aspiring and creative power, is determined by its relation to reason, the power of guidance.

III

In the foregoing attempt to summarize with some degree of system Lowell's innumerable brief discussions of form and of imagination, we have repeatedly touched upon but never formulated his position in regard to the immemorial problem of the function of literature. Possibly the problem itself received its final statement in the well-worn words of Horace: Should poetry, should literature, instruct or delight, or instruct and delight at the same time? How did Lowell deal with this question?

His attitude is surprisingly definite and consistent; and it is an attitude that forbids our continuing to set him down as a Puritan whose didacticism was ill concealed with romantic gusto and random insight. We have too often accepted as truth his satiric portrait of himself in *A Fable for Critics*, forgetting that it is a portrait of the immature Lowell, still in his twenties, still burdened with the *isms* of his sentimental and Transcendental period, not the Lowell who returned from Europe a few years later with a larger vision of the values of life. There is not only self-condemnation but also prophecy in his recognition that

The top of the hill he will ne'er come nigh reaching
Till he learns the distinction 'twixt singing and preaching.

He *saw* the distinction in 1848; he *learned* it a few years later under the tutelage of European experience and an inner compulsion; he exemplified it well enough in the best of his later poetry; and he stated it in its significant nuances in his literary criticism.

"The first duty of the Muse," he says with ample candor, "is to be delightful." While this is not the whole duty of the poet,

it is his primary and fundamental obligation, just as the plastic imagination, while not the only kind of imagination, is the first kind that we look for in his work. A poem is an aesthetic, not a moral or intellectual performance; its special concern is with beauty, not with goodness or truth. Lowell plainly enough denounces "that invasion of the aesthetic by the moral" and by the intellectual, "which has confused art by dividing its allegiance." In a passage in which he is apparently combatting the didactic tendencies of Arnold's conception of the grand style, of culture, and of the value of poetry, he deplores a recent disposition "to value literature and even poetry for their usefulness as courses of moral philosophy or metaphysics, or as exercises to put and keep the mental muscles in training." Elsewhere, he complains of Wordsworth that he regarded poetry "as an exercise rather of the intellect than as a nepenthe of the imagination." Lowell also tells us that late in life he reread the whole of the *Arabian Nights* "with as much pleasure as when I was a boy, perhaps with more. For it appears to me that it is the business of all imaginative literature to offer us a sanctuary from the world of the newspapers, in which we have to live, whether we will or no." He thus allows ample room for what he terms "literature as holiday," literature "as a charmer of leisure," literature suited to "our hours of relaxation." He was well aware, like Aristotle long before him, of a merely recreative function of literature; and he was equally well aware, as Aristotle had been, of a higher function, in which the principle of pleasure reappears, so to speak, on a higher plane, in vital relation with moral and intellectual values. It is the function of imaginative literature not only to give mere pleasure (*πρὸς ἡδονήν*) but also to give rational enjoyment (*πρὸς διαγωγήν*): not only to give the pleasure of pastime which prepares us for work, but also to give what might better be called happiness, an end and not a means, a serious working of the soul and not a sportive activity. If it is necessary to relate to some tradition Lowell's view of the end of literature, let us refrain from the facile and false assumption that he was a "Puritan" (as was Milton for that matter) and instead label him an Aristotelian. In a dozen passages he protests, as outspokenly as Poe, against the heresy of the didactic involved in the deliberate teaching of morals through literature—it is gravel in strawberries and cream. The primary object in tragedy, for example, "is

not to inculcate a formal moral"; and yet the moral is there, for, "representing life, it teaches, like life, by indirection." From Shakspeare we may no doubt derive many lessons, as he himself very likely realized, "but I do not believe that he wrote his plays with any such didactic purpose. . . . He did not mean his great tragedies for scarecrows. . . . He loves the hawk-nature as well as the hen-nature; and if he is unequalled in anything, it is in that sunny breadth of view, that impregnability of reason, that looks down on all ranks and conditions of men, all fortune and misfortune, with the equal eye of the artist." If this is the morality of the most comprehensive of intellects, what shall we say of the morality of the highest spiritual nature, Dante? Is it possible to reconcile the *Divine Comedy* with the idea that the primary function of art is to delight and not to teach?

Lowell is exceptionally systematic in his approach to the answer. A poet, he says, must not be judged historically, relatively to his age; but absolutely, according to the artistic qualities of his work and according to the man's genius and his vision. "We may reckon up pretty exactly," Lowell says, "a man's advantages and defects as an artist; these he has in common with others, and they are to be measured by a recognized standard." The quantity of beauty, we might say, can be measured with fair accuracy. But the quality eludes our makeshift instruments: "there is something in his *genius* that is incalculable. If we compare Aeschylus and Euripides, we cannot but feel that the latter, though in some respects a better dramatist, was an infinitely lighter weight. Aeschylus stirs something in us far deeper than the sources of mere pleasurable excitement." Instead of mere pleasure, he gives us happiness, rousing that which is "most sacred in us." For "the man behind the verse is far greater than the verse itself." And so of Dante; it is not for his purely aesthetic excellence, "but it is for his power of inspiring and sustaining, it is because they find in him a spur to noble aims, a secure refuge in that defeat which the present always seems, that they prize Dante who know and love him best. He is not merely a great poet, but an influence, part of the soul's resources in time of trouble." The qualification of beauty is here determined by the romantic conception of genius and personality. But in the next paragraph, the culminating one in the long essay on Dante, emphasis shifts from the man to his vision, from the idiosyncratic

to the universal. "All great poets have their message to deliver us, from something higher than they . . . In the company of the epic poets there was a place left for whoever should embody the Christian idea of a triumphant life, outwardly all defeat, inwardly victorious, who should make us partakers of that cup of sorrow in which all are communicants with Christ." And Dante has done this. If the normal method of the poets, even of the great poets, is to teach like life by indirection, nevertheless the high cunning of Dante showed that it is possible to combine "poesy with doctrine" without loss of power in either, but rather enhancement. While Emerson, impatient of the labor of removing the historical barriers to an understanding of the *Divine Comedy*, never paid due homage to Dante, but looked to the future for his type of the poet-priest, Lowell by dint of "twenty years of assiduous study" (as he himself tells us) arrived at the conclusion that the type had been for once realized, and not merely foreshadowed, in Dante himself.

If Lowell found his highest happiness in Dante, his debt to some of the other "moderns" was not much less. In the more strictly modern ages, from Milton down to his own time, he found to be sure, nothing that stirred the whole of his nature to passion, and he gave excellent reasons for not being stirred deeply.¹ Toward the ancients, at the other extreme chronologically, his prevailing attitude was one of admiration rather than love, an attitude that would probably not have been reversed if he had bestowed twenty years of study to the Greeks. In the half-way moderns, however, above all in Dante, Cervantes, Calderon, and Shakspeare, he found the function of literature achieved with a warmth of energy that kindled his utmost enthusiasm. Conceding the supremacy of the Greeks in respect to form, and consequently in respect to imagination in its plastic activity, he held that the best of the moderns had a sufficient sense of form along with a richness of ethical and spiritual imagination wanting in the ancients. This was true even of Calderon, "with his tropical warmth and vigor of production," who won a place close to Lowell's heart (see, for instance, "The Nightingale in the Study") but who, because

¹ Most of these reasons have been brought together and interpreted by Harry Hayden Clark in an article on "Lowell's Criticism of Romantic Literature," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xli (1926), 209-228.

he was *Spanish* rather than broadly human, could not be ranked critically with Cervantes and the others. In *Don Quixote* the imagination of Cervantes is not so much Spanish as "universal and cosmopolitan"; his book is "a *human* book in the fullest sense of the word," next to Shakspeare in innate understanding of human nature, in the power of embodying "generic types rather than individuals," so that "Don Quixote and Sancho, like the men and women of Shakspeare, are the contemporaries of every generation." These two characters, "who together make a complete man," Lowell found specially significant for consideration of latter-day generations of quixotic romanticists, since, as Coleridge has it, Don Quixote is Reason without common sense, while Sancho is common sense without Reason—both are vital to the integrity of man. The criticism of modern romanticism suggested by Cervantes attracted Lowell the more because it was expressed in a humorous and satiric vein kindred to his own, a vein, moreover, "thoroughly good-natured," unembittered by the experience of life, sweet and fresh despite a large acquaintance with misfortune and disenchantment, as if "the notion of *Weltschmerz*, or the misery of living and acting in this beautiful world" had never occurred to him.

As for Shakspeare "once more,"—"that divine apparition known to mortals as Shakspeare," as Lowell styles him even in his late years—the romantic critics were right, he maintains, in regarding him as a great artist, though it is not for his plastic and expressive imagination that we love him, but rather for his serene and comprehensive humanity. Like Chaucer, Shakspeare delights "in the pageantry of the actual world," and, unlike Dante, essentially holds to "the moral of worldly wisdom," so that his genius is human rather than spiritual; and yet he lifted the human to a plane higher than the actual by means of his typifying or idealizing imagination. Men and women as we know them reappear in his plays shorn of all that is accidental and meaningless, and stand revealed as enduring types of what men and women essentially are. Dante, writing an epic on Man instead of a man, had left *men* for Shakspeare: and Shakspeare gladly took them for his theme, not chance individuals but broad types of men, creating beneath the summit of Dante and above the plain of everyday humanity a vast plateau region where the air is fresh and clear—"how serene and high he seems," how grandly he rises above

"our self-exploiting nineteenth century, with its melancholy liver-complaint!" As free as Cervantes of egoistic *Weltschmerz*, he elevates us to the region of the eternally human, of *das ewig Weibliche* and *das ewig Männliche*. To know Shakspeare is to know life itself, and in that knowledge to be happy. Only the *destiny* of man remains obscure, and for a vision of that we must climb with Dante, as Lowell unweariedly did, towards the summit and the vision beatific.

And now, finally, we may proceed to formulate succinctly the conception of literary art and its functions that we have studied in the foregoing pages:

Literature is the ideal representation of human nature. Each literary work must have first of all a self-contained form, possessing such qualities as unity, design, proportion, clearness, economy, power, control, repose, sanity, impersonality. This form is organic; that is, the structure is determined from within by the "soul" or animating conception, and the conception in turn is organic, proceeding from the writer's personal experience and cultural heritage. The faculty that images the whole and the necessary and harmonious relation of the parts is the plastic imagination. Form must be not only organic, but ideal; that is, it must embody the real that resides in the actual. The faculty that images the ideal is the spiritual imagination. When the spiritual imagination acts in its ordinary capacity, representing the perdurable types of human nature, and in so doing achieves an elevated breadth, it may be termed the humanistic or ethical imagination. When it acts in its extraordinary capacity, revealing the life of the soul itself, and in so doing achieves height if need be at the expense of breadth, it is the ultimate spiritual imagination. Of this ultimate spiritual imagination two kinds may be distinguished, an inferior kind that expresses momentary intuitions, and a superior kind that transforms the entire chaos of experience into a vision of the cosmos. In all its activities, the imagination must be guided by other human faculties, most of all by reason.

Form determines quantitatively the beauty of a given work of art; spiritual imagination, guided by reason, determines it qualitatively. In the "possible unity" of the greatest degree and the finest kind of beauty, we may conceive of the perfect work of art.

The function of a work of art is to give delight. Of delight

there are two general kinds or grades: first, the delight of recreation, when the more serious faculties are resting with a view to future working and the sportive faculties are free to confer charm upon leisure; secondly, the joyful exercise of the higher faculties, or perhaps of all the faculties of mind and spirit working in harmony and so producing happiness rather than mere pleasure. For the fulfillment of both grades of delight, excellence of form is requisite; but the higher grade demands in addition moral or spiritual excellence—the contagion of a fine personality or the inspiration of an ideal vision of life.

University of North Carolina.

RECENT BOOKS ABOUT POE¹

BY KILLIS CAMPBELL

Walt Whitman once remarked that there is "an indescribable magnetism" about Poe's "life and reminiscences." The statement is true, and it has never been more abundantly illustrated than in very recent years. For although nearly two decades have passed since the celebration of Poe's birth and another two decades must elapse before we may celebrate the centenary of his death, it is doubtful whether there has ever been more widespread scholarly activity in the study of his life and writings than during the last three or four years, and this has found fruitage in upwards of half a dozen ambitious volumes besides a goodly number of essays and papers. Chief among the new books relating to Poe are the *Valentine Letters* (unhappily published under the cumbersome title *Edgar Allan Poe Letters till now Unpublished*), edited by Mrs. Mary Newton Stanard, and two full-length biographies, *Edgar Allan Poe, the Man*, by Miss Mary E. Phillips, and *Israfel: The Life and Times of Poe*, by Mr. Hervey Allen.

The publication of the *Valentine Letters* marks the fulfillment of a wish eagerly felt by every student of Poe and of a hope long deferred. That these letters existed had been known ever since the publication of Woodberry's life of Poe in 1885, and their contents had been imparted in confidence to a few students of Poe living in Richmond or visiting there; but for some strange reason these documents had been withheld from publication. The collection includes thirty-one letters—twenty-seven addressed by Poe to his foster-father, John Allan; two from John Allan to Poe; one from Poe to Sergeant "Bully" Graves, a former comrade in the army; and one from Mrs. Clemm, the poet's aunt

¹ *Edgar Allan Poe Letters till now Unpublished, in the Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia.* Edited by Mary Newton Stanard. J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1925.

Edgar Allan Poe, The Man. By Mary E. Phillips, with a Foreword by J. H. Whitty. Two Volumes. The John C. Winston Co., Philadelphia, 1926.

Israfel: The Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe. By Hervey Allen. Two Volumes. George H. Doran Company, New York, 1926.

and mother-in-law, to John Allan. They extend over a period of seven years (1826 to 1833), or from the time of Poe's entrance at the University of Virginia till shortly before the death of John Allan. Each of the letters as printed is followed by a handsome fac-simile of the original, and each is preceded by a brief comment by the editor on its history and its significance. In a carefully written introduction of some twenty pages Mrs. Stanard details the history of the collection as a whole and relates it to other documentary materials, chiefly certain documents in the Ellis-Allan Papers preserved in the Library of Congress. The task of editing she has performed in a highly creditable manner.

The *Valentine Letters* are obviously of extraordinary importance for the early life of Poe. And they also shed a good deal of new light on Poe's early writings, particularly his poems. Now as never before it is evident that the poet's Byronic laments in his volumes of 1827 and 1829 were not mere pose, but proceeded from a deeply felt emotion and bitter experience; and his relations with his foster-parents now become much plainer than heretofore. The letters do not all present the young Poe in a favorable light: more than once in the course of his correspondence with his foster-father he breaks his word to him, and in one pitiable letter, that of December 15, 1831, he humbles himself abjectly—even cringes—before his stern foster-parent. But on the whole they are not discreditable to him, and they leave the sympathetic reader more than ever impressed with the essential integrity of his character. The most dramatic of the letters is that of March 19, 1827, written the day after a tragic quarrel with John Allan, who had in effect cast him out of his home and left him penniless. Another stirring letter is that of January 3, 1831, in which the poet reviews the circumstances of his life at the University of Virginia, and enters at length into an indictment of John Allan for his niggardliness and his harshness toward him. There is nothing more self-revelatory in all that he ever wrote.

Miss Phillips's life of Poe is the most voluminous study that has as yet been devoted to any American poet, running as it does to upwards of sixteen hundred pages. These volumes represent the culmination of researches, so we are assured in the introduction, covering a dozen years or more; and they are evidently the product of an earnest effort to reveal the truth about Poe. Throughout Miss Phillips writes with enthusiastic loyalty to the

poet, and she is plainly very eager to shield him, so far as the evidence will permit, from even the suspicion of evil-doing. The chief new facts that she brings out relate to Poe's love-affair with Miss Royster in the twenties, his life in Boston in 1827, and his activities and whereabouts during the first half of 1846. But she also collects a large body of new detail based on her own investigation or on personal interviews, or drawn from newspapers and other less easily accessible sources. Of unusual value also are the hundreds of drawings and photographs and fac-similes illustrating the life and times of Poe which she presents: indeed, one is tempted to say that these constitute the most distinctive excellence of the volumes. Particularly interesting and helpful are a series of cuts plotting the cities in which Poe lived and locating the places with which he was connected. Her footnotes, moreover, which she (unwisely, I think) throws to the end of her second volume, contain, in effect, an extended bibliography of the literature bearing on Poe's life.

The main defects of these volumes arise from the author's failure to take account (save briefly in her appendix) of the *Valentine Letters* and of the important revelations which they afford and from her neglect of certain of the demands of style; in particular, she has not succeeded in massing and proportioning her materials effectively, so that the reader, in the midst of the great abundance of detail here assembled, will sometimes find it difficult to keep his bearings. The volumes suffer, too, from the fact that Miss Phillips attributes to Poe and employs as evidence in her account of his life several items which we can be reasonably sure were not the work of his hand: I refer to the Quarles-Quickens pamphlet (see pp. 718 ff.), the crude burlesque of Poe entitled "The Ghost of a Grey Tadpole" (published in the *Baltimore Republican* of February 1, 1844), and the memorable paper bearing the signature "Outis" published in the *New York Mirror* during the course of the so-called "Longfellow War." The evidence that has been proposed in support of the authenticity of the first of these items is extremely flimsy, to say the least; with respect to the second item it may be conceded that Poe did some very mediocre work, both in verse and prose, but there is nowhere in anything he published—not even in the poorest of his anecdotes and extravaganzas—anything quite so pedestrian or so stupid as this extravaganza; and that Poe, despite his fondness

for mystification, should have written the "Outis" article is to me quite unthinkable.

The two volumes that Mr. Allen devotes to Poe enjoy the distinction of being the first extended biography to take account of the *Valentine Letters*. They possess a further commendable distinction in that they stress constantly the intimate connection between the poet's life and the social and economic and political activities of his times. Mr. Allen holds, for instance—to illustrate the application of this method of approach—that Poe could not well have afforded to return to the University of Virginia in 1827 or to remain in Richmond, since the law permitting imprisonment for debt had not as yet been repealed in Virginia; and he depicts with exceptional vividness the social background of Poe's life in Philadelphia and its influence on him. He also gives us some excellent analyses of Poe's temper and character. On the other hand, he nowhere attempts any systematic appraisal of Poe's achievements in literature, though it would seem that the biographer of an author of established reputation, must rest under the obligation to attempt such an appraisal. Among new matter that he brings out is an early scrap of Poe's verse, two lines which he has turned up among the Ellis-Allan Papers and which he associates with the year 1824. In an appendix he prints, among other things, the will of John Allan, and of the latter's uncle, William Galt, together with new documentary material touching Poe's brother, William Henry Poe, and the poet's friend F. W. Thomas.

Mr. Allen's style is both spirited and vivid, and is nowhere dull or heavy—though in his striving after emphasis and piquancy he has at times overshot the mark. He remarks (on p. 588) that the "Balloon Hoax" created "a thundering lot of talk"; and with respect to certain of Poe's stories published in the late thirties (see p. 418) that "his fears were grisly, and his corpses seethed"; and of Poe's dead brother and grandmother (p. 386) that their ghosts were left, when Mrs. Clemm and her family moved away from Baltimore, to "twitter there alone"; and (p. 611) that "those who think *The Raven* is a mere *tour de force* overlook what it was that forced the tour." Here and there, too, he indulges in regrettable irrelevancies, as when he refers to Longfellow (p. 466) as "the carefully bibulous and benign," or (p. 433) as embodying "the genius of mediocrity," or goes afield (p. 451) to inform

his reader that "ethereal conversation [such as Poe was capable of] is the greatest gift of the gods." He lays himself open to criticism, too, by his carelessness in the mechanics of his writing. At several points he ruthlessly chops a sentence in two (as on pp. 440, 693, 817); moreover, he repeatedly ignores established usage in the pointing of his sentences. And he has permitted a multitude of typographical errors to escape him. Most of these appear in the spelling of proper names, as *Potiaux* (for *Poitiaux*) (pp. 52, 65, 73), *Chettingham* (for *Cheltenham*) (p. 75), *Danbridge* (for *Dandridge*) (pp. 196, 197), *Ezekial* (p. 421), *Pyp-sian* (for *Pepysian*) (p. 451), *Lounsberry* (p. 670), *Pantosocracy* (p. 673).² But there are also other misspellings—as *straightened* (circumstances) (p. 165), *conspicious* (p. 231), *ecstasy* (p. 440), *spritely* (p. 487), *paradying* (p. 568), *perfectability* (p. 616). His inaccuracies in this direction come to a climax on page 734, where besides certain lesser errors *pacifies* appears as *passifies*, *Dian* in the well-known passage from "Ulalume," "She is warmer than Dian," appears as *Diana* (though it must rhyme with *dry on* and *Lion*), and "this dank tarn of Auber" from the same poem becomes "this dark tarn of Amber." Certain inaccuracies in statement also may be noted. On p. 77, for instance, he asserts that "the Allans were in Scotland during most of 1815" (they had reached Liverpool in July, and were in London, as Mr. Allen later states, early in October); on p. 185, it is asserted that "Song" ("I saw thee on thy bridal day") belongs to 1829 (it appeared in the volume of 1827); on p. 417, that "Siope" was first published in 1839 (it appeared in the fall of 1837, as is established by a reference to it in the Baltimore *Monument* of December 2, 1837); on p. 666, that "The Spectacles" was first published in the *Broadway Journal* (it appeared in the *Dollar Newspaper* for March 27, 1844); and on p. 633, that the manuscript corrections of "The Raven" sent J. A. Shea in 1845 were meant for the *American Whig Review* (in reality they were incorporated in a text published in the New York *Tribune* of February 4, 1845, with which paper Shea was at the time connected). Open to serious doubt are the assertions that "To F—" was originally addressed to Eliza White (p. 643), that Poe's *Parnassus*

² I have noted some thirty misspelled proper names in the second volume alone.

was to have been an anthology (p. 686), that "Annabel Lee" was composed as early as 1846 (p. 700), and that there was actually a clandestine marriage between Poe and Virginia Clemm in 1835 (p. 324).

Both Mr. Allen and Miss Phillips are severe on Griswold, Miss Phillips going even farther than Ingram and Harrison in their condemnation of him, while Mr. Allen brings the accusation against him of having stolen the copyright of Poe's works (p. 913). Both biographers, too, find a good deal more of self-revelation in Poe's writings than has hitherto been done, Mr. Allen, for instance, proposing (on pp. 214-220) an elaborate "synthesis" of the "Gold Bug" by way of making plain his conviction as to the autobiographical origins of that story, and he suggests a similar genesis for several other stories (see pp. 515, 607, 711, 737, 764.) Both, furthermore, recur again and again to Poe's physical defects as furnishing a key to his conduct, Miss Phillips mentioning repeatedly his "shattered nerves," "nervous congestion," "nervous exhaustion," while Mr. Allen speaks of his "weakness of heart" and "nervous collapse," and declares at one point (p. 369) that "Poe's physical and mental condition is . . . fundamental even to a partial understanding of his character." In most other matters of interpretation, indeed, the two biographers are substantially in accord. Their most essential difference is to be found in style and method and mood.

University of Texas.

MATERIALS FOR INVESTIGATIONS IN AMERICAN LITERATURE (1926)¹

BY ERNEST E. LEISY

A. DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED

1. *On Individual Writers*

- Bagby, Dr. George William: a Study in Virginian Literature, 1850-1880. J. L. King. 1927. Columbia.
- Dunlap, William. O. S. Coad. 1917. Columbia. Dunlap Society, N. Y.
- Emerson's Debt to Coleridge, Carlyle, Wordsworth. F. T. Thompson. 1925. N. Carolina.
- *Emerson and Goethe. F. B. Wahr. 1915. Michigan. George Wahr, Ann Arbor.
- Halleck, Fitz-Greene. N. F. Adkins. Yale.
- James, Henry, as a Critic. W. P. Jones. 1925. Cornell.
- James, Henry, Theory and Practice in. H. L. Hughes. 1923. Virginia.
- Kennedy, James Pendleton. E. M. Gwathmey. 1926. Virginia.
- Lampman, Archibald. C. Y. Connor. 1926. Columbia.
- Miller, Cincinnatus Hiner. F. R. Reade. 1926. Virginia.
- Paulding, James K. A. L. Herold. 1925. Columbia. Columbia University Press. 1926.
- Smith, Seba, and Elizabeth Oakes Smith (Two American Pioneers). Mary Wyman. 1926. Columbia University Press. 1927.
- *Taylor, Bayard, as Literary Mediator. J. T. Krumpelmann. 1924. Harvard.
- Williams, Roger. The Political Theory of. J. E. Ernst. 1926. Washington. University of Washington Press. 1927.

2. *On Topics of a General Nature*

- American Colloquial Idiom, The, 1830-60. E. R. Hunter. 1925. Chicago.
- Anti-Slavery Sentiment in American Literature prior to 1865. L. D. Turner. 1926. Chicago.
- Death Song of the "Noble Savage," The. H. B. Jones. 1924. Chicago.
- Dickens, Charles, and the American Theater. Virginia Hudson. 1926. Chicago.
- Early English Pronunciation in the United States. Anders Orbeck. 1926. Columbia.

¹ Addenda and Errata to "A Bibliography of Dissertations, Articles, Research in Progress, and Collections of Americana," published in *Studies in Philology*, XXIII, 1, January, 1926.

* Asterisks indicate dissertations in Germanics.

- Indian Literature, North American. G. H. Daugherty, Jr. 1925. Chicago.
- Influence of Scott on American Literature. G. H. Orians. 1926. Illinois.
- Literary Dialect of the Southern Highlander, A Descriptive Study of. W. P. Carson. 1928. Columbia.
- Literary Tendencies in New York, 1789-1840. Eleanor Scott. 1925. Wisconsin.
- Newspapers, Boston Daily, 1830-50. Priscilla Fowle. 1920. Radcliffe.
- Prairie and the Making of Middle America, The. D. A. Dondore. 1924. Columbia. The Torch Press, 1926. (First of a series to deal with Forest, Plains, Mountains and Sea.)
- Reaction against Puritanism in American Periodicals of the Eighteenth Century. Elizabeth Jackson. 1916. Radcliffe.
- Theatre, Brief History of the American of the 18th Century. Frances Hyams. 1916. Radcliffe.

B. DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS

1. *On Individual Writers*

- Allen, James Lane. Grant C. Knight. Columbia.
- Barker, James Nelson. P. H. Musser. Pennsylvania.
- Briggs, Charles F., The Life and Letters of. D. D. Henry. Penna. State College.
- Cooke, Rose Terry. Mrs. Frost. Columbia.
- Cooke, Rose Terry, in the Development of the Short Story. N. B. Fagin. Johns Hopkins.
- Franklin, Benjamin, The Vocabulary of. Lois McLaurim. Chicago.
- Hamilton and Burke, The Age of. Ray W. Hazlett. Columbia.
- Hayne, Paul Hamilton. E. L. Johnson. Columbia.
- Hoffman, Charles Fenno. H. F. Barnes. Columbia.
- Hoyt, Charles, The Life and Plays of. Douglas Hunt. Chicago.
- James, Henry, as a Critic. M. Roberts. Harvard.
- Johnston, Richard Malcolm. F. T. Long. Columbia.
- Lanier's Thought in Relation to that of his Age. P. E. Graham. Chicago.
- Neal, John. I. T. Richards. Harvard.
- Nye's, Bill, Place among American Humorists. Walter Blair. Chicago.
- O'Brien, Fitz-James. F. Wollé. Columbia.
- O'Brien, Fitz-James, and his Group, Influence on Literature of the 1850's. C. B. Spotts. Penna. State College.
- Sardou, The Relation of to the American Theatre. Henrietta Naeseth. Chicago.
- Thoreau's Social Theories. W. A. Blankenship. Washington.
- Twain, Mark: The Growth of his Mind. M. M. Brashear. N. Carolina.
- Tyler, Royall. J. R. Brandon. Columbia.
- Whitman's Concept of Democracy. Leon Howard. Johns Hopkins.

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- Whitman, Literary Influences on. John Kemmerer. Columbia.
Whitman's Sources, especially Shakespeare. R. C. Harrison.
Whittier's Work, The New England Elements in. Frances Pray. Penna. State College.

2. *On Topics of a General Nature*

- American Biography. H. H. Caldwell. Columbia.
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American Literary Tradition, The Search for an. Harry R. Warfel. N. Carolina.
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Criticism of Ibsen's Plays in America. Annette Anderson. Iowa.
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Humor in American Literature, A History of. G. F. Horner. N. Carolina.
Indian, The Real and the Romantic in American Literature. J. A. Russell. Cornell.
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Influence of Pope on 18th Cent. American Satire. H. E. Briggs. Minnesota.
Influence of Wordsworth in America, 1820-48. Anabel Newton. Michigan.
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Literary Taste in Baltimore, 1815-33. J. E. Uhler. Johns Hopkins.
Magazine, The American, in the 18th Century. L. N. Richardson. Columbia.
Music, The Major American Romantic Writers' Knowledge and Use of the Art of. A. B. Kelly. N. Carolina.
Negro, The American, as Author. Vernon Loggins. Columbia.
New England Transcendentalism, German Sources of. J. H. Groth. Columbia.
"Noble Savage," The, in France, England, and America. J. W. Harris. N. Carolina.
Northern Travellers in the Southern States before the Civil War. A. S. Withers. Columbia.
Novel, Religious Elements in the, before 1860. L. Blankenbuehler. Minnesota.
Political Ballads, Early American. J. P. Fife. Harvard.
Quaker Influence, The, in American Literature. Murray Hill. Minnesota.
Realism, The Controversy over, in American Letters, 1865-94. B. B. Lane. N. Carolina.
Satire, Early American Social. T. L. Kellogg. Radcliffe.

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CERTAIN FALLACIES AND IRRELEVANCIES IN THE LITERARY SCHOLARSHIP OF THE DAY¹

BY ELMER EDGAR STOLL

Difficile est non saturam scribere.

—Juvenal, *Sat.*, I, 29.

Censeur un peu fâcheux, mais souvent nécessaire,
Plus enclin à blâmer que savant à bien faire.

—Boileau, *L'Art poétique*, IV, 235-236.

Why do we find the reading of the scholarly journals a burden? Why do some of us read only those articles which touch upon what we ourselves are writing about, and to see if they attack us or if we can attack them? The writers are—Ph. D's. It is their fortune and our misfortune. They came in with a dissertation, and dissertations they are still penning. (I have the right to say this; it has been said of me.) And sometimes the chief difference—sweet to the writer but less so to the reader—lies in the fact that the maiden effort was printed at the writer's expense, the present one, in some measure, at the reader's own.

What do dissertations in literature undertake to do, of what do they treat? In the graduate school or out of it they undertake above all to prove something; and there lies the root of the difficulty. Even in the graduate school we learned that it is the special distinction and proud prerogative of scientific literary work, not to develop and illustrate what was known but to discover what was unknown, not to expound but to argue, and to

¹ Read, in part, before the Modern Language Association of America, at Harvard, December, 1926.

defend or assail a thesis. Hence the forced and distorted conclusions so frequently drawn. The burden of proof weighs heavily upon the writer's pen, upon the reader's spirit. The writer is on his mettle to make a point, to score, even though he make the worse seem the better reason (which he does not dream of doing) like the sophists of old.

And what do they prove? Dates and sources, above all, influences (if the subject be more ambitious and the candidate more aspiring), or perhaps a question of different or identical authorship; and the means or medium of proof is commonly the allusion or parallel passage. In the case of influence it may be parallelism or similarity in style, structure, or thought, instead of wording; but a like process is involved. Such subjects are favorites in the graduate school because of their definiteness and tangibleness; they yield results. They yield them, though not easily, abundantly in the end. Most that is necessary is the simple process of comparison—of matching materials—and a good memory and plenty of industry to carry it out. There is always *some* similarity; if not very much, one cuts the garment according to the cloth and makes much of what there is. One for the moment forgets that the two authors in question were gifted beings, who independently inhabited the same planet, had somewhat the same passions, thoughts, and experiences, knew the same sort of people, perhaps lived in the same age, had of their own accord (though possibly quite by chance) chosen a similar subject, and were now writing in the same tongue. And in that moment Q. E. D. crowns the labor.

Some of us, as we gratefully remember, were warned against this pitfall in our student days; but we still see others step into it, when not doing it ourselves, and even the greatest among us as well as the least. Shakespeare is a favorite subject, but that ample demesne has been so thoroughly explored and the sources so diligently traced that people are tempted to stretch a point in order to disclose another. No one can have more respect than I for the scholarship and literary perception of Professor Gayley. His book on Beaumont is a credit to American scholarship and American letters. But his book on *Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America* is of another sort. It appeared during the war; it was no doubt prompted by the spirit of propa-

ganda; and as often with propaganda, the end justified the means. Not that Mr. Gayley falsifies the facts, but he unduly strains them. He surely does not here see, or (as the critic should) try to make us see, the thing quite as it is. He would fain make us think that in that fateful hour Shakespeare was for us—that even now like Milton, Burns, and Shelley, he watches from his grave. But the argument, being honestly managed, fails of itself. He takes great pains to endeavor to prove acquaintance on Shakespeare's part with the promoters of colonizing in Virginia, and sympathy with their motives and aspirations—only, Shakespeare himself says not a word to that effect. Spenser, Daniel, Drayton, and the rest sing of the New World and Virginia, but not Shakespeare. So the argument recoils, and proves, if anything, the contrary.

Mr. Gayley and his followers, to be sure, do not see this. They find in the *Tempest* signs of keen interest in the high emprise. They maintain—and in the November issue of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association* is an article to demonstrate it—that he made use of William Strachey's letter, which later appeared in Purchas's *Pilgrimes*. This would indicate not only Shakespeare's keen interest in the undertaking but also intimate acquaintance with its inner counsels—Shakespeare with his prophetic eyes upon us!

This proof rests upon a few slight verbal parallels, most precariously. There is not a word in the *Tempest* about America or Virginia, colonies or colonizing, Indians or tomahawks, maize, mocking-birds, or tobacco. Nothing but the Bermudas, once barely mentioned as a faraway place, like Tokio or Mandalay. His interest and sympathy Shakespeare keeps to himself. There are some few isolated similarities in subject-matter, such as a storm, a shipwreck, St. Elmo's fire, a Master, a Boatswain, a harbor, an island, the north wind; but who could tell a sea story without them, even Herodotus or Heliodorus? Had Strachey never been to Virginia or even seen the light of day, or had America never been discovered, these things might have been in the *Tempest* just the same. And the use of identical words—some few dozen such as *cries* or *split*, even in connection with a shipwreck, or *amazement*, even in connection with St. Elmo's fire—or of identical phrases such as *sharp wind* or *stand upon our guard*—all this but shows

that Shakespeare could tell a lively story that wouldn't be far off from the other story, which was one of fact. And he was using the same language, in the very same years. These phrases, were they not his as well as Strachey's? The writer in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association* even seizes upon the word *tempest*, not in Strachey but in another report already in print, as what "may have suggested his very title." But thought, then as now, was free; the language, like air and water, was denied to no one. And old Gonzalo's pipe-dream in Act II, of an ideal but idle commonwealth, which is taken from Montaigne, the writer conceives to be also Shakespeare's defence of colonization as a policy, then much criticized, and an indirect presentation of the right way to go about it. Shakespeare himself, it appears, would have the colonists not idle at all; but how an audience, proverbially so stupid, was to perceive this, or that he was talking of practical colonization of any sort, I cannot make out. Undoubtedly there is some very slight but definite evidence in the *Tempest* and another play that Shakespeare had read some of the Elizabethan voyages or heard the substance of them repeated. Monsters such as the anthropophagi, spoken of in *Othello* and told of before that by Raleigh, are an example. But as regards his interest in America, the result, here again, is negative. He knew something (exceedingly little) of America but said nothing of it as American; and as for opinions concerning an American policy, if he had none on matters nearer home, like the Parliamentary question, or the Irish question, or the question of prelacy, he may be supposed to have had none concerning America, which he mentions but once in all his works and then as a joke.

Indeed, as honest men, Professor Gayley and his followers acknowledge that the evidence bit by bit is not considerable, and may be questionable, but—the ever-ready argument—they consider the effect of it to be cumulative. No one passage of itself indicates that he had read Strachey, or any other of the accounts of the Virginia colony, for that matter; but a dozen or so of isolated words or phrases taken together do. A saying of old Professor Child's recurs to me, which I heard, though unconcernedly, in my tender esthetic youth. "As if forty nothings made something," he muttered, to himself or to the deities below.

This supposed cumulative effect is what scholars not uncom-

monly have recourse to in order not only to prove sources and influences but to identify characters in the flesh or incidents in history. Obviously, it can have force only when the details have individual value; as we learned in our nonage, the whole is *not* greater than its parts. And also only when there is already established an antecedent probability. Verbal borrowings immediately become more probable when the story or subject-matter is virtually the same, or when the text has manifestly been accessible to the dramatist or been used by him elsewhere. Shakespeare had a vivid memory, and when he was dramatizing *Macbeth* or *Henry V* he sometimes followed Holinshed's wording as the line of least resistance. At times, indeed, he followed the text with care, reproducing the veritable words of the famous; but there is no occasion for that in the case of a high fantastic tale like the *Tempest*. And could not William Shakespeare make Stephano escape on a butt of sack, without the warrant or countenance of William Strachey, who throws overboard a butt of beer? and make Prospero break his staff and bury it certain fathoms in the earth, without Strachey's Boatswain, who, at sea, "sounding at first, found it thirteen fathoms?" *Fathoms* is a word for everybody, in a sea-story well-nigh unavoidable. As many resemblances, I surmise, might be found between the *Tempest* and, say, *Treasure Island*. But who knows? The *Tempest* may yet be demonstrated to be its source, and the ubiquitous Hawkins the incarnation of Ariel.

Antecedent probability of another sort is ignored in another article in the same number of the *Publication of the Modern Language Association*, one on Hamlet's delay. I refer to it only in passing, for I wish to avoid here anything like personal controversy. In Timothy Bright's *Treatise of Melancholy* (1586) the author finds an indisposition to action to be a symptom of certain extreme forms of the disease. Discovering, then, a few very slight similarities in phrasing, she concludes that Shakespeare had read the book and meant Hamlet's delay so to be understood. But then would not some comment have been necessary, and the point, so central and pivotal, have been made clear and emphatic? Even if Shakespeare had read the book, the audience hadn't; or even if they had, how were they, without a clue, to know that this particular extreme form of the disease was intended? How

strange a dramatic method for Hamlet to wonder whether the mere sight of the ghost was not owing to his melancholy, but when it comes to the cause of his procrastination to say he does not know; and for others—Horatio, at least, who is in the secret of his grief and his project—not only not to speak up and explain but fail to take notice of the indisposition to action at all!

This would be an historical fallacy; more commonly in connection with Shakespeare it is the unhistorical with which one must contend,—the modern Hamlet, the modern Shylock or Falstaff, which is the original overlaid with our predilections and prepossessions. But it is also fallacious to connect the drama or poem even with its own time in a way that but contradicts the spirit of the drama or poem. The prime, and the final, arbiter is (read Pope, read the Stagirite himself) the discernible intention of the author. Sometimes history and environment can help us to determine that; but the main means are the play or poem itself and other plays or poems of the same author or of his contemporaries. Literature, not history, sheds most light upon literature—drama upon drama; and often literature (and drama as well) is somewhat in opposition to the time. The means are esthetic as much as historical, are above all those of fairmindedness and common sense. The anachronistic fallacy is that of looking upon the dramatist like Shakespeare, the poet like Dante, as a philosopher or seer who anticipated our ways of thought and sentiment, and of cheerfully attributing them to him; the historical fallacy is that of treating him as a mere puppet of the *Zeitgeist*, without artistic and poetic autonomy, and the age itself as so entirely disclosed to us that we can positively say, here he got this, here that. A blind and dogged literalism pervades much of our scholarly work, different only in degree (we may say in passing) from that of the esthetic critic, who treats characters which in principle he acknowledges to be imaginative, in practice as if they were alive.

It takes various forms. One critic finds Shakespeare following closely, for a tale of adventure, a story from which he borrows only words like *amazement* and *conspiracy* or phrases like *stand on his guard*; others undertake positively to identify the characters or incidents of an author in the life about him. So Hamlet and Prospero have been identified as Shakespeare himself; but by others James the Sixth of Scotland and First of England has been thought to be

the man, though by still others he is (as plausibly) thought to be Bottom, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. To me personally such identifications seem among the most misguided and wasted of terrestrial excursions and exertions. They are, so far as I have noticed, generally disavowed by the authors themselves, even when they concern people long dead, like Arnold of Brescia, supposed to be the original of Browning's *Patriot*. Like much of our research, they entertain no one but the writer and profit no one at all. How futile to peer into chronicles and archives for traces of the creatures of a poet's brain, in order to find out the footprints on earth of beings all air and fire! Save in the satirical writers, the resemblance to any particular mortal is generally so slight as to be meaningless, even though on external evidence the connection can be demonstrated. And think of the antecedent probability of Shakespeare, the gentle, silent, and unobtrusive, undertaking to present, on the stage, the great Virgin Queen fondly caressing in public her Cousin of Scotland, and with an ass's head on his shoulders; or to present him afterwards, the author of the *Demonology*, now by divine right and favor King also of England and Ireland, as a princely wizard deprived of crown and throne! Even dukes and earls had to smart for lesser offences than that! This point, no doubt, scholars see. But they only make capital of it. For not only is the cumulative argument called in but another quite as dubious. It is that the resemblance between the character and the reality is so slender only because the dramatist must needs play safe. By such sleight of hand almost any resemblance can be proved. Evidence is made of the sheer want of evidence. But again and again this argument is made to save the day in the case of identifications in Shakespeare and Molière. What would Shakespeare scholars do without the Earls of Southampton, Pembroke, and Essex, and Mary Fitton, of whose relations (one and all) to Shakespeare we know nothing or next to nothing? They would find others like them to take the place of these. Always the identifications are demonstrated, for it would be strange indeed if characters in fiction had not some little trait or other in common with some person or other of the time. But if this was intended, what, then, becomes of our impression of Shakespeare as a rapid, prodigal playwright and free and careless poet? It's all wrong, if he trod as carefully as certain historical critics would have him

do, following the data and documents, putting in the personalities and anxiously covering up his traces afterwards.

According to this writer who makes out Bottom to be James VI, the exquisite passage about the "fair vestal thronèd by the west" means Elizabeth, *not* on her throne in this western country of England—west of Athens—but on a throne at the Elvetham Entertainment, 1591 (of which there is a crude picture), planted on the west bank of a pond; and the mermaid singing on a dolphin's back means not a dolphin at all but a sailboat, though to judge by the picture this isn't much of a mermaid. Long skirts, ruff, and stomacher,—these, I suppose, are to spare Elizabeth's virgin cheek. But what is our mermaid doing in a boat, in the name of all the seagods? This it must be that made certain stars shoot madly from their spheres,—amazement, not Orphic ecstasy. Pray, was ever poetry so laboriously spoiled? Was ever drama? For if it requires such footnotes now it would have required them then, unless all the audience had been at Elvetham, and were extraordinarily knowing; and poetry that in its own day requires footnotes is not poetry. But the scholar in most of us will not rest content till every fancy shall become a fact, every character a person, and every incident be placed and dated; and then the loss of the dolphin, and the mermaid singing upon its back, we do not much feel. What's that to the delight of a "discovery," or the idle enjoyment of poetry to the triumphant solution of a conundrum or charade?

I should like to say something about another literal tendency of our research, whereby there is discovered in literature a reproduction not only of a particular event but of the life of the time in general, its customs and manners; and so is discovered many a mare's nest, in modern literature as well as the Elizabethan. But that subject I have discussed elsewhere.² And I should like also

² *Modern Language Review*, 1924; and, more fully, in the second chapter of a book of *Shakespeare Studies*, recently published. From the latter are taken some of the ideas of the preceding two paragraphs, by permission of the publishers, the Macmillan Company. A discussion, from the same point of view, of Spanish conjugal honor, which I regret not having seen sooner, is to be found in Prof. W. L. Fichter's edition of *El Castigo del Discreto*, N. Y., 1925. In the chapter referred to is discussed another fallacy, somewhat similar, that of drawing conclusions from his writings concerning the author's own experiences or his mood at the time.

to say something of researches not so literal, of influences not so external and so like sources—the impress of one man's art and style upon another's. When they are of the same period, above all of the same circle of society, how can they be at all clearly discerned? Who can quite disentangle the filaments of Byron's influence upon Shelley from those of Shelley's influence upon Byron, or Coleridge's upon Wordsworth from Wordsworth's upon Coleridge, or trace the indebtedness to each other of the collaborating Elizabethans? Here are both action and reaction, primary and secondary. To be so precise and absolute is to take upon us the mystery of things as if we were God's spies; and the value of such researches lies in the likenesses and unlikenesses thus laid bare rather than in the conclusions drawn.

Before turning for further exemplification of the historical-unhistorical process to Milton (though we might turn equally well to Chaucer), we may learn the causes of this and the other fallacies even from Shakespeare's own unhistorical age, from Bacon. The illusion these scholars follow, is it not one of the Idols of the Tribe? I quote from the translation:

1. The human understanding is of its own nature prone to suppose the existence of more order and regularity in the world than it finds.
2. The human understanding when it has once adopted an opinion . . . draws all things else to support and agree with it.
3. Besides, independently of that delight and vanity which I have described, it is the peculiar and perpetual error of the human intellect to be more moved and excited by affirmatives than by negatives.

The aptness of the three quotations is, I trust, without comment apparent. We crave order and connections, sources or influences, and we draw all things else to support or agree with these. Source, influence, or convention (my own particular hobby), or the notion of fiction fashioned upon an ascertainable reality—such is the form and pattern, so to speak, of our thought; and we impose it on the material of literature almost perforce. Only in such terms do some of us think or cerebrate. Why, by the way, has Shakespeare been identified with Bacon? Is it merely because men cannot conceive of a half-educated rustic writing so well? Is it not in part because, there being no discernible relation (personal or literary) between them, men's thought has in its natural bent been thwarted, and has therefore in sheer helplessness

—or sheer self-assertion, perhaps—fallen back upon the conclusion that the two must be one and the same? A connection it must have. A source, an influence, a bare allusion, might have sufficed to preserve to Shakespeare his literary identity.

But literary scholars are not the only offenders. The customs of the stage are not literature, and I remember talking with a clever investigator at the British Museum who had got to the point of thinking that the Blackfriars theatre was the centre of the universe or at least the umbilicus of European theatrical life. Not content with saying that the custom of sitting on the stage arose there and spread to the other London theatres, he declared that it was carried over to Paris; and when I asked him how the Spanish too came to have the custom, at least as early as 1630, he replied, with a rising inflection, as if it were a matter of course, and the question were superfluous, "From Blackfriars." After a few years of research, of probing and proving, one's eyes get set in one's head, and one's answers (and conclusions, too) become automatic. A professor of economic history told me, not long since, of attending, a year or so ago, a meeting of historians in New York at which they were discussing the rise of autocracy and tyranny in the Roman Empire. They too considered only the question of source or influence, from Egypt or the Orient, and not one voice was raised for the theory of an origin independent and internal, out of the conditions at home. Our thought demands one origin, at one spot, ignoring the identity and spontaneous and universal fecundity of nature.

On the other hand, I remember a pretty illustration of the disengaged and larger vision in our own ranks, a brief comment many years ago by Professor Belden in *Modern Language Notes*. It was a striking parallel between a lyric of Heine's and a legend of the Wyandot Indians, about the marriage of the Sun and the Moon and of the Stars as their children. An alienation followed, a desertion. And now she follows him, and pale and languishing she rises in the east, as he, flushing with anger, sets in the west. But Professor Belden deliberately and austere denied himself any belief in Heine's having heard the Wyandot story, which only since his death, indeed, had been made known to literature; preferring no doubt to believe that all men have imaginations, and can think much the same simple poetic thoughts by the North

Sea and by Lake Huron. Anthropologists know they can; though there are others that think similar designs on baskets and pottery, to be found in Mexico as in Asia, must be the result of communication. In fact, it is direct and actual evidence for that original myth-making power, which the reader feels instinctively in Heine and in Shelley, too, and is a notable characteristic of their genius. To them by nature the world was still young, "herrlich wie am ersten Tag." There is likewise a remarkable parallel between an ancient Babylonian myth recently discovered and a passage in Dante; and should not the parallels between Shakespeare and Greek tragedy be viewed in a similar light? Paths cross, collisions occur, not only on this wide-wayed earth but in mid-ocean and (nowadays) in mid-air. And what is one of the chief delights in reading the ancient poets but that of finding our thoughts to be their thoughts; or what, for that matter, is the chief delight in learning to know a friend? Even his words at times are ours, and often (without borrowing) we take them, as we say, out of each other's mouths.

In Milton scholarship there are fallacies of the same sort, and others too. A new school of Milton criticism has in recent years arisen which, indeed, has made notable additions to our knowledge of the poet. Monsieur Saurat, perhaps, is the leader of it; his book on Milton has been translated into English and has been widely read; and there is a Swedish scholar, Professor Liljegren, one German, and many Americans. The chief fallacy that I discern in their procedure is the historical, again, coupled with that craving for a revolutionary conception which appears in most of our literary scholarship, but is here aided and abetted by the new psychology. They themselves say much of their new views—of the new school—somewhat as Mr. Babbitt and Mr. More call themselves the New Humanists; and they approve and compliment each other and freely play into each other's hands. Truth is the end of criticism; and often a coterie is inimical to the search for truth as not to that for beauty.

The new school insist that Milton was not so much a Puritan as a humanist, a son of the Renaissance and of the classical world; and they minimize the Puritanism which they find. So the new humanists and their followers find Shelley and even Wordsworth vaguely or weakly emotional, and Wordsworth—of all men—even

immoral or irreligious.³ Now there is no doubt that these researches have laid bare in Milton a greater degree of indebtedness to contemporary and ancient philosophy than had been recognized; but again the value of the work resides in the material presented rather than in the conclusions drawn, in the exposition rather than in the argument. The study of literature, as Professor Frederick Tupper has said, is in large measure a study in emphasis; and the emphasis the new Miltonians have shifted and seriously disturbed. And that is what the New Humanists, in the opinion of some of us, have done to Shelley and Wordsworth.

Controversy may easily become one about words, but surely Milton was a Puritan and (in so far as a poet can be) more a Puritan than anything else. The English have been, rather naïvely, reproached for taking so little part in the new critical movement, but they need not look to their laurels so long as they have Sir Walter Raleigh to their credit; and to me he seems, though I confess I have not an expert's right to speak, to keep the balance more nearly even. No one worth considering ever thought of Milton as a crop-haired Praise-God or Zeal-in-the-Land, singing through his nose, breaking organs and smashing glass, or indifferent to nature, art, or woman. The new school emphasize what Milton says of temperance, the pagan virtue; but what Milton has most to say of is obedience and righteousness. The new school draw attention to his passionate and sensuous nature; but Milton scorned it, and never gave it the rein. The new school, some of them, make Milton out to have been a Puritan less and less as time went on and more of a freethinker and philosopher. But the course of his thought as it appears in his poetry and prose from first to last reveals him as more of a dissenter, to be sure, but unflinching in his belief in God and (if not in the church) in the Bible, and less and less indulgent to the senses and earthly pleasure. He is more of a Puritan than ever, though just as he had left the Presbyterian chapel he now leaves the meeting-house. Extreme dissent may look a little like freethinking and paganism, but it isn't. It is worlds away, the Bible being in between.

The trouble with much of the literary scholarship today is that

³ See the reply of Professor J. W. Beach to Professor B. Cerf, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 1925.

to it nothing—no poet, no poem—is what it seems. Scholarship has the eyes of Lynceus and is not to be taken in. It wears the spectacles of German philosophy or psychology, and penetrates the universal illusion. But a poem appeals to our naked senses and sensibilities; it was not penned for the *Forscher*, who has neither, or has transcended them; and our natural impression cannot lightly be set aside. Indeed, it should be set aside or modified only as we can be proved to have misinterpreted, to have misunderstood.^{3a} Now the immediate impression derived from Milton and from his poetry—and as is the case to the same degree with few men, this is one and the same—is that he was what we ordinarily know by the word Puritan, though in a noble sense of the word; and by study and analysis that impression is not lessened but deepened. And *Lycidas* is more, not less Puritan than *L'Allegro*; *Paradise Lost* is much more Puritan than *Lycidas*; *Paradise Regained* than *Paradise Lost*; and *Samson* even more than *Paradise Regained*. Sir Richard Jebb insists that (though in form it is) this great drama is not Greek, for it involves no fate, no dark cloud of destiny; but is Hebraic, in the vein of Jeremiah and of Deborah and Barak. The spirit of the Puritans was Hebraic, we know. And though in the *Hymn on the Nativity* and even in *Lycidas* the poet commingles Christian imagery and the pagan, in *Paradise Lost* he seldom permits himself a classical allusion without at the same time labelling the story “feigned”, or “fabled,” or “an idle dream”; and in *Paradise Regained* he frowns, like a prophet or apostle, upon Greek philosophy and culture. This disapproval is, in an article on Spenser's Influence upon Milton (by an American scholar, but considered by M. Saurat one of the corner-stones of the new theory), explained away. But the influence of the poet of the Renaissance, except such as was hitherto recognized, is, I think, by no means demonstrated;⁴ and

^{3a} This is true in art as not in history. As I have often endeavored to show, the figures in drama—particularly in popular drama—must be taken at their face value unless the author has given a clear hint that they are not to be. With the author himself, not a fiction, we may go farther, and psycho-analyze him—if we have sufficient data. It can be done, no doubt, with Byron and Poe.

⁴ The received opinion is that Milton shows the influence of Spenser only in his earliest poems. “Milton acknowledged to me,” says Dryden, “that

the disapproval of Greek philosophy in *Paradise Regained* is not owing to its being like scholasticism antiquated and played out but to its being simply mortal and mundane, in contrast with the "light from above, from the fountain of light." And the facts, of course, and common sense itself are for us. Milton was a Puritan, both in creed and in party, and was not so much a son of the Renaissance as a grandson. It is when he gives the rein to his fancy that he shows his kinship with the Renaissance, not in morals or religion.

The new school point to the fact that in Michael's vision of the future at the end of *Paradise Lost* there is no mention of the Reformation. Has Milton become indifferent? He had hoped that his party would bring about a real Reformation in England,

Spenser was his original." To this word, interpreted by Professor Raleigh in the sense of "his earliest admiration, his poetic godfather who first won him to poetry," Professor Greenlaw ("*Spenser's Influence on Paradise Lost*," *Studies in Philology*, 1920) has given instead a precise and definite meaning, and in reference to his masterpiece. Some part of the spiritual and even of the physical philosophy of the poem is derived from the elder poet; as well as some matters of detail such as his particular use of Demogorgon, the Garden of Adonis, and the "apple" for the "fruit of the tree."

The mere fact that sensitive critics like Sir Walter Raleigh, led by Milton's words to look for this influence, have hitherto not found it, is proof presumptive that it is not there. An influence not discernible with the naked eye is no influence, or the word no longer has a meaning. And the resemblance between the poets actually discovered seems for the most part only the almost inevitable likeness of two Christian poets, living in the same age, breathing the same air, and reading the same books—practically all the classics of their time. Here is the "influence"—of seventeenth-century England, of Greece, Rome, and Judaea, (which Mr. Greenlaw, to be sure, also recognizes) rather than of Spenser. Dryden's words, moreover, when viewed, without prejudice, in their context, show that he and Milton had no thought of subject-matter, still less of the subject-matter of *Paradise Lost*, but of style and poetic spirit, even of things metrical. Spenser had fanned the poetic spark within the Puritan's bosom, that is all. In his earliest poems this is apparent. But surely Milton owed little or nothing to Spenser for his ideas of Chaos and the atomic philosophy, for scholasticism and Platonism, for classical mythology, or for the "apple," which, put in Adam's hand, is at least as old as Caedmon. To me, personally, the most apparent signs of Spenser's spirit (if there be any) in *Paradise Lost* are purely esthetic and scenic, as in such concepts as "darkness visible" and "lay floating many a rood."

Luther's and Calvin's and Cranmer's having failed. And what has now come of it? The Restoration, triumph of King and bishops. The Reformation, then, why mention it? He himself now is Orpheus overtaken by Bacchus and his revellers, or Samson fallen among the Philistines, and his only consolation is in a future far away. So shall the world go on, says Michael,

To good malignant, to bad men benign
Under her own weight groaning till the day
Appear of respiration to the just
And vengeance to the wicked . . .

But that deep tone of melancholy, and of a consolation too remote, is not one either of indifference or of despair. It is the note of faith, though at bay.

Moreover, the impression that we legitimately derive from *Paradise Lost*, whether directly or indirectly, is that the fault of Adam was not that of excess, of disturbing the balance of temperance, but of mere disobedience, of breaking the law, of sin, as the Christians call it. Milton says as much in the first line of the poem: God and His angels, Adam and Eve, say it afterwards. Temperance is touched on once or twice; but to the Puritan who was not a fanatic, as to the ancient Hebrew before him, such an idea was not alien. Like the ancient Hebrews, Christians in good standing since, and many of the Puritans of his time, Milton did not hate the senses or abhor reasonable and legitimate enjoyment. He smoked and drank. He was not a fanatic. But he was severe, austere, not mild or tolerant. And the attitude he took to life was not that of Sophocles or Pericles, of Socrates or Plato, of Zeno, even, or Epictetus, and still less that of Spenser, who took pleasure in writing of Phaedria and Acrasia, the Bower of Bliss and the Squire of Dames, but that of a quick and wholly awakened conscience. Every poem reveals it. Even the youthful Latin poems, where under the spell of the classical tradition he gave himself freer rein, are chaste and modest; but to him they later seemed too unrestrained, and he unsparingly penned his palinode.

Haec ego mente olim laeva, studioque supino,
Nequitiae posui vana trophaea meae.

And Milton was a poet. Like most *Forscher*, the new school—some of them—seem at times to forget this, in their historical and

philosophical prepossessions. They are bent on making him of the Renaissance not only in spirit but in thought. His learning was indeed prodigious, but the transition to that from his poetry is a ticklish and a dangerous thing. As a philosopher he may rightly be called a materialist and pantheist—I am not prepared to contradict it; but I see little justification for drawing such conclusions from his verse. To the exigencies of poetic narrative are often to be attributed the materialistic conceptions that appear in *Paradise Lost*. Eating and sleeping, singing and loving, sweet sights and smells, are in Heaven indispensable if it is to be a Heaven at all. The poet cannot present the angels and celestial sanctities in a vacuum. Life there seems empty and jejune enough at best. To recall More or Boehme, Plato or Plotinus, philosophers ancient or modern, seems here highly irrelevant and superfluous. And if Milton's own poetic spirit did not suffice him, the example of Homer did. In any case, conclusions touching doctrine cannot legitimately be derived from the incidents of the fable. Only when Milton is didactic should his text be treated as if it were that of Lucretius. Only then are such conclusions more justifiably to be derived from Milton's epic than from Wordsworth's lyrics.

It is particularly in Adam's fall that these scholars find the principle of temperance illustrated. Adam is uxorious, fondly overcome by female charm. But he has done more than deviate from the golden mean. It is, as we have seen, an offence; it is a heinous sin; it is an act of disobedience even at this point as well as in the consequent eating of the apple, against which, as well as against that, he had been explicitly warned by the visiting angel. And that Milton has presented the offence at its origin somewhat in the light of a thing good in itself overdone, is surely owing not to principle but to his need for motivation. Adam is supposed to be as yet sinless, and for dramatic and poetic propriety and plausibility there must be a transition. Without flaw, he cannot, logically, be tempted; only through the excess of a good quality can he be conceived to sin. Yet the deed is not judged accordingly, whether by the Lord or by the poet. And even in the philosophy of sex relations, which M. Saurat discloses in Milton elsewhere, the mild doctrine of the golden mean I fail to find. Milton is not Greek but Hebrew—of the patriarchal days—or, we

might say, a noble and poetical Mormon. He is nothing at all of a naturalist but a legalist. The one relation, of marriage, is proper and right, and even to the intemperate point of polygamy; the other, beyond the bounds of wedlock, is wholly wrong. It is a matter of obedience, again, not of temperance, a question of free indulgence in the one case, of total abstinence in the other, not of moderation or excess. The Mormons, we must remember, came of Puritan stock, and were of that tradition; the Mormons, like the Puritans, the ancient Hebrews and the Mohammedans, were legalists, self-indulgent in one regard, strong prohibitionists in others, and exemplars of temperance in none. And in all the chief poems—*Comus*, *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*, alike—there is, as one of the school has admirably shown, the same central situation. It is that of temptation. What could be more Puritan? What less Greek? In all four it is not a question of temperance, moderation, or the golden mean at all. The doctrine of temperance is presented—though speciously—by *Comus*, by the Devil.

How far this interest in a doctrine and a philosophy overshadows these scholars' interest in the poem appears clearly in M. Saurat. Some years ago a controversy arose concerning the ending of *Paradise Lost*, whether it was merely tranquil and resigned, of those sorrowing but at peace, or was on a more cheerful note; and whether Milton had all along intended the ending as we have it (thus differently interpreted) or had introduced it as a mere afterthought, weary of Paradise himself and meaning to launch the pair on a Renaissance career. Do the pair go out of the gate gladly, in the spirit of adventure, or regretfully, into the dim wide world we know? On two occasions M. Saurat has declared this controversy barren. Since I myself played but a small part in it and wrote the fewest pages, I may be supposed to have wasted time and paper least of all, and can therefore speak of his opinion rather impersonally. Much as I consider Mr. Erskine mistaken, I am not sure but I would rather have written his essay than all that has been written by M. Saurat. It is on a higher plane and more to the point. It has to do with what to me is one of the really significant matters, the upshot and the artistic harmony of Milton's *chef d'oeuvre*. As a philosopher Milton is to us of little import, and much of what has been

expounded as his philosophy seems to me to have little import to his poem.

Barrenness, that is the charge which literary scholars, like others, bring against the work of those who are not of their school. And generally with reason enough. If the sources, influences, and indentifications were demonstrated, it were something, but not very much. What a prodigious expenditure of labor, so little relevant to the real understanding of the author in question or his work! I am speaking, for the moment, not of the New Miltonians but of us all. To the genuine man of letters what a queer and puzzling thing the program of a Modern Language Association must be, with all its minute and extraneous considerations! The barren discussions are not only the proofs which do not prove but those which, if they do, little matter. To the study of literature of what moment is it that John Shakespeare and James Burbage once sued each other; of what moment, prolonged discussions of Chaucer's relatives or the unknown names of Christopher Marlowe's murderers? ⁶ Of what moment, too, much of the controversy concerning the fittings of the Elizabethan stage and the customs of the publishing trade? "Importance is one thing," says Congreve, "and learning's another; but a debate's a debate." Every fact, in a sense, is important, but not every fact is relevant or congruous; and it is extremely incongruous that the higher study of literature in this country and in Europe should be so much in the hands of mere antiquarians or (as now it is less commonly) of mere philologists. Their teaching (we remember)

⁶I would not be understood to belittle these or similar discoveries; they are a credit to American learning, industry, and ingenuity; and unlike many of the discussions of sources and influences, they are not vitiated by faulty logic; but I regret the fact that so often the perspective is lost, and the true bearing of such researches forgotten or ignored. And human nature being what it is, few who are willing to pursue such researches are fitted to impart instruction, as their profession requires, in literature. On the whole, to be sure, the teaching of literature is better done than when we were not doing it, by men no bigger but who profit by their sufferings. *Hamlet* no longer serves for exercises in etymology, nor *Faust* for parsing. But extensive historical and biographical discussion may be as little relevant to the great question—the purpose and purport, structure and value of the poem—as discussion of dates and sources, bibliography and texts.

is as irrelevant and barren as their writing. This state of affairs, as well as the terms and technique and laboratory method of both philology and *literaturgeschichte*—"source," "influence," and the like, and even the institution of the Modern Language Association itself—to what is it owing but to an alien domination? *Peace* hath her victories—this side the sea, this side the Rhine, alas!

Was Milton himself aware of his insidious humanism? M. Saurat speaks of Milton's "taking up Puritanism because it embodied his favorite virtues of fortitude and temperance [pagan virtues!] and because it was the only organized force in that age which, by overthrowing the old order, would offer a chance for the realization of his revolutionary ideals. He joined the party, made it serve his turn, but was at bottom inspired by intellectual pride and ambition and by sensuous passion." Here is the new psychology at work. But though most human motives and emotions are mixed, Milton is to me incomprehensible as he joins in the conflict and abandons his poetic dreams, leaves the Church for the Presbyterians, the Royalists for the Parliamentary party, and then the Presbyterians for the Independents, and writes *Lycidas*, the Sonnets to his *Blindness* and on *Piedmont*, *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson*, save as he is animated by moral, religious, and patriotic ardor. If John Milton was not candid and in earnest, the ground gives way beneath me. If he wasn't, who, then, was? Is there a nigger in every woodpile, a wicked card up every sleeve? Not up *this* sleeve—we beseech thee, O Lord! "Everything is what it is," says Bishop Butler, "and not another thing." But that obvious though sage maxim is, it seems, not now regarded—not in Milton criticism, not in Shakespeare criticism, Heaven knows, nor even in history itself. Witness the recent discussion of responsibility for the war. From all appearances England did not desire war, but that only proves she did.

By this interpretation is attributed to Milton, not hypocrisy, to be sure, but a sort of designing spirit or unconscious insincerity. Some, however, go farther than that. In their historical intemperance and zeal they make him out to be of the Renaissance not only in temper but in deed. Professor Liljegren thinks Milton did not see Galileo but in his pride and egotism pretended that he did; both Liljegren and Saurat think that (somewhat like the English

we used to hear of who sank the *Lusitania*) Milton fabricated evidence against Charles I by having the Pamela prayer, the prayer of a heathen woman to a heathen god, foisted into the *Eikon Basilike*, and then, for such devotions, treacherously attacked the dead king's memory; and Dr. Mutschmann, it seems, considers Milton not only a hypocrite but half mad, and an Albino into the bargain. But Monsieur Saurat outdoes him when he suspects that Milton may have owed his blindness to inherited syphilis. Here are the precious affirmatives of which Bacon, long before our own science was born, took due notice. But the reader they "move and excite" rather differently from the author.

Not only the new psychology but the new physiology, as well as history and *Culturgeschichte*! And it all comes into play in the matter of the *Eikon Basilike*. Milton is concerned not only as a propagandist—there he is Puritan enough—but also as a disciple of Machiavelli. It is on this latter aspect, characteristically, that they insist. But all these attacks upon Milton's integrity seem to be based on flimsy evidence. The mountain of argument raised by Liljegren to demonstrate the infernal perfidy of the *Eikon Basilike* affair is founded, as Mr. Smart, an Englishman, has shown, on the testimony of a man who in his own day was known to be a jailbird and a perjurer. And the passion for affirmation (or contradiction) in a man must be mighty if it can lead him the length of charging a great worthy with mendacity simply because, as we understand, Galileo was closely guarded by the Inquisition. For how closely, who can at this distance tell?

Why have they interpreted Milton so far askew? I have called it an historical fallacy, a psychological one; but why not interpret him according to his actual environment as a product of Puritanism and as a Puritan psycho-analyze him? Turn about is fair play, and I will psycho-analyze the critics. Is there not here the spirit of anachronism as well, and have they not, in making him a son of the Renaissance, seemingly satisfied their historical sense while they really circumvented it, assimilating him to themselves? They have gone behind the returns, have, so to speak, psycho-analyzed the very *Zeitgeist*—that is, as is commonly the case, revealed themselves:

Was ihr den Geist der Zeiten heisset,
Das ist im Grund der Herren *eigner* Geist,
In dem die Zeiten sich bespiegeln.

Puritanism is nowadays not acceptable in literature—we are one and all for humanism. Even the New Humanists so designate themselves, though “New Puritans” might have been a better title. And a free-thinking Spartan, stern teacher of temperance rather than obedience and righteousness, and, perhaps ruthless propagandist, and scion of Machiavelli besides—how much more interesting, piquant, “intriguing” a conception! The more complicated the better, it would seem, today; but the truth, not what is more interesting or ingenious, is what some of us are seeking.

Whether ingenuity or dulness be the cause, the truth is too little revealed, for all the portentous appearance of disclosing it. So elaborate and ponderous an apparatus and procedure, with so meagre a product or result! A winepress, to squeeze out a cupful! And such an array of problems, many of them far-fetched or fictitious, so seldom really solved! Truth? How often we are given but the myths of scholarship, the monstrous and spectral imaginations (*vide passim supra*) of the *unpoetic* mind. That, I think, is why we are dissatisfied with literary scholarship, with historical criticism. But what a droll situation (upon which, nevertheless, our whole system of degree-winning and dissertation-writing depends) that we should be so satisfied with our own! In *their* writing we seek the truth at all events. And how ironical that we, who despise the belletristic trifler, should, for all our labor and show of rigor, attain to it no better than he? We too are trifling—not dealing with substantial things but playing a game with counters—though we do not know it. Or shall I say, we are bluffing, both ourselves and some few readers, with our parade of evidence and serried array of arguments, so many of which will not stand the test? In literary criticism mere industry—mere argument and ingenuity and technical adroitness—does not much avail. There a fact is not a fact, a truth not a truth, save in its right relations; and an upsetting of the proportion, a disturbance of the emphasis, turns it to error. The new truth is in effect often farther from the mark than the old. Why is it that often the best and the most readable scientific criticism is not what affirms and asserts but what denies and contradicts, and

disproves what has been so laboriously proved?⁶ But that is a thankless (though daily demanded) labor, and a better sort than either is that which analyzes and compares, expounds and illuminates, as only your true scholar, who knows and respects the facts, can do it, instead of arguing or controverting. Essentially, and as a whole, I think, the new Milton, so ingeniously re-proportioned and re-adjusted, is, though more illuminated in detail, less the real Milton than is the one we know. And naturally. Though we are writing history, it is the history of a literature. And even less than the history of institutions can the history of literature be written by the aid of science.⁷ This is but a tool. His-

* The evidence and the logic being so frequently of the sort that would not pass muster in a court of law, one is tempted again and again to undertake this work of refutation. One does not, because it is the writing of a friend or (what is more ticklish) of an enemy, or because to do so would be throwing time away. But some of these errors do not die of themselves; one that I thought of wrestling with fifteen years ago has recently shown again its ugly head in print, as lively as ever. My only consolation is that it would have done so anyway; and that disproving is almost as dangerous to the writer as proving. Fortunately some scholars, seeing their error themselves, publicly recant it, like Dryden and Lemaitre, who had the heart to poke fun at their own youthful verses; but seldom does it happen save when they are making room for a new hypothesis, casting down one idol to set up another. The axe is to be laid to the root—the main trouble is the premature bursting into print. The universities and the editors of the journals can, if they will, guard both writers and readers from youthful indiscretions. Some departments print (and often they do more than print) their Masters' theses.

⁷ Often the scientific, objective method, for all its corrective value, of itself quite fails, as in questions of authorship. We know, to be sure, that Ben Jonson wrote the additions to the *Spanish Tragedy*, not because these are like his other work in so far as it remains to us, but because of Henslowe's entries. Still they are not unworthy of him or incompatible with the bent of his imagination elsewhere. When, however, the external and the internal evidence clash, a fine ear is the safest guide. A good case was some years ago made out against Dryden's authorship of *MacFlecknoe* in favor of Oldham's (though in a following number of the *Modern Language Review* this was pretty well overthrown), but no one who then reread the poem should have been convinced. Every line and couplet ring of Dryden—Dryden—not Oldham or another. It is no parallelism of thought or wording—authors repeat themselves, indeed, no more necessarily than other writers repeat them,—nor even a similar structure, turn of phrase, or trick of metre. It is the tone, which only in part can be thus analyzed.

torical criticism should, in its humble way, be an art; and that requires more than tools and a mere workman's skill—imagination, a sense of proportion, a true and faithful reading of both text and time. Without these, historical criticism may be, indeed, written for pleasure, but not read. So a man would write, however he may live, unto himself alone. However little to our liking the thought may be, are we not, most of us, doing that?

And how about the *others*, who are doing that? What is to become of us if *they* go on writing? No man, even in his own field, can keep abreast of the output, and continue to read literature itself—and write. And is it not more important for us as students rather to spend our time on literature—that of the ancients, that of other languages than our own? As students of English literature we can learn more from French, Spanish, Italian, German, Scandinavian, and Slavic literature than we can from the labored and abortive articles and dissertations which diurnally appear. (And yet some generous, omnivorous souls complain that certain universities do not print their theses, not realizing that thus in part these institutions preserve the pre-eminent reputation of their degrees.) The only remedy (apart from a more judicial spirit in the editors) seems to be critical bibliographies or digests. Most bibliographies are as indiscriminating and all-embracing as Nature. And as for the digests, what has really been proved by the immense output of dissertations and articles concerning English literature, and has at the same time been worth the proving, could, I daresay (though I am speaking rashly) be brought within the compass of somewhat less than five hundred pages. What we need most is an *index librorum*, not *prohibitorum*—not *mortalium*—but *mortuorum*, even if our own dear names must be written there. Why should we all, willy-nilly, follow the prescribed path, down every blind alley to the dustbin, when the way to the mountains is open? Life is fleeting; for most of us,

There undoubtedly are interpolated passages in *King Lear* and in the witch scenes of *Macbeth*, but texts and external clues help us little as compared with an ear like Coleridge's, Swinburne's, or Professor Child's. Certainly such spurious passages are *not* scene 1 and the beginning of scene 3 in the latter play. No evidence, external or internal, no argument like Mr. Cuninghams' about consistency of structure or quality of metre or style can prevail against them. They have the authentic tone, the unmistakable accent—that is *Shakespeare* or the Devil."

perhaps, it is more than half over, much of it having been frittered away trudging along the dingy by-paths, and threading the constantly more bewildering mazes, of scholarship. What false trails have we not followed, what have we not had to learn and to unlearn! But none of it has been so wasted as that which we have spent in reading what others like us have penned. Here for once the golden rule does not apply. We must write—nothing this side the grave or the crematory can now stop us; but we would fain—for our souls' health must needs—spend more of those numbered but unknown days that remain to us (whereon we ourselves are not writing) reading them that have written for the time to come. And then, who knows? we may write a little better, and ourselves be read.

The University of Minnesota.

SAMUEL SHEPPARD AND HIS PRAISE OF POETS

BY HYDER E. ROLLINS

I

Samuel Sheppard, the seventeenth-century poet, satirist, journalist, and romancer, is personally a figure of genuine interest. He has, too, some importance, though not so much for his own literary achievement as for his connections with other writers or his comments on them. Nothing that he wrote has much intrinsic value. Almost everything that he wrote contains comments on English writers, a knowledge of which is practically indispensable to serious students of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature.

E. I. Carlyle wrote a brief, inaccurate sketch of Sheppard's life in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, perpetuating legends that will take a long time to down. His most remarkable statement, which is fully credited at the present day, gives the startling misinformation that Sheppard "commenced his literary career about 1606 as amanuensis to Ben Jonson, but wrote nothing himself till a later period." For this statement no proof at all is adduced, but since (as will presently appear) Carlyle meant that Sheppard acted as secretary, or copyist, to Jonson while the latter was writing *Sejanus His Fall*, the date of 1606 should have been at least three years earlier. The earliest signed work of Sheppard's yet discovered is dated 1646;¹ so that Carlyle expected us to believe—and apparently everybody has believed—that for some forty years Sheppard wrote nothing, only—outrivalling De Morgan—to blossom into literature as an old man. This is a legend pure and simple: no facts whatever support it; for, on the contrary, Sheppard began to write and publish his own compositions about 1646 as a young man. In 1603, or in 1606 he had not been born.

In *A Mausolean Monument* (1651) he informs us that his father, Dr. Harman Sheppard, died at the age of ninety on July 12, 1639; his mother, Mrs. Petronella Sheppard, on September 10, 1650. Now Harman Sheppard, described as a clerk (or clergy-

¹ Unless he was the S. S. who took down in short-hand, caused to be published, and wrote a preface to, Paul Hobson's *The Fallacy of Infants Baptisme Discovered*, [December 10], 1645.

man), had married Parnell Craford, widow of John Craford, clerk, at Christ Church, London, on April 10, 1623.² Carlyle himself knew this fact, but, confused by the difference in the names of *Petronella* and *Parnell*, he jumped to the rash conclusion that Mrs. Parnell was not Sheppard's mother. Such a jump would place one in great difficulties. For example, if Mrs. Parnell had not been Sheppard's mother, then Mrs. Petronella, who died in 1650, would have to be Harman's divorced wife. That conclusion would ill harmonize with the clerical garb worn by Dr. Harman and with the affection and feeling shown by Samuel in writing of both his mother and his father. Or, on the other hand, Carlyle's conclusions, if examined closely enough, might lead one to suppose that when Parnell Craford Sheppard died, sometime after April 10, 1623, Harman married Petronella; but that supposition would clearly eliminate any connection between Samuel Sheppard and Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*.

These and other possibilities, some of which would be damaging to the reputation of an aged clergyman,³ need not be considered further. *Parnell* is merely the common diminutive of *Petronella*. Thus in Giles Farnaby's *Canzonets to Fowre Voyces* (1598),⁴ the sixth song tells that "Pearce did love fair Petronel," while the seventh says,

Pearce did dance with Petronella . . .
 Pretty almains that were new;
 Such he danced and nothing true.
 But when Parnel danced without him,
 All the maids began to flout him.

It is self-evident that the Parnell Craford who married Harman in 1623 and the Petronella Sheppard who died in 1650 were one person, the mother of the poet. It is equally evident that (barring scandalous suppositions) Samuel could not have been born until about 1624. That date fits every other fact of his life. Instead,

² Joseph Foster, *London Marriage Licenses, 1521-1869* (1887), p. 1582; G. J. Armytage, *Allegations for Marriage Licences Issued by the Bishop of London, 1611 to 1828*, II (1887), 121.

³ Harman was evidently an M. D. as well as a "clerk," for Samuel speaks of him as "A Leech that cur'd all malladies, A *Paracelsian*, and yet knew Better then *Gallen* how to do." Of his mother Petronella the poet says, "A Saint she liv'd, a Saint she dy'd."

⁴ See E. H. Fellowes, *English Madrigal Verse*, 1920, p. 93.

then, of 'commencing his literary career about 1606,' Sheppard was about eighteen when the Civil War began, twenty-two when his first book appeared, twenty-eight or twenty-nine when he completed his *Fairy King*, the poem by which he hoped to secure immortality. The stoppage in his work and in references to him suggests that he died in 1655, when he was just over thirty.

If Harman Sheppard, by the way, was ninety at his death in 1639, he was about seventy-four when he married Parnell Craford. Samuel Sheppard no doubt knew and accepted the authority of Pliny, who in his *Natural History* (vii. 12) declared that "among the lower classes of the people, we not uncommonly meet with men who become the fathers of children after the age of seventy-five"!

Even if Sheppard had been alive in 1603 and had been old enough to assist in the writing of *Sejanus*, there would be no possible reason for connecting him with Jonson.⁴

In the preface to *Sejanus* Jonson remarked: "This Booke, in all nūbers, is not the same with that which was acted on the publike Stage, wherein a second Pen had good share: in place of which I have rather chosen, to put weaker (and no doubt lesse pleasing of mine own, then to defraud so happy a *Genius* of his right, by my loathed usurpation." Unhappily for Sheppard, he was certainly not the "so happy a *Genius*," although some people have thought so. In *The times Displayed* (1646) Sheppard, not improbably with Jonson's preface in mind, inserted the following passage:

for unto his [i. e., Jonson's] wit
My selfe gave personal ayd I dictated
To him when as *Sejanus* fall he writ.

A correspondent using the name of "Sperind" discussed these lines in *Notes and Queries*, 5th series, III (1875), 245, reaching the conclusion that Sheppard did not mean what he plainly asserts—dictation and collaboration—but meant instead that he had acted as amanuensis to Jonson. This conclusion Carlyle accepted and restated in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, with no explanation at all of his reasons.

Hence grows another legend. To enumerate scholars who, not unnaturally, have accepted it would be a waste of time. But it

⁴Very late in the day I observe that Professor W. D. Briggs (*Anglia*, XXXIX [1916], 303-304) has reached this same conclusion.

should be pointed out that Sir E. K. Chambers, in *The Elizabethan Stage*, 1923 (III, 366-368), discussing Jonson's play, states: "It is difficult to believe that the collaborator was Samuel Sheppard, who in his *The Times Displayed in Six Sestiyads* (1646) claims to have 'dictated to' Ben Jonson 'when as Sejanus' fall he writ.' Perhaps he means 'been amanuensis to'."

As a matter of fact, Sheppard makes no claims whatever to have known Jonson, much less to have "dictated to" him or to have acted as his amanuensis. Only a careless reading of *The times Displayed* could have given currency to the collaboration or amanuensis theory. For the passage referring to *Sejanus* is said not by Sheppard but, dramatically, by Apollo: "I, Apollo, gave Jonson personal aid; I dictated to him when he wrote *Sejanus His Fall*." *Dictated* means *dictated*, and the lines are a graceful compliment that rare Ben would have appreciated. In similar verses found in Sheppard's *Epigrams* (1651), G 6, Clio says of the cave Castalia,

Here *Flaccus*, *Naso*, *Spencer*, hath been seen,
I help'd the last to frame his Faerie Queen.

Yet nobody, I believe, has suggested that Sheppard claimed to have assisted in the composition of Spenser's masterpiece.

II

The times Displayed, a quarto of twenty-four pages—bought by George Thomason on December 7—has the following impressive title-page:

The times Displayed/ In Six/ Sestiyads:/

The first { *A Presbyter,/*
 an Independent./

The second { *An Anabaptist,/*
 and a Brownist./

The third { *An Antinomian,/*
 and a Familist./

The fourth { *A Libertine,/*
 and an Arminian./

The Fift { *A Protestant,/*
 and eke a Papist./

All these dispute in severall Tracts, and be/ Divulgers, as of Truth, so Fallacie./

The sixt { *Apollo, grieves to see the Times/*
 So pester'd with Mechannicks lavish Rimes./

Scribimus indocti, Doctique Poemata Passim./ *London*, Printed and are to be sold by *J. P.* at his shop/ neer the Sessions house in the *Old Bayly*. 1646./

It is dedicated "To the Right Honourable *Philip Herbert* Earl of Pembroke," and signed "*Your Honours most obedient Servant, S. Sheppard.*" The latter implores "*Earle Philip Herbert,*" a name which he turns into the anagram "*Pear help all Libertie,*"

To be the Patron, of my humble Muse
Who doth thee onely, her *Mæcenas* chuse.

In later days Sheppard must have regretted this dedication to the disloyal earl.

The satire of "false religions" in the first five "sestyads" may be passed over; but the final section (on sigs. C 2^v-C 4^v), with its praise of poets, deserves an accurate reprint.⁵ It is ostensibly Apollo's lament for the death of Francis Quarles, a poet whom Sheppard greatly admired.⁶

THE SIXTH SESTYAD.

The Argument.

Apollo rageth that the noble bay
Is worn by those that do not merit it,
He and the Muses an amercement lay
On some, that trusting to their sordid wit
Do undertake, of things most high to say,
Yet cannot Words unto the matter fit:
Mean time Urania doth in tears deplore
Her *Poets losse, whose like shal be no more.

*Quarles.

1.

HE that doth bear the silver shining bow
Whose musick doth surpass, that of the sphæars
VVho slew great *Python, and did Vulcan show
VVhere Mars and Venus, were, to increase his fears,
Jove and Latonas son, whom Readers know

*Ovids

Metamor.

⁵The only other reprint (which is inaccurate) is that in Sir S. E. Brydges's *The British Bibliographer*, I (1810), 528-537. Even that has obviously escaped the notice, or the careful attention, of commentators on Jonson's *Sejanus*. I retain all typographical errors without notice.

⁶Cf. *Epigrams*, 1651, vi. 22, M 8, on John Quarles (the son of Francis), "whose Person . . . I ne'r Did blesse my eyes with."

Lib. 1. In heaven he of *Sol*, the title bears:
 In earth he *Liber Pater* called is,
 And eke *Apollo* in the shades of *Dis*.

2.

One time, as on the spire of's * Temple hee
 At Delphos Did sit, he cast his most refulgent eye
 Towards *Pernassus* Mount, where he might see
 The sacred Nine, not now melodiously
 As they were wont, to chaunt in Jollitie
 * Jupiter *Apolloes* praise, and the great * Diety,
 That turnd *IO* to a Cow, but now they were
 VVith sorrow overcome, did joy forbear.

3.

VVith speed to *Hellicon* he took his flight,
 VVhere being come, the Muses did arise,
 And made obeysance, as was requisite,
 * A name To whom said * *Sminthus*, why, with downcast eys,
 of *Apollo*. Are your fair Aspects clouded, and why dight
 In sable weeds, the reason I surmise,
 [C 3] VVhich doth afflict me more, then when my * son * *Phaeton*.
 By those unruly Steeds, to death was done.

4.

Shal part of * her, whom once I lovd so dear, * *Daphne*
 Be worn by those whose sordid minds I hate; or the *bay*
 Why do I, for to shoot, the slaves forbear, tree.
 And with my Arrows, their breasts penetrate;
 Who for to claim the Lawrel do not fear,
 Due only unto those, whose happy fate
 Hath raised them, my Prophets for to bee,
 Or else can claim the same by victorie.

5.

Each fellow now, that hath but had a view
 Of the learnd *Phrygians* Fables, groweth bold,
 And name of Poet doth to himself accrew;
 That * Ballad maker too, is now extold * M. P.†

† For other references made by Sheppard to Martin Parker see my articles on that ballad-writer in *Modern Philology*, XVI (1919) and XIX (1921), and my *Cavalier and Puritan* (1923), p. 17. In his *Epigrams*, i. 21, C 3, Sheppard writes of

"*Ballad Poets*.

"The *Muses* weare these patches on their Faces
 To foile their Beauties, greater then the Graces."

With the great name of Poet, * He that knew
Better far how to row, then pen to hold,
His sordid lines, are sweld to such a weight,
Theyre able for to make, his Boat afreight.

* J. T.*

6.

The god of waves hath been my enemy,
Else that base Fool, had Haddocks fed ere now,
And *Fennor* * might have Wrote his Ellegy,
(Another coxcomb) that his wit to show
Wrote many things, the best not worth the eye
Of any schoolboy, doth his genders know;
But while the Fools I rate, let me not be
Forgetful of those Writers lov'd by me.

7.

Although the *Bard*, whose lines unequalled,
Who only did deserve a Poets name
To my Eternal grief, be long since dead,
His lines for ever shal preserve his Fame.
So * his who did so neer his foot paths tread
Whose lines as neer as *Virgils Homers* came,
Do equal *Spencers*, who the soul of verse
In his admired Poems doth rehearse.

*Samuel
Danniel.*

8.

[C 3v] But ah whose this whose shade before me stands
O tis the Man, whose Fame the earth doth fil,
VWhose vertue is the talk of Forraign Lands
VWhile they admire his Feats of Arms his skil
In Poesie, while he bove all commands
The Muses, who so waited on his Quil

* Other hostile references to John Taylor are cited in the places mentioned in the foregoing note. But in his *Epigrams*, vi. 13, Mv-M 2, Sheppard is very complimentary "*To John Taylor (commonly called) the Water-Poet,*" declaring,

"I say thy Lines are fluent, and thy Layes
(I do avowch't, not partiall in my praise)
[Some Cockle cast away] are such to mee,
That when I read 'em, I'me in Love with thee,
And sighing say, had this man Learning known,
(Who hath so quaint a *Genius* of his own)
Great *Ben* had crept to's Urne without a Name,
And *Taylor* solely slept i' th' house of Fame."

* William Fenner (1600-1640).

That like to *Sidney*; none ere wrote before
His birth, nor now hees dead shal ere write more.¹⁰

9.

See him whose Tragick Sceans *EVRIPIDES*
Doth equal, and with *SOPHOCLES* we may
Compare great *SHAKESPEAR ARISTOPHANES*
Never like him, his Fancy could display,
VVitness-he Prince of *Tyre*, his Pericles,
His sweet and his to be admired lay
He wrote of lustful *Tarquins* Rape shews he
Did understand the depth of Poesie.¹¹

10.

- * *Drayton*. But * thou dear soul, whose lines when *I* behold
I do astonisht stand, of whom Fame says
* *Polyolbion*. By after times, Thy * songs shal be extold
And mentiond be as equalling my lays
Thou who so sweetly *EDVVARDS* woes hast told
VVhen other Poems, though of worth decays,
Thine shal be honord, and shal aye subsist
In spight of dark obliions hiding mist.

11.

- Ben. Iohnson*. So * His that Divine *PLAUTUS* equalled
Whose Commick vain *MENANDER* nere could hit,
Whose tragick sceans shal be with wonder Read
By after ages for unto his wit
My selfe gave personal ayd *I* dictated
To him when as *Sejanus* fall he writ,
And yet on earth some foolish sots there bee
That dare make *Randolf* ¹² his Rival in degree.¹³

¹⁰ Cf. *Epigrams*, iii. 30, E 8v, "On Sir Phillip Sydneys Decease," and iv. 2, F 7v, "Sir Philip Sydneys Arcadia." The latter runs:

"Sir, you are at the Races end before us,
But must acknowledge thanks to *HELIODORVS*,
Your Romance is most rare, yet halfe it's fame
Had been eclips'd, had any other name
Troubled the Title Page, each Ladies Kidney
Twitter'd to heare but of the Name of *Sydney*."

Sidney is also mentioned on sig. S 3.

¹¹ This passage and others of Sheppard's references to Shakespeare are printed in John Munro's *Shakespeare Allusion-Book* (1909).

¹² Cf. stanza 16.

¹³ Adams and Bradley, in *The Jonson Allusion-Book*, 1922, give this passage (from Brydges's reprint) and only one other from Sheppard. But

12.

* Mr. May. All hail eke unto * thee that didst translate
 My loved *LVCAN* into thine own tongue,
 [C 4] And what he could not finish snatcht by fate,
 Thou hast compleated his ingenuous * song * *Pharassalia*.
 Thy Fame with his shal nere be out of date
 Nor shal base Momus carps thy glory wrong,
 But of mine own tree, Ile a garland frame
 For thee, and mongst my Propets rank thy name,

13.

* Mr Brown.

So * thine whose rural quill so high doth sound
Theocritus or *Mantuanus* ere could bee
 So sweet and so sententious ever found
 As are thy *Pastorals* of *Britanie*,
 Thy fame for aye shal to the skies resound,
 And I pronounce Thy fluent Poesie
 Singing of shepherds is the best ere wit
 Invented, and none ere yet equalled it.

14

Nor thine O *Heywood* worthy to be read
 By Kings, whose books of eloquence are such
 Enough in praise of thee, can nere be sed

his works have many other references to Jonson; for example, in *The Second Part Of The Committee-Man Curried*, 1647, A 2v; in *Merlinus Anonymus*, 1654, C 8; and in the *Epigrams*, D 4, D 8, G 8v-H, H 5v, K 6, L 3v, M 2, S 4. One of the latter, "Ben Johnson's *due Encomium*" (L 3v), ends,

"His Verse Divinely fram'd, deserves alone,
 The thrice three Sisters Benediction."

The conclusion of "*The Poets invitation to Ben Johnsons Ghost to appears again*" (G 8v-H) may be quoted:

"Thou *Ben* shalt be
 A Saint to me
 Each Verse I make,
 I'll censure it
 By thy great Wit,
 If it partake
 The least of thine,
 I will Divine
 It shall subsist,
 Alas if not
 The same I'll blot,
 'Twill not be mist."

Nor can my Verses, ere extoll too much
 Thy reall worth, whose lines unparaled
 Although some envious criticks seem to grutch
 Shall live on earth to thy eternall Fame
 When theirs in grave shall rot, without a name.

15

So eke shall yours, great *Davenant*,¹⁴ *Sherley* and
 Thine learned *Goffe*, *Baumont*, and *Fletchers*¹⁵ to * Mr Philip
 With * his that the sweet Renegaddo pend *Massenger*.
 With * his who *Cressey* sang, and *Poycters* to * Mr Allen.¹⁶
 Your works, your names for ever shal commend
 Joyned with * his, that wrot how *Scipio*, * Mr Nabbs.
 Orethrew great *Hanniball*, his ingenious lines
 Shall be a pattern, for the after times.

16.

Nor will I * thee forget whose Poesie * Mr Withers.
 Is pure, whose Emblems, Satyrs Pastoralls
 [C 4v] Shal live on earth even to Eternity,
 Mr Randal¹⁷ Nor * Thee whose Poems loudly on me calls

¹⁴ Sheppard mentions Davenant in the *Epigrams*, iii. 6, D 8, and iv. 30, H 5v. The former of these follows:

"To the most excellent Poet, Sir William Davenant.

"VVhat though some shallow Sciolists dare prate,
 And scoffing thee; *Apollo* nauseate:
 What *Venus* hath snatch'd from thee, cruelly,
Minerva, with advantage doth supply:
Johnson is dead, let *Sherly* stoope to Fate,
 And thou alone, art Poet Lawreate."

¹⁵ Cf. *Epigrams*, ii. 13, C 8:

"On the two admirable witts, Francis Beaumont, and John Fletcher.

"Cease *Greece* to boast of *Aristophanes*,
 Or of *Menander*, or *Euripides*,
 The *Comick Sock*, and *Tragick Buskin* we
 Weare neatest here, in forreigne *Brittanie*:
 Or if you list to struggle for the Bayes,
 Wee'll fight with *Beaumont's* and with *Fletchers* Playes."

¹⁶ "The/ Battailles/ Of Crescey,/ and Poictiers vnder the leading/ of
 King Edward the Third of that/ name; And his Sonne Edward/ Prince
 of Wales, named/ the Blacke./ By Charles Allen, sometime of Sidney/
 Colledge in Cambridge./ *Magnarum rerum etiamsi successus/ Non fuerit*,
Honestus ipse conatus est,/ *Seneca*./ London,/ Printed by Tho: Purfoot
 for T. K./ 1631./"

¹⁷ Cf. stanza 11 and *Epigrams*, iv. 42, Iv: "Besides by *Randalle's Exit*,
 it appeares, 'Witt's a Disease, that kills men in few yeares.'"

* Mr Mills ¹⁸ For my applause, which here I give, and I
Pronounce * his merit, that so high Instals
The Muses, in his Night-watch, great to bee,
And times to come shal hugg his Poesie.

17.

But why, *Vrania*, hangst thou so thy head,
What grievous loss hath reft thy joys away;
Quoth she, knows not *Apollo QVARLES* is dead
That next to *BARTAS*, sang the heavenlist lay,¹⁹
And who is he on earth, his steps can tread,
So shal my glory come unto decay;
At this she wept, and wailing wrung her hands,
The Muses mourning round about her stands.

18.

Quoth then *Apollo*, lay this grief aside,
I do assure thee, that thy honor shal
Not fade, but be far greater Amplified;
Theres one who now upon thy name doth cal,
Who hath by *Clio* formerly been tried,
And by her wel approvd; He surely shal
Succeed great *Quarles*, if thou not fale to inspire
And warm his Bosome with thy hottest fire.²⁰

19.

Hereat she cheared was, and now as earst
Apollo in the midst, the Muses Nine
Began to sing, *CLIO*, *Joves* Deeds rehearst
VVhen he the Gyants pasht, her song Divine
Apollo shapt his tyre unto, where first
I did set forth I must again decline:
What shallow fools shal prate I do not care,

¹⁸ "A/ Nights/ Search./ Discovering the Na-/ture and Condition of
all/ sorts of Night-Walkers;/ with their Associates./ As also,/ The Life
and Death of many of them./ Together with/ Divers fearfull and strange
Accidents,/ occasioned by such ill livers./ Digested into a Poeme/ By
Humphry Mill./ [Two-line Latin quotation]/ London,/ Printed by Rich-
ard Bishop for Laurence Blaiklock at the/ Sugar-loafe next Temple-
Barre, 1640./ " A second part was published in 1646. In the preface to
it Mill says, "I dare not take the stile of a Poet, for feare this squint-eyed
age should suspect my integrity, or common fame blast my endeavours."

¹⁹ In the *Epigrams*, vi. 8, L 8, there is an epigram on "*Silvesters Trans-
lation of Du-Bartas, His Divine Weeks, and Works.*"

²⁰ I fear that *Apollo* is referring to Sheppard himself.

Fly Thou my Book to those that Learned are.

Nunquam me Impune lacesit.

The end of the sixth and last Sestiad.

FINIS.

III

At the beginning and the end of his public career Sheppard had a high opinion of Cromwell, an opinion which he changed when events showed the king's interests and life to be in unmistakable danger. In 1646 he believed that evil councillors had misled the king, for whose personal advantage the Parliament was working; during the next three years, realizing his mistake, he risked his life in the cause of his royal master. Then, after Charles I had been "murdered," Sheppard paid for his loyalty with months of imprisonment, during which he came to regard any further sacrifice for a lost cause as useless; so that without sacrificing his principles at all, he yielded to the authority of Parliament, and went about his literary work, mindful of the dead king but mindful, once again, of the merits of the Lord Protector.

Internal evidence suggests that Sheppard was the author of an eight-page quarto poem, *God and Mammon. Or, No fellowship betwixt Light and Darknesse*, that was published on April 8, 1646. It is a eulogy of *Mercurius Britannicus* (a licensed news-book), of General Fairfax, and of other leaders of Parliament, which, however, speaks very cordially of Charles I. But, so far as I can discover, Sheppard's first signed work was a quarto of seventy-two pages published on July 6, 1646, under the title of *The Yeare of Jubile: Or, Englands Releasment, Purchased by Gods immediate assistance, and powerfull aiding of Her renowned Parliament and the Forces raised by them*. Dedicated to Fairfax, it praises him as well as Cromwell, violently attacks the Royalists, but carefully absolves the king from all blame for the troubles of the time. The book claims to have been "Printed according to the Order of Parliament."

Sheppard's next work, *The Famers Fam'd*, 1646 (which the *Dictionary of National Biography* calls *The Farmers Farmed*), was a reply, in thirty-two pages, to anonymous pamphlets that had been written in favor of the political agitator John Lilburne, and was dedicated "To The Right Honourable the house of Peers,

Assembled in Parliament." It was followed almost immediately by another quarto pamphlet, this time of only fourteen pages, called *The False Alarum*, which replied directly to Lilburne. Neither of these works has any literary value. After them came *The times Displayed*, already discussed.

The events of 1647 led Sheppard into a position diametrically opposed to that of Parliament, whose spokesman he had been. Never once did he swerve in his personal loyalty to the king, and to try to restore that imprisoned monarch to the throne he cheerfully risked his liberty and life. Sheppard began his campaign openly,²¹ signing his name to the two-part playlet, *The Committee-Man Curried*, that was published on July 16 and August 14, 1647. The most interesting thing about these "dramas," however, is not their violent attack on the Roundheads but their unblushing plagiarisms,—first pointed out by Gerard Langbaine,²²—from Sir John Suckling and Sir Robert Stapleton. In Part I (sigs. Bv, B 2–B 2v), for example, Sheppard reprints without acknowledgment two songs from Suckling's *Goblins* (III. ii). The Prologue to Part II borrows its ninth to thirteenth lines from the Prologue to *Aglaura* and its last two lines from the Prologue to *The Goblins*. In Part II the second and third scenes of Act I and much of Act II are stolen almost verbatim from *The Goblins*. There are other borrowings as well, but the point needs no laboring.

Typical passages stolen from Stapleton's Juvenal (1647) are:

Nor can posterity, new vices frame, Our children will but wish, and act the same.	Posterity can no new vices frame, Our Nephewes will but wish and act the same.
Sheppard, Part I, B 2v	Stapleton, i. 177-178
Shortly then <i>Procula</i> , <i>Bradshaw</i> had a Bed, Six little pitchers crown'd his cup- boards-head; And under it there lay a two-eared pot, With <i>Gerards</i> Herball; Item he had got	Shorter then <i>Procula</i> <i>Codrur</i> had a bed, Six little pitchers crown'd his cup- boor'ds head, And under it there lay a two-ear'd pot By <i>Cheiron's</i> herball; Item, he had got

²¹ I have not seen *Grand Pluto's Progress through Great Britain* (1647), which is attributed to him in the *D. N. B.*

²² *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (1691), pp. 471-472.

A chest with some Greeke Authors,
where the fierce
And barbarous mice, gnaw'd never-
dying verse.

That *Bradshaw* was worth nothing
who but knowes,

Yet he poore wretch did all that
nothing lose

By such as thee. O yee are moths
of State!

The other rob within doore, you at
gate.

Sheppard, Part I, B 4

To give an adequate account of Sheppard's borrowings throughout his works (and many, no doubt, have escaped my notice) would take dozens of pages. I shall point out merely a few of the most striking, prefacing them with the comment that praise was a dangerous thing in our poet, since practically everybody he praised he likewise pilfered. I omit illustrations from Spenser, because Sheppard's *Fairy King* as a whole is an imitation of that poet.

If These Epigrams Survive (Maugre
The Voracitie Of Time) Let The
Names Of Christopher Clapham,
And James Winter, (To Whom The
Author Dedicateth These His
Indeavors) Live With Them.

Dedication to *Epigrams*, 1651

Great *Arthur* worthy Fame, but that
Thy Acts are told by those who chat
Of *Hamptons* cut-throat, and the
Knight

Of the Red Rose, (that sanguine
wight)

The errors of some Monkish pen
Doth wound thy honour, farr more
then

The *Saxons* could thy body.

Epigrams, iii. 44, F 6

A chest with some Greeke Authors,
where the feirce

And barbarous mice gnaw'd never-
dying verse.

That Codrus was worth nothing,
who but knowes?

Yet he poore wretch did all that
nothing lose.

Stapleton, iii. 237-244

If These Poems Live, May Their
Memories, By Whom They Were
Cherish'd, *End.* Porter, H.

Iarmyn, Liue With Them.

Davenant, Dedication to *Mada-
gascar; With Other Poems*,
1638.**

Fam'd *Arthur* worthy of best pens,
but that

Truth is so far before 'tis out of
sight;

Thy acts are made discourse for
those that chat

Of *Hamptons* cutthroate or the red-
rose Knight.

Yet there is truth enough in thy
faire storie

Without false legends to enshrine
thy glorie.

Charles Alleyn, *The Bat-
tailes of Crescey, and
Poitiers*, 1631, A 6v

** Pointed out in W. C. Hazlitt's *Hand-book*, 1867, p. 553.

As *Sarums* beauteous Countesse in
a Dance
Let fall her spangled Garter, that
great * King,
Who layd such powerfull claime to
fertill *France*,
By accident himselfe took up the
String;
The Origen from hence that order
came,
O high Originall—oh monstrous
shame—
That fam'd Installment is eclips'd,
and we
Give it to meane and vile a Pedi-
gree.

Epigrams, iii. 42, F 5

Swans should have faire
Weather to sing in; clogg'd with
with care
Who's he can clime *Pernassus* Hill?
I'me with my Fortune jarring still:
The reason why I am so hoarse,
Lost to my singing, and discourse.

Epigrams, iii. 41, F 4v-F 5

As *Sarum* beauteous Countesse in a
dance
Her loosened garter vnawares let
fall,
Renowned *Edward* tooke it vp by
chance,
Which gaue that order first originall.
Thus saying to the wondriug [*sic*]
standers by.
There shall be honour to this
silkenly.

Alleyne, *op. cit.*, A 8v

"Swans must have pleasant nests,
high feeding, fair
"Weather to sing: and with a load
of care
"Men cannot climb *Parnassus* cliffe:
for he
"Who is still wrangling with his
Destinie
"And his malignant fortune, be-
comes hoarse,
"And loses both his singing and
discourse.

Richard Fanshaw, *Il Pastor*
Fido, 1647, pp. 171-172.²⁴

IV

The history of the Royalist news-books, in which Sheppard played a rôle of great importance, has not yet been fully written and documented, although an interesting, pioneer effort was made in 1908 by Mr. J. B. Williams's *A History of English Journalism to the Foundation of the Gazette*. The anonymity of the "editors," or authors, of the various *Mercuries* can seldom be confidently solved, and the frequency with which the authors changed from

* A marginal note is "*Edward 3.*" This second borrowing from Alleyne is noted also in Thomas Corser's *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, V, 235.

²⁴ See the postscript to the *Fairy King*, below, where Sheppard quotes Fanshawe's lines exactly, attributing them, however, to Guarini.

one Mercury to another, between intervals of hiding or imprisonment, adds to the confusion. Of Sheppard's connection with first one, then another, of the Mercuries there is no doubt. But at present any account of his journalistic enterprises must of necessity be incomplete or conjectural, and I shall sketch them in the briefest possible fashion.

The first of the Royalist news-books to be published in London appeared on September 4, 1647, under the title of *Mercurius Melancholicus*. It was followed by *Mercurius Pragmaticus* on September 21 and *Mercurius Elencticus* on November 5. These three constituted the "grand Mercuries" of the time.

Melancholicus was written by a Presbyterian minister, John Hackluyt, D. D., who signed his initials on the title-page. His name is vouched for by *Mercurius Morbicus*, "No. 1, 2, 3," (1647), by *Perfect Occurrences* for March 25, July 20, 1648, and by numerous other Mercuries. John Cleveland, the well-known poet, wrote *Pragmaticus*.²⁵ Connected with him from the beginning was Sheppard.

John Hackluyt, discussing the origin of *Pragmaticus* in 1649 (when he was playing the traitor to his Royalist associates), stated in *The Metropolitan Nuncio*, No. 3, June 6-13:

his faces are like *Ianus* looking contrary to each other, the one looks so like *Sam. Sheapeard* (that blasphemous Cleargy-spot) being the *primo genitor* of this accursed spawn, who (for the greater solemnity) being invested in his *pontificalibus* with all the ceremonies of the Babilonish smock, christned the brat and call'd his name *Pragmaticus*.²⁶

The "Babilonish smock" was, of course, a surplice, and from the phrase it is evident that Samuel had followed his ancient father into the church. *Elencticus* was founded by Captain (afterwards Sir) George Wharton. With it, too, Sheppard was later on connected, as he was with certain minor Mercuries.

These outspoken Royalist papers were not to the liking of the Parliament, which at once took steps to crush them, appointing

²⁵ An undated *Mercurius Anti-Mercurius* [1647], sig. A 2, speaks of "*Pragmaticus* (alias *J. Cleveland*) . . . His motto is, *Nemo me impune lacessit*." The same paper for April 4, 1648, refers to "*Pragmaticus* (alias *J. Cleveland*)."

²⁶ That Hackluyt wrote this paper is asserted by *Mercurius Elencticus* for June 18-25, 1649.

searchers to discover and arrest their authors. To add to the spice of life, the writers of one Mercury were not always on good terms with those of another. Hackluyt, for example, had offended his Royalist colleagues by his comments on the king, and the famous ballad-writer Martin Parker promptly got out a *Melancholicus* of his own, claiming it to be the original and only true news-book of that title. A second counterfeit, written by a mysterious Swallow Crouch, soon followed.²⁷

While this three-cornered quarrel was engaging the attention of men who should have been allies, Sheppard was assisting Wharton in "editing" *Pragmaticus*, and he soon got into trouble with the government. A *Melancholicus*, No. 21, for January 15-22, 1648, wrote:

There is a generation called *Peepers* (Creatures of the Committees now beginning) who, like the Devil (their chief Lord) thrust their heads into every corner, to finde out objects whereon to vent their traiterous and base designes: I am sure, any honest man abhorres the thought of 'em . . . how many honest men have they abused in finding out *Pragmaticus* and *Melancholicus*; as M. *Shepard*, M. *Hack'let* and others, and yet the Gentlemen are as innocent as the day.

"Innocent as the day" is an untruthful remark made in an effort to deceive the official searchers.

The "abuse" referred to was no doubt imprisonment. In any case, Sheppard was certainly a prisoner in Petre House, Aldersgate Street—where Henry Cymball dispensed "hospitality"—in June, 1648. That fact is known from a *Melancholicus* for June 19-26, the writer of which boasts that he has just escaped from Petre House "(because he was neere starv'd by that murdering villane *Symball*.) he is in very good health . . . and sends commendations to his freinds there, Mr. *Shepheard*, *Iohn Harrison*, and the rest." *The Fairy King*, furthermore, tells of Sheppard's being imprisoned in the Lollards' Tower, Lambeth Palace, where he "scarce jnjoyed as much ayre as might be suckt in at a bung-hole," and whence he escaped.

The Royalist authors with admirable devotion and courage tried

²⁷ The other two grand Mercuries were also counterfeited. Williams (*op. cit.*, p. 86) says that *Elencticus* was not. However, one issue of *Elencticus*, May 14-21, 1649, begins, "But I am still noy'd with a Counterfeit."

above all else to keep the three grand Mercuries from ceasing publication, whatever the fate of any particular writer. If one was captured, then another took up his work. The journalists often, perhaps for a time usually, managed to escape—by bribing Cymball, according to *Elencticus* (No. 59, January 2-9, 1649),—and after escaping, hurried to work on their old Mercury, to edit an imprisoned fellow-author's Mercury, or to start a Mercury with a new title.

Sheppard's stay in Petre House was not long: by the end of July he was free, and was editing *The Royall Diurnall*. At that time the three issues of *Melancholicus* were still appearing. Hackluyt, jealous of the name he had originated, was greatly provoked by the persistence of the counterfeits, which he thought were written by Sheppard and (apparently) Parker. Accordingly, in his paper for July 31–August 7, he wrote:

Let me inform you Gentlemen, how both your purses, and my self are abused by a brace of bastard *Melancholicusses*, that would perswade me out of my Christen Name; but if they shall dare to peep out their horns the next week, I shall so cudgel them in again, that I shall make them known to their persecutors at Westminster, and make Newgate the habitation of the one, and Bridewel of the other.

In the following issue (No. 51), August 7-14, Hackluyt launched into this attack on "a scrubbed Pamphleteer," perhaps Parker, and his fellow-sinner, whom he undoubtedly thought was Sheppard:

Loving and Loyall Reader, once more I am forc'd to let you know how greatly I am abused by a paire of brethren in iniquity, the one a scrubbed Pamphleteer, the other a *Crouch-backt* Printer, both which have done more mischief to heroick pens, then well can be imagined, the false *Melancholious* differing from the true, as much as chawlk from cheese: But if they persist to abuse your expectations, in my next I promise to give up their names unto the publike: that which came forth last Munday, was a counterfeit also, his small-beere Rimes savouring more of *Arcadia*, then *Pernassus*, more of a *Sheppard* then a Poet: but if I heare him creak again, Ile break his Pipe. Farewell.

A counterfeit *Melancholicus*, describing itself as No. 52, August 14-21, and apparently written by Parker, replied to this attack. But Sheppard was aimed at in the phrase "more of a *Sheppard* then a Poet," and it cannot be doubted that he was the writer who replied anonymously in *The Royall Diurnall*, No. 4, August 14-21.

In *The Royall Diurnall* he states that Hackluyt has been "a most

audacious, impudent, and an incorrigible abuser of his Majesty," warning his readers that Hackluyt is "a fellow that will betray his Sovereigne." The picturesque reply runs in part as follows:

Gentlemen, I have been once or twice heeretofore abused (yet winked at it, as not willing to shew my selfe against one pretends to that cause I honour) but being a third time provoked by a Janus fac't scribler, a selfe conceited vaunting Quack, an Impostor, whose brains have not so much moisture as wil bedew a clout, a dull Phlegmatick Animall, who hath a wooden head, but a brazen forehead, by name Hacklet, who each weeke tryes your patience with tautologies, impertinencies (and such verse in a Melancholy habit, who the last weeke Numb. 51. of his abhominable trash exclaimes of me as a supplanter of his profit, of which I protest in the presence of the ever living God, I am not the least guilty: I would have the Simplician know that I scorne to play with his bauble, or assume the shape of so sordid a coxcombe. . . Read this ore againe Doctour Hatchet face (and thanke your owne folly, and those that have cousoned your crudellity by a most damned falsity) that hath occasioned me to breake your knaves pate, now if you have a minde to have your neck broke, proceed to the breaking of my pipe.

There seems to be no reason to doubt this statement, which, if accepted at face value, precludes any connection between Sheppard and *Mercurius Melancholicus*, true or counterfeit.

Sheppard is next mentioned in *Mercurius Anti-Mercurius*, September 12-19, 1648, as the author of *Mercurius Dogmaticus*, though apparently the reference is to an earlier period of the year:

Surely Hell is broke loose, here is another shewes his pallisadoes, grinning and snarling like the true begotten of old *Cerberus*, ycleped *Dogmaticus*, who looks as like *Sam Sheheard* as if hee had bin spit out of his mouth; a right Woolfe in Sheeps cloathing, and studies his owne divinity out of the *New Testament* of his owne coyning, the last pulpit he preached in was a Pillory, his text blasphemy, the illustration of it Sack and Clarret, and his application a faire paire of heels, forsooth he is a collop cut out of the brawny side of a resty Mechannick, clarified into a student of the last translation, and ere long you shall heare him making syllogismes in Bocardo [the Oxford prison].

Mr. Williams says that Sheppard wrote *Dogmaticus* "until the end of January [1648], when the title appears to have been changed; possibly owing to a capture of his printer, for the next number was a revival of *Mercurius Aulicus* under his motto 'Quis me impune lacescit' He was captured, and his periodical came to an end, but he soon escaped. Again captured, he once more escaped

and commenced the *Royal Diurnall* (No. 1, 31st July).” His motto also appears on various issues of *The Parliament-kite*.

To trace the ins and outs of Sheppard’s career as a journalist is a task for a specialist. I shall dismiss the matter with a quotation from Hackluyt’s *Metrapolitan Nuncio*, No. 1, May 30–June 6 (misprinted July 6), 1649, in which Cleveland is named as the author of *Pragmaticus*, Sheppard of *Elencticus*, and John Taylor, the Water Poet, of *Melancholicus*:

In plaine speech *Prag. Elenct.* and *Mel.* beware your breech, for there are rods in pisse for you. *I. C.* you have reigned long enough; and *S. S.* in all conscience you have railed long enough, and *Mr. T.* for your part, you have practised cunningly, the next thing you are to doe, is to hang handsomely.

But Sheppard was, I think, already a prisoner when Hackluyt wrote this treacherous sentence.

On April 16, 1649, the Council of State issued a warrant to George Lewis and John Arnott for the arrest of Samuel Sheppard, the author, and William Wright, the printer, of *Elencticus*, and for the seizure of all their books and papers.²⁸ It seems likely that Sheppard was actually captured and imprisoned in Newgate at this time, for both in his *Discoveries* and in *The Fairy King* he speaks of having spent almost fourteen months there, and he was released soon after May 6, 1650. However that be, the Council issued similar warrants for the arrest of the author of *Elencticus* on May 29 and October 23,²⁹ though the author in question could well have been Sheppard’s successor. In Newgate, says Sheppard,³⁰ “J languished (surrounded with Dolour, Indigencie, obloquie with all their Appurtenancies) almost fourteene months where my best musick was the ratling of cheines the gingling of Jrons, & the groanes of men destind for destruction.” “I made moane Or’e smoakie beefe in *Whittington*,” he writes, with some humor, in the *Epigrams* (B 6^v). Yet with remarkable detachment he occupied the time in writing *The Fairy King* and other works.

In some fashion he succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of John Thurloe, Secretary of State. The Council of State on May 6, 1650,

²⁸ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1649-1650, p. 529.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 534, 550.

³⁰ See the postscript, below, to *The Fairy King*.

ordered that Sheppard be sent for by the Committee for Examinations, "and if they, upon conference, see cause, they may give order for his release."³¹ He was released soon afterwards, and in *The Weepers* (1652) he refers to Thurloe with genuine feeling: "I owe much Gratitude here——I wish to live to retalliate his favours——My Liberty was once won by his industry."

His release from prison involved no surrender of Sheppard's Royalist opinions, but merely a promise to cease from attacking the government in unlicensed news-books, as he is careful to tell in his *Epigrams* (vi. 16, M 3^v):

My Imprisonment in Whittington for Writing Mercurius Elencticus.

Most strange it seemes unto the Vulgar rout,
That, that which thrust me in, should guard me out,
My Soule with no engagement's clog'd, but thus
My gaining life, strook dead *Elencticus*.

Having done everything in his power to help the king, Sheppard,—some eighteen months after Charles I had been beheaded,—like a sensible man, saw that nothing more was to be gained by fighting against the Commonwealth. His career is thoroughly creditable, so far as it can be made out. And when in 1651 he included in his *Epigrams* (vi. 32, N 4—N 4^v) lines "*To his Excellency, the Lord Generall Cromwell*," he was merely returning to the attitude he had manifested before 1647.

V

Released from Newgate, Sheppard turned to his pen for a living, and various works "found birth," as he phrases it in the postscript to *The Fairy King*, "meerly from a mercenary dizzinesse." First of all came a romance called *The Loves Of Amandus And Sophronia, Historically Narrated* (1650),³² the dedication of which is dated August 20. Among the contributors of complimentary verses was Anthony Davenport, who, in somewhat exaggerated language, asserts that Musaeus, Catullus, Ovid, Horace, Tibullus, Petrarch, and Sidney rush to greet great Sheppard as their peer, but that

³¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1650, p. 143.

³² 8°, sigs. A-I^o, K⁴, with a preliminary unsigned errata-leaf.

none can move
Shakespeare out of *Adonis* Grove,
 There sullenly he sits.

In Munro's *Shakspere Allusion-Book* (II, 7) Miss Toulmin-Smith remarked that "Davenport here intends the highest praise to the *Venus and Adonis*; Shakspere sits alone, none can come near him in the grove of *Adonis* . . . *Sullenly* is here used in its older meaning, drawn from the Fr. *solein*, i. e. sole, alone." Sheppard himself, however, evidently interpreted the statement literally, and in his *Epigrams*, ii. 19, D 2, he returned the compliment to Davenport in good measure:

Make all the cloth you can, haste, haste away,
 The Pirate will o'retake you if you stay:
 Nay, we will yeeld our selves, and this confesse,
 Thou Rival'st *Shakespeare*, though thy glory's lesse.

Amandus and Sophronia is an undistinguished work told in undistinguished prose interrupted by mediocre poems. One of the latter (sig. C 7) is a parody of Suckling's "Why so pale and wan, fond lover?"

The Joviall Crevv, Or, The Devill turn'd Ranter was published on January 6, 1651. It is a quarto of twenty pages, written as a five-act comedy, but even its satire on the Ranters is of little interest. Much more important was the *Epigrams* (1651).^{32*} In his preface to that volume Sheppard is careful to point out the merits of his work in what he called the neglected field of the

^{32*} "Epigrams/ Theological,/ Philosophical,/ And/ Romantick./ Six Books,/ Also/ The Socratick Session,/ Or/ The Arraignment and Conviction,/ of Julius Scaliger,/ with other Select Poems./ By S. Sheppard./ London,/ Printed by G. D. for Thomas Bucknell,/ at the Signe of the Golden Lion in Duck-/ Lane, 1651." (8°, sigs. A-S^a.) The British Museum copy also has an engraved title-page preceding sig. A.

The *Epigrams* proper end on N 6. On N 7 there is a separate title-page: "The/ Socratick/ Session,/ Or/ The Arraignment and Conviction,/ Of/ Julius Scaliger./ By S. Sheppard./ [Ornament]/ London,/ Printed by G. D. for Thomas Bucknell,/ at the Signe of the Golden Lion in Duck-/ Lane, 1651./" A third title-page occurs at P 4: "A/ Mausolean/ Monument,/ Erected/ By a Sorowfull Sonne/ over/ His Deceased Parents:/ With/ Three Pastorals./ Two of them alluding to some/ Late Proceedings between/ Parties./ By S. Sheppard./ London,/ Printed by G. D. for Thomas Bucknell,/ at the Signe of the Golden Lion in Duck-/ Lane, 1651./"

English epigram. "Amongst us here in *England*," he asserts, there are "none in our native tongue, (some piddlers excepted) save *Bastard*,³² and *Harrington*,³³ that have divulged ought worthy notice: The first of these deserved the Lawrell, but the last, both Crowning and Anoynting." Then follow commendatory verses by Arthur Estwich (calling Sheppard "Hyperion's son, the true Apollo"); George Rosse (saying that "the very soule of wit In this body of your book Resides"); John Ridley;³⁴ Andrew Dixon (declaring that in invention and judgment above Martial "Thou soar'st a pitch he never knew, Rich in all knowledge"); Samuel Holland;³⁵ and Vincent Howell (asserting that "*Martiall, Ausonius, Harrington, and Moore*, All that have written in this kind before, In you included are, the worth of all").

In spite of these eulogizers, the epigrams, except in an occasional stolen passage, are worthless as poetry. Their value lies in subject-matter, for scarcely an English poet from Sidney to Davenant escapes notice. Incidentally, too, Sheppard tells a good deal about his friends and his own life. Many of the former are named; as, John Selden, the famous antiquary; James Naworth, probably a relation of George Wharton, who often used the anagram *Naworth*; Robert Aston, possibly the lawyer of Furnivall's Inn who in 1661 wrote *Placita Latinè Rediviva*; Theodor Vaux; Theodor Loe; Van Velsen, of Amsterdam; Sir Thomas Engham;³⁶ Sir Alexander Wroth. "*To Mr. Edward Gosling pittying my want of Books*" (vi. 28, N 2^v) he remarks that

The rage of these rude times hath snatch'd away
My Books, from *Æsop* to *Mirandula*,

³² Thomas Bastard's *Chrestoleros*, "seven books of epigrams," appeared in 1598.

³³ Cf. *Epigrams*, v. 6, I 5^v:

"Sir John Harringtons translation of Ariosto.

"Ariost beyond *Protagoras* did lim'

Better then *Zeuzes* could, th' hast rendred him."

³⁴ Perhaps the Chaplain of Serjeants' Inn, one of whose sermons (1649) is in the Thomason Tracts, E. 556 (10).

³⁵ He may have been the Samuel Holland who wrote an elegy on Anne Gray of Tunbridge, Kent, in 1657, and a poem on the restoration of Charles II in 1660.

³⁶ See W. A. Shaw, *The Knights of England*, II (1906), 127.

leaving, as the only book for him to follow, Nature. There are also numerous complaints of the barbarousness of an age that despises good (that is, his own) poetry,—“this Age of Ignorance, and Ostracism of Learning, when the *Thespian* Fount is so pittingly puddled, the Sacred Mount so Sacreledgiously Assassinated, and the *Castalian* Cave, become a covert for Chattering-Magpies.” That he had given at least one hostage to fortune appears from an epigram (vi. 35, N 5^v—N 6) “*To Mall my Wife.*”²⁷

Added to the *Epigrams* is a poem called *The Socratick Session*, which tells how “the Cur’st Critick” Julius Scaliger is tried by the Gods and various classic poets for his horrid blasphemies against Homer, “making *Maro farre* (Although his Ape) ’bove him superior.” Scaliger is condemned to dreadful tortures, even Virgil voting, “*Sisyphus* snow-ball let him roule.” The poem is dedicated “*To the truly judicious, my much honoured Friend Iames Yate, Esquire,*” acknowledging “the many Favours that have been put upon mee by your profuse Palme.”

The volume ends with *A Mausolean Monument . . . With Three Pastorals*. Apart from the eulogies (already mentioned) of his parents, this section is chiefly interesting for its “Third Pastoral” (S-S 6), which in part runs as follows:

[S 4] Yes *Coridon*, Ile tell thee then,
Not long agoe liv’d learned *Ben*,
He whose songs, they say, out-vie
All *Greek* and *Latine* Poesie,
Who chanted on his pipe Divine,
The overthrow of *Cataline*,
Both Kings and Princesses of might,
To heare his *Layes* did take delight,
The *Arcadian* Shepherds wonder all,
To heare him sing *Sejanus* fall,
O thou renowned Shepherd, we
Shall ne’re have one againe like thee. . . .²⁸

[S 4^v] And now—(be gone ye gastfull feares

²⁷ Possibly she was the Mary Sheppard, widow, aged about thirty-three, of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, who on August 8, 1666, married at St. Michael Royal one John Betty, widower, aged about forty, of St. Clement Danes (Foster, *London Marriage Licenses, 1521-1869*, 1887, p. 124).

²⁸ The sixteen lines which follow (on Shakespeare) will be found in Munro’s *Shakspeare Allusion-Book*.

Alas I cannot speak for teares)
 There is a Shepheard cag'd in stone **
 Destin'd unto destruction,
 Worthy of all before him were,
Apollo him doth first preferre,

- [S 5] *Renowned Laureate be content [sic],
 Thy workes are thine own Monument.
 Apollo still affords supply,
 For the Castalian Fount's nere drie,
 Two happy wits, late brightly shone,
 The true sonnes of Hyperion,
 Fletcher, and Beaumont, who so wrot,
 Johnsons Fame was soon forgot,
 Shakespeare no glory was alow'd,
 His Sun quite shrunk beneath a Cloud: "40
 These had been solely of esteem,
 Had not a Sucklin Rivald them.*

* SUCKLIN, whose neat superior phrase

* Sir John Sucklin.

At once delights, and doth amaze,
 Serene, sententious, of such worth,
 I want fit words to set it forth,
 Exactly excellent, I think,
 He us'd *Nepenthe* stead of Inke,

- [S 5v] In this he all else doth out-do,
 At once hee's grave, and sportive too.
 And next to him well rankt may be
 He, whose Pipe melodiously
 Doth sound, who for his well-tun'd Layes,
 May before *Plautus* claim the Bayes,
 Whose *Commick* straines, and *Tragick* sounds,
 Do ecchoe all about our grounds:
 O gentle Shepheard "41 still pipe on,
 Still take deep draughts of *Helicon*,
 And thou'lt be rankt I make no doubt
 With *Tytirus* and *Collin Clout*. . . .

I have not seen Sheppard's *Discoveries* (1652), but there is a description of it in *Notes and Queries*, 5th series, VI (1876), 104-105. The book, it appears, was dedicated to Selden, with the

** Davenant.

"40 The six lines from "Two happy" through "A Cloud" are also in Munro's *Shakspeare Allusion-Book*.

"41 The reference is apparently to James Shirley.

statement that "these Essays (for the most part) found production in the infamous Goal of Newgate, where (for my loyalty to the late king) I suffered a severe restraint almost fourteen moneths."

Some of my friends [Sheppard states] . . . have of late been pleased to tax my studies (referring to somewhat I lately divulged) as incompatible with my profession, &c. but did they know how meanly I prize those pieces of frippery, they would suspend their censures; and be confident that their Severitia (in that kind) cannot exceed mine: he that thinks worse of those Rimes then myself, I scorn him; for he cannot: he that thinks better is a fool.

The *Discoveries* is evidently a dull book, relieved only by the clerical author's confession "with shame and sorrow" of having been too frequently drunk.

But his repentance for frivolous writing was not sincere or, at least, not lasting. On September 13, 1652, he published a sixteen-page quarto called *The VVeepers: Or, The bed of Snakes broken*.⁴² The preface is in his typical bumptious style:

I feare the Censure of Vertuous and Judicious Men: But I laugh at, and contemne the rage of these Cumane Asses,⁴³ Masquers, Mummers, painted Puppets, out-sides Whiflers, walking Pictures, Shadowes, Gulls, Vizards, Butter-flies; I owe thee nothing, (Reader) and look for no favour at thy hands.

God buy.

The Weepers were a group of beggars who falsely pretended to have been the late king's servants. More interesting than his attack on them is the second part of the pamphlet, "Six Cupping-Glasses, clapt to the cloven Feet of the six Dæmons, who Govern the times," a discussion of six news-books.

In 1652 Sheppard also contributed the solitary commendatory poem that appears in Thomas Manly's *Veni; Vidi; Vici. The Triumphs Of The Most Excellent & Illustrious, Oliver Cromwell, &c. Set forth in a Panegyricke*. The original poem was written in Latin by Payne Fisher. Sheppard thought highly of the translation, assuring Manly that

Th' Indulgent censure of succeeding times
Shall crown thee (*Manly*) for thy flowing Rime, [*sic*]

⁴² Cf. J. B. Williams, *A History of English Journalism*, p. 135.

⁴³ Cf. *The Fairy King*, stanza 51, below.

With the same *Chaplet* that wreathes *Sands* his brow,
This he [Sheppard] predicts, who honours thee, I vow.

I think it likely, too, that he was the S. S., Gent., who in 1652 published *The Secretaries Studie*, a model letter-writer. But I have no definite proof to support my suggestion.

Three books not before assigned to him, however, were unquestionably his work. These are the editions of the burlesque almanac *Merlinus Anonymus* published under the name of Raphael Desmus in 1653-1654. Each has a postscript signed S. S., and that fact, together with the evidence of style and of references to George Wharton, "my uncle Clapham,"⁴⁴ and the like, made me certain of Sheppard's authorship before I observed a further proof that makes the case superfluously convincing. I refer to the name "Raphael Desmus" itself, which is merely the anagram of "Samuel Sheppard." In 1653 and 1654 many people must have deciphered the anagram: apparently nobody since has done so; and "Raphael Desmus" appears in the British Museum catalogue, while Sheppard gets no credit for his work.

The first edition had the following title-page:

Merlinvs Anonymvs./ An/ Almanack,/ And no Almanack./ A Kalendar,/ And no Kalendar./ An Ephemeris (between jest, and/ earnest) for the year, 1653./ Monthly Observations, and Chronolo-/gicall Annotations, on things past,/ present, and to come./ With/ A Prognostication, and Plenary Prediction/ as well on the Eclipses of Divers, as the aspects/ of the Planets, (Peregrine) and the mo-/tions of terestiall Bodies./ Also/ A Meteorologicall Diary, fitted for the use of/ Citizen, and Country-man, in a novell,/ but pleasing method./ Intended especially for the Horizon of Saint/ George-street Southwark, where the Pole/ is elevated 1200 inches from that/ of China, but may indifferent-/ly serve for all Climates,/ Countries, and Con-/tinents./ By Raphael Desmvs, Philologist./ Lætitia Cælum vos creavit sua./ Lætitia Cælum vos servabit vestra./ London: Printed by F: N: 1653./ (8°, sigs. A-C*.)

Apart from misprints, the main titles (that is from "Merlinus" to "Monthly") of the 1654 and 1655 editions are identical with the foregoing; the subtitles are totally different, but are too long to reproduce.

⁴⁴ One of Sheppard's epigrams (E 8-E 8v) is addressed "To my much honoured uncle M. Paul Clapham"; another (L 2v) is on his dead kinsman, Thomas Clapham. The *Mausolean Monument* is dedicated to Christopher Clapham.

The first edition was published, according to George Thomason's date, on January 3. The postscript explains that all the other almanacs "appear two months before they are wish'd for," and that Desmus "thought it pertinent to his present qualifications to manifest himself (if possible) a month or two after." Sheppard ironically dedicated his almanac to Nicholas Culpepper, the astrologer. He then gives a list "Of the Terms this year" and "The Table of Kings." The calendar follows, a page (headed with a poem) being devoted to each month: in one column the days are numbered; in another the "Fest Dayes" are named for "Martyrs quite forgotten by *Fox*"; a third gives ridiculous weather-predictions; a fourth presents a "Micro-chronicon" of "remarkable passages," which, of course, are always trivial. The "martyrs" include such personages as Sejanus, Bevis of Southampton, Archie Armstrong, Canbury Bess and Country Tom (murderers, on whom see my *Pepysian Garland*), Martin Parker, Romeo and Juliet, Will Summers, Duessa, Hero and Leander. The "Micro-chronicon," often exceedingly coarse, informs us (for example): "*Nan Sharpe* (Rectresse of *Sodome*, and *Gubernatrix* of *Gomorah*) married to a Beadle, lash her Sirrah," "A pick-pocket detected, 1645," "A Dog-house burnt down near Saint *James Clarkenwell*, 1650," "*John Tayler* began his voyage to the Holy land, 1651." A page of burlesque "Observations" follows each calendar, and after the "Observations" on December there is "A Generall Pronostication [sic] For The Year 1653" (dedicated to George Wharton). Finally, there is a brief, supposedly comic, list of "Books Worth Buying."

All these features are retained in the 1654 edition,—bought by Thomason on November 18, 1653,—which adds (A 4^v) "A brief computation of some things very memorable till this year 1654," as

<i>Since sage Wil Summers, was 8 Henries jester.</i>	99
<i>Since upon Holborn-hill I found a tester.</i>	5
<i>Since Martin Parker had his winding sheet.</i>	8

No changes were made in the arrangement of the 1655 edition, except that the "General Prognostication" is diversified by an elegy on Culpepper, "A Story" of the quarrels of "a Silk weaver, and his two Sons" over a foolish religious matter, and an "Ode" on drinking.

The 1655 edition was bought by Thomason on November 3, 1654. Sheppard must have died soon after, for nothing further from his pen is known.⁴⁵ The last reference to him apparently occurs in William Winstanley's *The Muses Cabinet, Stored with variety of Poems*, [May 28,] 1655, C 3^v:

To Mr. Sheppard on his most excellent Epigrams.

Sheppard thou hast
 Martial orepast,
 Ausonius conquered:
 Thou Harrington
 Hast overcome,
 And Owen stricken dead.

These in their time
 For wits the prime
 Of Poets counted were:
 But if to thee
 Compar'd they be,
 We see they nothing are.

Then sit thee down,
 Whilest we do crown
 Thy head with wreaths of Bayes:
 The Muses nine
 Do all combine
 To warble forth thy praise.

Winstanley's praise of Sheppard is a matter of some interest, for when in 1661 or 1662 ⁴⁶ he began to publish the almanac known as *Poor Robin*, he took over all of Sheppard's machinery and most of his "Fest Dayes" and "Martyrs" without change or acknowl-

⁴⁵ Certain ballads attributed to him by Hazlitt, in various bibliographical collections, and by Ebsworth, in the *Rowburghe Ballads*, were certainly not by Sheppard but by Samuel Smithson. Smithson also is probably the author of *The Man in the Moone Discovering A Word [World] of Knavery under the Sunne* (1657) and *Fortune's Tennis Ball* (1656), both of which were published under the initials of S. S. The latter, a romance of Dorastus and Fawnia borrowed from Robert Greene's *Pandosto*, was reprinted (from the 1672 edition) by Halliwell-Phillipps in 1859 without any reference to Sheppard or Smithson.

⁴⁶ The *Dictionary of National Biography* gives these dates, but in the British Museum catalogue 1664 is said to be the date of the first issue of *Poor Robin*.

edgment. *Poor Robin* is more or less famous. Few people know its model, *Merlinus Anonymus*. And yet the three issues of the latter are brimful of references of value: Shakespeare, Jonson, Suckling, Donne, Beaumont and Fletcher, Martin Parker, Nicholas Murford, John Booker, John Looks, Humphrey Crouch—such are the names that constantly appear. Allusion-book-makers have hardly touched Sheppard's almanacs.

It should be observed, too, that in each edition Sheppard has many loyal, but cautious, references to Charles I and the exiled prince. He gives, furthermore, some interesting biographical facts. Thus dedicating his first issue to Wharton, former editor of *Mercurius Elencticus*, "The only English Astrologer," he asserts that

Within one jaile, and for one very cause,
To vindicate, the (then thought) living laws,
We have convers'd with shabbs, and skellums long,
(I have i'm sure) in flinty *Whittington*.

The dedication ends with the customary complaint against fortune:

For me, (if there be such a thing as I,)
Fortune perceives I bear her tyranny,
With so obdure, so strong a sence, that she,
Thinks there is nothing else, so fit for me.

Finally in the "Micro-chronicon" (1653) for April 24 and September 19 he states: "My Brother *Harrison* received his money of my Uncle *Clapham* 1600," "I desir'd a crown of my couzen *Bigford*, he spent two, and departed into *Surrey*, 1652." I shall not attempt to explain these statements; but his uncle Clapham has already been referred to (page 535), and Harrison Sheppard was, no doubt, the half-brother of the poet. Harman Sheppard, the poet's father, was already (applying the standards of his time) an old man of about fifty-one in 1600.

VI

The masterpiece by which Sheppard hoped to secure immortality was entitled *The Faerie King Fashioning Love .&. Honour In an Heroicall Heliconian Dresse*, but it remains unpublished to this day in the careful holograph copy of 81 large folios or (162 pages) that Sheppard had prepared for the press. That copy, now known

as MS. Rawlinson Poet. 28, is in the Bodleian Library. In the postscript Sheppard asserts that he began to write the poem about 1648, and that it was composed chiefly in the prisons of Lambeth Palace, Petre House, and Newgate. In Newgate it was completed (that is, about May, 1650), but the process of revision continued "almost foure yeares" after his "miraculous delivery"—that is, until about 1654.

The *Epigrams* of 1651 bear witness to his preoccupation with *The Fairy King*:

EPIG. 10. [Book iv, G 3v-G 4]

To Clio, having but begun my *Faerie King*.

O Muse, what dost thou whisper in my eare?
 What thou suggests to me I dare not heare,
 Find thee an abler Agent, alas I
 Am all unfit for Warlike Poesie,
 To sing the Acts of *Heros*, and compile
 The Deeds of Kings, in a full heightned stile,
 Is such a task I dare not undergoe,
 How to begin, or end, I do not know:
 And more, if *Spencer* could not scape the spite
 Of tougues [*sic*] malevolent, whose gentle spright
 Prompted him, so meek as never man
 Before him could, nor (I think) ever can,
 I then shall (sure) be bitt to death, but yet
 If thou commandest that I forward set,
 I will not be rebellious, but desire,
 Thoul't warme my bosome with thy hottest fire.

EPIG. 28. [Book iv, H 4-H 5]

On Mr. Spencers *inimitable Poem, the Faerie Queen*.

Collin my Master, O Muse sound his praise,
 Extoll his never to be equal'd Layes,
 Whom thou dost Imitate with all thy might,
 As he did once in *Chawcers* veine delight
 And thy new *Faerie King*, shall with Queen,
 When thou art dead, still flourish ever green.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Omitting thirty-six lines, I give the conclusion of this epigram:

"Although Great *Spencer* they did thee interre,
 Not Rearing to thy name a Sepulcher,
 Yet thou hast one shall last to the last day,
 Thy *Faerie Queen*, which never shall decay:
 This is a Poets Priviledge, although

EPIG. 29. [Book v, L 2-L 2v]

To his Muse in (reference to his Faerie King.

By thee faire Muse, when violent hands have made
 England a Den of Dragons, a darke shade
 Where shag-hayrd Satyres Daunce, when Kingdomes are
 Quite overturn'd, and frie in flames of Warre,
 I shall command the Earth, and to the skie,
 Above the Earth, borne on Fames Wings shall flie."

After these great expectations, Sheppard's ghost must be disturbed by the knowledge that the world knows nothing of the poem, that Fame has never heard of him. I think it highly probable that he died before he could arrange to have *The Fairy King* printed. After his success in finding publishers for numerous volumes of trash, he could scarcely have experienced difficulty in securing a publisher for the poem.

It would be interesting to know how the manuscript got into Rawlinson's hands. The lower third of the title-page, by the way, which must have borne the author's name, is torn off; his signature is likewise torn from the postscript; and after the proem,—the

His person among sordid dolts do goe
 Unto the Grave, his Name shall ever live,
 And spite of Time, or Malice shall survive."

"To Spenser Sheppard makes many other references. I shall dismiss them with the following passage from the *Epigrams* volume, S 2v-S 3:

"Then *Collin Clout* his pipe did sound,
 Making both Heaven and Earth resound;
 The Shepheards all both farre and near
 About him flock'd his layes to hear,
 And for his songs he was so fam'd,
 He was the Prince of Shepheards nam'd."

Sheppard, furthermore, was probably the guiding spirit behind the publication of "The/ Faerie/ Leveller:/ Or,/ King Charles his/ Leveller descri-/bed and deciphered in Queene Eliza-/beths dayes./ By her Poet Laureat Edmond Spenser, in his unparaleld/ Poeme, entituled,/ The Faerie Queene./ A lively representation of our times./ Anagram:/ Parliaments Army./ Paritie mar's al men./ Printed just levell anens the Saints Army; in the yeare of their/ Saintships ungodly Revelling for a godly Levelling. 1648./", a twelve-page quarto pamphlet bought by Thomason on July 27. This is a reprint of twenty-six stanzas from Book v, canto 2, of *The Fairy Queen*. It was advertised as "newly Printed, with Annotations worth your perusall," in *Mercurius Elencticus*, No. 35, July 19-26, 1648, p. 276.

one place where "Samuel Sheppard" still remains,—the name is scratched out in ink as old, apparently, as that of the MS. itself.

Halliwell-Phillipps mentioned the MS. in his book *On the Character of Sir John Falstaff* (1841), pp. 50 ff., and reprinted (in modernized and inaccurate form) stanzas 53-61 from Book v, canto 6. Although stanza 59 mentions James I as dead, Halliwell-Phillipps carelessly dated the MS. "soon after the year 1610." His book was dedicated to J. P. Collier, and that gentleman, obviously without having examined the MS., called attention to the error when editing *The Works of Edmund Spenser* (I, clxviii) in 1862. The Roxburghe Club at its meeting of July 17, 1880, spoke of publishing the MS., but its plans came to naught. The poem was unknown to the compilers of the Shakespeare and Jonson allusion-books, though Miss Spurgeon, in her *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion*, I (1925), 227, quotes one stanza (50). F. I. Carpenter, in his *Reference Guide to Spenser* (1923), does not mention *The Fairy King*, though one would certainly expect to see it included there.⁴⁹ It would appear that recognition of Sheppard will still be long deferred! His poem ought to be edited as a curiosity and as a most sincere tribute to Spenser.

The Fairy King is a thoroughly unsuccessful attempt at rivalling Spenser in his own field, written, not in the famous nine-line stanza, but in *ottava rima*. There are six books, each containing six cantos prefaced by four-line verse-arguments like those of his master; and only in these arguments does Sheppard's poetry even approach Spenser's.

On folio 2 occurs

THE PROEM

to number the hayres upon their chins, to paint their visnomies, and perfume their very shaddowes, since I know they admire no Poems but such as are peccant, obscene, or dictated at least by a Cupid, but what ever their disease is J know it is Jncurable, because their Urine will never shew it, nor would J have them at any hand to bee let blood for it but rather soothe their ranke bloods & rub one another, the best counsell they merrit, from

SAMUEL SHEPPARD⁵⁰

⁴⁹ He mentions only Sheppard's *Times Displayed*, adding a reference to Collier's Spenser, I, clxviii.

⁵⁰ The signature is heavily scratched out in ink.

All people who have had experience with book-reviewers must envy the airiness—and the impunity—with which Sheppard customarily gave his opinion of critics and readers. If you don't like my work, he reiterates, you're a barbarian, a dunce. This is a refreshing attitude, which nobody (however true the sentiment might seem to him) would dare adopt to-day. In the postscript to *The Fairy King* the proem is completely outdone, and Sheppard warns "frenzied pedagogues," "apoplexical academicians," and "pitiful pedantics" (hard phrases that might have been chosen with the present writer and his readers in mind!) that the poem is beautifully written in a style far above their powers of appreciation.

The postscript, an extremely interesting document, runs thus:

Were not this worke of more worth then either my selfe will boast, or permit others to divulge, J should thinke it Incompatible with that modestie J have ever profest, to say the monstrositie of these times merrit not a peice the least polished & so much of kin to his miraculous Minerva (Jncomperable Spencer) whose Genius admits no Rivall nor can it be criminall if J cogitate that this Poem has no other Jnfortunitie save this, that my name (the Solecism of some envious wind-Fuckers⁸¹) must give an etern Date to those Jdeas which (if not from mee) might unquestionably find a welcome from the most rigid Zenonist; J shall but smile to contemplate how partially the more part of our modern Censurers appoint their Applause, the phanaticke Pageantry of those Apish Salmonseuses⁸² shall not a whit startle mee, since Phœbus (on paine of his displeasure) has commanded, that J contemn & laugh at the aguiah Castigations of phrenzied Pedagogues, Censorious Cits, pit-pat Rhimers, Apoplexical Academians, rigid Rusticks & pittifull Pedanticks; the howling of a wolfe & the Screech-owles melodie is much alike to mee, nor shall I wish a gratefull applause from any gig-brain'd Garulist the worst of Murford⁸³ is too good for such drossie-sould Malevolents, & to such Jnexorable Athiests as they J shall account it sin to explaine & obviate the luminous misteries of most sacred Poesie, though I dare not omit to declare to Posteritie, that this worke found its conexion of as many parts

⁸¹ Perhaps Sheppard borrowed this ugly word from George Chapman's "Preface to the Reader" in *The Whole Works of Homer* [1616], A 4.

⁸² In *The Royal Diurnall*, No. 3, August 7-14, 1648, Sheppard wrote of Parliament: "they will find . . . themselves only Immitators of the fantastick *Salmoncus* struck dead for his sawsinesse by Jupiter." There is a similar reference in his *Loves of Amandus and Sophronia*, D 7.

⁸³ Nicholas Murford—a tavern-keeper scornfully referred to in Sheppard's *Merlinus Anonymus*, 1655, B 8v, C 6-C 6v—who published *Fragmenta Poetica* in 1650.

as Homers Jlliades when they were set together by Lycurgus, who first brought them out of Jonia into Greece as an entire Poem (before whose time his Verses were sung dissevered into many workes one called Doloniades another Agamemnons Fortitude, another Patroclus Death, another Hectors Redemption, another the Funerall Games) the second booke perfected in Lambeth house where J scarce jnyoyed as much ayre as might be suckt in at a bung-hole, & escaping from thence (warrants from both Houses thundring in each nooke against mee) the fourth & fift booke finished while J was in hourelly feare to be ceazed on and hurried to my Lambeth Lollard, the Sixt booke found creation in Peter house & Whittington Colledge alias Newgate where by the doome of those cruell consulla, whose downfall J have seene by the hand of their owne Generalissimo the famous Cromwell (those ejected Statesmen to the no lesse wonder of the world then when their Lord lost his head before his owne Palace dore, being ballated about the streetes, & sung to a scurvier tune then that of Chivy Chase," twelve for a penie) J languished (surrounded with Dolour, Jndigencie, obloquie with all their Appurtenancies) almost fourteene months where my best musick was the ratling of cheines the gingling of Jrons, & the groanes of men destind for destruction though (J confesse) the constitution of my mind will allow mee to dance to an Earthquake, & sing to the Dorick harmony of the Thunder Want or plenty, cold or heat, Securitie & Danger J am equally allide to; for J jnuere my selfe to all Diets, all complexiones & humors etc but to the matter Jntended;

Since my miraculous delivery (almost foure yeares) J have bin in continuall fight with my adverse Fortune alwaies growing lesse by toiling to be more, finding nether Repose for body nor mind, & yet maugre all opposition have brought this peice to the perfection you see, which if it seeme course to any curious wit let him know that nothing does depresse & deprave Jngenious Spirrits, and corrupt cleare wits more then Scorne & necessitie, nothing coves them more then want & Jndigency,

—————virtutibus obstat
res angusta Domi—————"

Swans must have pleasant nests, high-feeding; faire weather to sing in with a load of care men cannot climbe Pernassus cliffe, for hee who still is wrangling with his Destenie, [fol. 81] and his malignant Fortune beccmes hoarse & loses both his singing & discourse.

Saith the most sententious Guarini, in his excellent *Pastor Fido*⁶⁶ & therefore (whether J respect the present Age) or succeeding time) J shall

⁶⁴ Cf. *Merlinus Anonymus*, 1653, A 6: "a subject for Ballad-poets, and sung to a scurvier tune then that of Chivy-chase."

⁶⁵ From Juvenal, iii. 164-165.

⁶⁶ Or rather Sir Richard Fanshawe (cf. p. 523, above) in *Il Pastor Fido The faithfull Shepheard With an Addition of divers other Poems*, 1648, pp. 171-172.

not neede prolixly to Apologize to the understanding Readers, & to such J only direct my selfe, only let mee beg of those who have had the Jllhap to peruse my former (printed) Absurdities to consider that those Spungie Sarcasms (whose being J would obliterate with my best blood) found birth meerly from a mercenary dizzinesse; let our elegant Fanshaw pleade for mee—

As in a Torch wee see the bating flame
unto its heavenly country doth aspire
but the wax softly shrinking from the same
makes it for foode from heaven to retire
and tend to earth ward wth descending fire,
so Wit is forc'd (some maintenance to get)
to stoope to earth against his owne desire
but soone againe the fruitfull earth doth quit
to soare in emptie ayre (heaven send mee better wit).⁵⁷

but enough of this, & to conclude with the same seriousnessse wee began/
As common Dispositions never keepe fit or plausible consort with Judiciall,
so neither are Jdle capacities comprehensive of an Elaborate Poem, in
respect of mens light slight or envious perusalls, J have much reason to
bewaile the Rigiditie of my Fate, but for currant wits to crie from
standing braines, like a broode of Frogs in a ditch, is a song farre from
their Arrogation of sweetnessse & a sin that would soone bring the plague
of Barbarism amongst us, which (in faith) neede not be hastned, since
it comes with meale-mouth'd Tolleration too savagely upon us, for my
varietie of new words, my farre fetcht, & as it were beyond sea manner
of writing (as a grand Heliconist was pleased to hint upon the perusall
of part of this Poem in manuscript) J protest I have none, (Parliament J
am sure you know) J say J have none & if any, they are such as I give
pasport to with good Authoritie, and if some would take but as much
paines for their poore countrimen as for a proud stranger, J should
not doubt to be much more gracious in their choyce conceits, then a
Discourse that falls naked before them, and hath nothing but what
mixes it selfe with ordinary table talke, if then their bounty would
doe mee but the grace to conferre these my unhappy Jndeavours
(pen'd for the most part in severall prisons, in the height of these tumultuos
times) with theirs so successefull and commended, J shall hope (at
least) to escape many of those unmanly Degeneracies now tyranizing
amongst us, for if that which teacheth happinesse & hath un-painfull
corosives in it (being entertained to eate out the hart of that raging ulser
which like a Lernean Fen of corruption furnaceth the universall sighes &
complaints of this transposed world) were seriously & as with armed
Garisons defended & hartned that which Jngenders & disperseth that
wilfull pestilence would be purg'd & extirpate, but that which teaches

⁵⁷ Quoted verbatim from "A Canto of the Progresse of Learning" in the volume of Fanshawe's cited above, p. 263.

being extirpate, that which is taught is consequently subject to eversion, but J shall hope such a candid acceptance as may manifest my mistake of the Age & call on a conclusion of this Jmperfect worke.

from **

To most readers the interesting thing about *The Fairy King* would be the sixth canto of Book v, in which Sheppard gives a "Hall of Fame" of writers, ancient and modern. In *The times Displayed* he dealt with twenty-four English authors, dispraising only three. Some of the twenty-one whom he praised must have been included solely because they were his personal friends. In *The Fairy King* he gives English literature twenty-four "busts"—shall we say?—in the Hall of Fame, omitting from his previous list Alleyn, Beaumont, Browne, Davenant, Heywood, Massinger, Mill, May, Nabbes, Shirley, and Wither. Political reasons alone would have sufficed to eliminate May and Wither, as well as Milton,** whom Sheppard never mentions. But we should expect to find both Beaumont and Davenant. On the whole, however, perhaps Sheppard's second list, considering the time at which it was made, is as good and as representative as possible.

The following extracts from Book v, canto 6, give a fair idea of the style of the entire poem.

[Fol. 62v] CANTO .6.

the Sacred HOUSE OF ELOQUENCE
heavenly Delights affords
a list of all the LORDS of SENSE
Auncient, and modern BARDS.

1

IF now the Lawrell that but lately shaded
my Temples bee dis-leav'd, if now my Quill
bee of its quondam happinesse degraded
and J fall headlong from the Muses Hill,
blame these most cursed Times that have Invaded
my sense with horror, strangling my weake skill,
my drooping sorrows that doe sit like lead
upon my soule, from whence all Joyes are fled.

** The signature is torn off, and the MS. ends here.

** Possibly "COMUS (the God of good chear) swayes his scepticall Scepter," *Merlinus Anonymus*, 1653, sig. C, was written with Milton's *Comus* in mind. There is a similar reference in the *Epigrams*, K 3, and one of the pastorals in that volume is in the tetrameter movement of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*.

2

may that dam'd wretch who first dig'd deepe for gold
 and gave white wooll the wanton Tyrian Die
 bee curst, his name with CATALINE Jnrolld
 and may his paines in Hell still multiplie,
 who gave the cause of all those Jlls that hold
 Virtue in Gyves worth in captivitie,
 [Fol. 63] a swarme of Furies came with thee along
 (accursed Gold) Deceit, Oppression, Wrong.

3

for thee the Oceans auncient peace is broke
 BOREAS with pride beheld the fatall PINE
 first fell'd that on the seas Jmpos'd a yoke
 scorning his breath, blasting NEREUS brine.
 churlish Dissention from thy sight first tooke
 it's rise; by thee oppos'd all pure Divine
 affection finds frigiditie, "None dread
 "the Sluggish Arrow, that is tipt with lead.

4

happy those men, who free from guilt possesst
 the Earth, though Rich, yet wisely Jgnorant
 prizing their povertie, like that of rest
 o' happy Jndigency, wealthy want,
 hee who to Heaven has his hopes adrest^{oo}
 must nere of such a glittering burthen vaunt,
 garments from COS, or orient pearls did nere
 ymp his Ambition, who Jnhabits there.

5

the noble paire whom METANOJA, late
 honour'd with a celestiall Vision
 having seene CUPID lynkt unto his Mate
 (ravish'd beyond all Admiration)
 want utterance, they for a long time sat
 like two well-fashion'd Jmages of stone,
 till METANOJA (boundlesse in her love)
 leads them into a neare adjacent Grove.

6

which prov'd the Poets TEMPE but a Tale
 there May still Reignes, & rose-crownd ZEPHIRUS
 are ever sporting, no keene blasts assaile
 this glorious Garden; no tempestuous

^{oo} MS. possibly adrest.

no swart-complexion'd Acherontick gale
dares here approach, with lookes pernicious.
sweete VER here sits, Jnthroan'd wth pleasant cheare
retaining her choice glories all the yeare.

7

in mid'st of this enamel'd verdant meade
upon a Rock, of an Jmmense extent
cut like a Pedestall with curious heede
(by JOVE himselfe, & all the Gods Assent
from BABELLS black confusion first decreede
a happy fraction, & a glorious rent)
there stood a colusse, fram'd of flaming brasse
whose loftie head, hid in the heaven was.

8

in his strong hands, hee fire & Water had
out from his tongue a thowsand cheines did grow
with which hee millions drew, who seem'd most glad
to bee his captives, cheined on a row
they by the eares were led; but some grew mad
with too much Joy, this Jmage, thus, to know,
before his feete Panthers, & Tygers lay
as meeke as lambs, by him taught to obey.

9

When hee gives libertie to his sweete tongue
the neighbouring Forrests dance, the stones doe move
flocking about him ravish'd with his song
that can (o' strange) draw downe the Gods above,
such is his potent vigour, & so strong
is his soule-charming Oratorie; LOVE
or HATE, or OLIV'D PEACE, or banefull WARRE
hee can create, or stint, or make or marre.

10

a double row of golden pillars gyrt
this Jmage in; being sixtie three in all
the first foure claiming by a due desert
the most esteeme, yet could not chuse but fall,
like as the rest, although with wondrous Art
each had his Basis firmly fixt; should small
worthlesse JGNOTO, but upon them blow
did not foure HEBREW ATLASSES say no.

Stanzas 11-20, 12 [21]-14 [23] ⁶¹ enumerate the supporters of

⁶¹ Stanza 21 is erroneously numbered 12, and a consecutive misnumbering

the pillars: Moses, David, Solomon, "Esay," Homer, Plato, Musaeus, Aristotle, Anacreon, Sophocles, Herodotus, Pindar, Demosthenes. Then in stanza 15 [24] we read that

next these twelve pillars more their Basis found
upon twelve Romans,

who are Virgil, Cicero, Juvenal, Julius Caesar, Statius, Tacitus, Ovid, Seneca, Lucan, Martial, Horace, Catullus. Five pillars, in stanzas 27-31 [36-40], are supported by "five renown'd JTALIANS,"—Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, "sportive" Boccaccio, Tasso,—and two, in stanzas [41, 42], by Erasmus and Grotius. Next

GUEVARRA, BOSCAN, GARILACE, GRENADE **
foure Spaniards of renown'd abillitie
propt up foure pillars.

Five pillars (stanzas [44-48]) are assigned to French writers:

MAROT the first, wearing a verdant crown
take him in such an Age that little knew
hee's exquisitely rare, & well may own
the title of the GALLICK ENNIUS
such as the auncient CHAWCER is with us.

Accompanying Marot are Plessis (Philippe de Mornay, Seigneur de Plessis-Marly), Amyot, Ronsard, and Du Bartas.

40 [49]

one pillar of a most stupendious size
was propt up by a Caledonian
(whom Jle not looke upon with partiall eyes
as others doe) the learned BUCHANAN,
Scotlands sole glory, let thy Fame still rise
till it reach heaven; venerable man,
all times shall hug the musick of thy Quill
sit thou next GROTIUS on the Holy Hill.

41 [50]

neare these were foure and twentie pillars more
equall for height, & bulke, with any there
the first supported by a swaine, of yore

continues to the end of the canto, giving an apparent total of 66, instead of 75, stanzas. I give the correct stanza-numbers in brackets.

** I. e., Luis Velez de Guevara, Juan Boscán, Garcilaso de la Vega, and Luis de Grenada.

the bonniest & the blythest one yfere,
 CHAWCER a Knight readen in vertures lore
 who knew full wellen how to Jape & Jeere,
 by MERCURY, compare those barbarous Times
 with his conceits, & you'l Applaud his Rimes.

42 [51]

Sr THOMAS MORE the next, who lost his owne
 to prove the POPE, the only perfect HEAD
 (but wee in this Age are farre wiser growne)
 a man of rare parts, most accomplished
 his Stile is right Laconick, hee is known
 farre better & in's own UTOPIA read
 with more regard then here with us, who are
 meere CUMANE ASSES, monsters made for warre.

43 [52]

SYDNEY the next the wonder of the earth
 Englands APOLLO, MARS & PALLAS were
 jn vigorous conjunction at his birth
 the Muses nurst him; his wit left no Heire,
 a man of such Jmmense, unbounded worth
 his ROMANCE is so Rich, so bright so rare,
 great Bards dare boast from him if they purloine
 and hee that can but Ape him 's thought Divine.

44 [53]

SPENCER ** the next, whom I doe thinke't no shame
 to Jmmitate; if now his worke affords
 so vast a Glory, o' how faire a Fame
 had hee not doated on exploded words

** Other direct mentions of Spenser in *The Fairy King* are on fols. 25v
 and 79v:

"great HOMER, VIRGILL, TASSO, the Divine
 SPENSER (who Rules the two faire Promentories)
 offerd their Charming Volumes, & from thee [Clio]
 were crownd with fulgent IM-MORTALLITIE."

"rise then thou sacred shade of COLIN CLOUT
 ENGLANDS APOLLO, whose renowned story
 Shall live till Heavens Eye bee quite thrust out
 and courted as the Muses cheifest glory,
 if that thy Genius Ayde, I shall not doubt
 to Tryumph over all things Transitory
 nor shall fell ATROPOS devouring Knife
 mince the tough Thread, of my farre better life."

had waited on him; let his honour'd name
find veneration 'bove the earths great Lords,
great PRINCE OF POETS, thou canst never die
lodg'd in thy rare Jmmortall History.

[Fol. 66]

45 [54]

Jmmortall Mirrour of all Poesie
SPIRRIT OF ORPHEUS; bring your pretious Balms,
GOD OF JNVENTION, to thy memory
wee'l offer Incense, singing Hymns & psalms,
Joy of our Laurell, JOVES deare MERCURY
jngyrt his Grave with Myrtle & with palme,
whose rare Desert first kindled my Desire
& gave mee confidence, thus to Aspire.

46 [55]

then HARRINGTON, whose sweet conversion vies
with ARIOSTO'S fam'd Originall
o' what a passion will his soule surprize
(whose mind's not clog'd with lumpish earth) who shall
peruse thy Annotations & Applies
their severall heights as they in order fall
nor this omitted had'st thou miss'd of Fame
thy Epigrams shall canonize thy name.

47 [56]

CHAPMAN " the next, who makes great HOMERS Song
(th' eternall boast of the PERNASSIDES)
to vaile its Bonnet to our english tongue
what can the power of Wit, or Art expresse
that without offering all that's Holy wrong
wee lodg'd in his large brest must not confesse,
nor can wee match his most admired play
either in SOPHOCLES or SENECA.

48 [57]

WOOTON " the next, whose Fragments have farre more
of worth, then mighty volumes, full compleat
the richest wit may borrow from his store
a Generall Scholler, flowing, pithie neat,
an able Minister of State; therefore
quallifide by his prince for Actions great,
& tis a measuring cast which of them were
the wiser King, or wiser Councillour.

" Cf. *Epigrams*, vi. 23, M 8v-N, "*On Mr. Chapmans Incomparable Translation of Homers Workes.*"

" Sir Henry Wotton.

49 [58]

DANIELL the next, grave, & sententious
 in all high knowledge excellent; hee sung
 the Brawles 'twixt YORKE & LANCASTER [sic]
 'mongst us
 with an Angel-like & a golden tongue,
 nothing in him vaine or ridiculous
 his Lines like to his fancie hie & strong,
 more haughty Tragedies, no Age hath seene
 then his PHILOTAS, or ÆGYPTIAN QUEENE.

50 [59]

KING JAMES the next, a prince without compare
 during whose Reigne the Heavens were pleas'd to smile
 hee hated swords, & loath'd the name of Warre
 and yet all Nations feard this Borean Jle,
 his works his learning & great parts declare
 hee wrot a most succinct Elaborate Stile,
 his converse with the Nine, let that rare worke
 declare, where DON JOHN once more beats the Turke.**

51 [60]

BACON the next; cease Greece to boast the parts
 of PLATO or great ARISTOTLE; wee,
 in this rare man, have all their Radyant Arts
 who was a walking, living Librarie,**
 wonder of men, thy high thy vast Deserts
 deserves a PLUTARCHS pen; by thee wee vie
 and vanquish all the Auncients; thou alone
 hast rais'd our tongue to full perfection.

** The reference is to "The/ Lepan-/ 'to Of Iames/ the sixt, King of/
 Scotland./ [Ornament]/ At Edinbvrgh/ Printed By/ Robert Walde-
 graue/ Printer to the Kings/ Maiestie./ Cum priuilegio Regali." It
 was published (with the separate title-page just given) in "His/ Maies-
 ties Poeti-/ call Exer-/cises at vacant/ houres./ [Ornament]/ At Edin-
 bvrgh/ Printed By/ Robert Walde-graue/ printer to the Kings/ Maiestie./
 Cum Priuilegio Regali./" [1591.] The volume also contained a French
 translation made by Du Bartas. A Latin translation by Thomas Moravius
 appeared in *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, pp. 180-200 (Amsterdam, 1637).
 The *Lepanto* was praised, somewhat in Sheppard's manner, by Richard
 Barnfield (*Complete Poems*, ed. Grosart, p. 189) in 1598 and William
 Drummond (*Poetical Works*, ed. Kastner, 1913, I, 273) about 1616.

** In the *Epigrams*, vi. 33, N 4v-N 5, Sheppard addresses a poem to John
 Selden, whom he calls "Thou living Library."

52 [61]

SHAKESPEARE the next, who wrot so much so well
 that when J view his Bulke J stand amaz'd
 a Genius so Jnexhaustible
 that hath such tall and numerous Trophies rais'd,
 let him bee thought a Block, an Jnfidell
 shall dare to Skreene the lustre of his praise.
 whose works shall find (their due) a deathlesse Date
 scorning the Teeth of Time or fforce of Fate.

[Fol. 66v]

53 [62]

RAWLEIGH ** the next, whose Historie's Ador'd
 by all th' European Nations; such a peice
 France, Spaine, or Jtally, cannot afford
 no nor the schoole of Science learned Greece,
 bee thy dam'd deede, base GUNDAMOUR,** abhor'd
 & thy assent, deluded King, in this,
 to writhe the neck of that faire Swan whose tone
 Ravish'd the Earth with Admiration.

54 [63]

DRAYTON the next, whom without flatterie
 our English OVID, our PAUSANIAS
 our BARTAS J may style; his Poesie
 as purely good as any ever was,
 the winged Horse, did nere more swiftly flie
 then when hee backt him, nor with greater grace,
 o may his honour'd name (as tis to mee)
 bee sacred unto all Posteritie.

55 [64]

JOHNSON the next—here let mee prostrate fall
 and beg Remission ere J give his praise
 for who dares censure him, who censur'd all
 and could at pleasure blast the stollen Bayes
 of Puneer Poets; should J dare to call
 him PLAUTUS or EURIPIDES, or raise
 his Pyramis; his Ghost J feare would rise
 and fright mee from so bold an Enterprize.

** In the *Epigrams*, iii. 37, F 3-F 3v, Sheppard has an epigram "*On the death of that Incomparable Hero, Sir Walter Rawleigh Knight,*" in which he calls the *History*

"The lovely Issue of thy braines divine:
 But now thou art not with us, we look on
 Thy book, and wonder at thee being gone."

** The Count of Gondomar, Spanish ambassador to England (†1626).

56 [65]

FLETCHER the next; hee needes must feare to write
 that shall peruse him with a Judging Eye
 so sharpe of wit the dullest Appetite
 feedes to a Surfet on his Poesie,
 J reade him both with wonder & delight
 so various so sententious, candid, his
 a more Accomplish'd wit our clime nere bred
 o' who can taste those Cates, on which hee fed.

57 [66]

SANDS ⁷⁰ next, who to his never dying Fame
 OVID himselfe has Metamorphosed
 so exquesitely, his most sacred flame
 deservs an Arke & to bee worshipped,
 give him the Bayes, give him as great a name
 as his worth merrits, by him wee are freed
 from tedious Travaile in one houre can view
 ROME, PERSIA, MECHA, & JUDEA too.

58 [67]

next reverend DONNE, who in all Arts did shine
 a man all soule, made up of harmonie
 a LEARNED POET, but more learn'd DIVINE
 POESIE blended with THEOLOGIE,
 hee (to the glory of the sacred TRINE)
 could kill an Errour with's Deliverie
 thrice glorious PATRYARCH who didst talke wth Death
 till the rude Goblin, stopt thy learned breath.

[Fol. 66v]

59 [68]

GOFFE next, whose Tragick streines are ecchoed
 all ore FAIRIA (clad in sable weedes)

⁷⁰ Cf. *Epigrams*, iii. 38, F 3v-F 4:

"On Mr. Sands inimitable translation of Ovids Metamorphosis.

"Tell me did'st thou converse with *Ovid's* Spirit?
 Converse, said I, most sure thou didst inherit
 His Soule, I now will credit thy relation,
 That soules transplanted are by transmigration:
 For when I read thy work, and it compare
 With *Naso's* own, to me it doth appeare
 Thou hast out-done him, and his Latine Verse,
 (Pure and unspotted) while thou dost rehearse
 In our own tongue, is grac'd and made more high
 Then when t'was absent from each vulgar eye."

in bloodie Fillets, His darke Muse doth tread
 the trembling Stage, his eagre fancie feedes
 like fire upon the bodies of the dead,
 EURIPIDES & SOPHOCLES, & breeds
 a fairer flame then that was fan'd by them
 licking up all their honour & esteeme.

60 [69]

QUARLES next, our english ORPHEUS; hee ^ty shall
 peruse his Theologicke Poesie
 (for synewy wit, for Gravitie, for all
 that may a learned Poet Dignifie)
 and is not wrapt with an Ætheriall
 Jnexplicable, Active Rhapsodie
 hurried on Angells wings from pole to pole
 is a drie witted sot & wants a soule.

61 [70]

WEBSTER ¹¹ the next, though not so much of note
 nor's name attended with such noise & crowd
 yet by the Nine & by Apollo's vote
 whole Groves of Bay are for his head allow'd,
 most Sacred Spirit (some may say J Doate)
 of thy three noble Tragedies, bee as proud
 as great voluminous Johnson, thou shalt bee
 read longer, & with more Applause then hee.

[Fol. 67]

62 [71]

RANDOLPH the next, & naming him; behold;
 (perhaps J dreame) the MUSES vaile their eyes
 they powre forth brackish drops; their hands they fold
 affording him, Eternall Exequies,
 a glorious Flower, nipt in the Bud, by cold
 & envious mists, of whose Abillities
 wee have so great a gage, wee needes must give
 this censure; t'was not safe for him to live.

63 [72]

SUCLIN the next, who (like that silver Swan
 but now J mentiond) lost the earth in's prime

¹¹ Cf. *Epigrams*, v. 27, L-Lv, "*On Mr. Websters most excellent Tragedy, Called the White Devill*," which ends,

"all of them [thy characters] shall bee
 Gaz'd at as Comets by Posteritie:
 And thou meane time with never withering Bayes,
 Shalt Crowned bee by all that read thy Layes."

and yet hee dy'de, a wery old, old man
 such is the power of wit, & force of Rime,
 "though Death's uncertaine, life bee but a span
 "wise men command the Starres, & vanquish Time,
 were his AGLAURA, only, extant hee
 might claime the height of Jmmortallitie.

64 [73]

CARTWRIGHT the next, whose eminent parts to crowne
 were but to light a Taper to the Sun
 send Pots to Samos, to Minervas Towne
 beare her own Birds, the noise that hee has won
 (maugre LABEOS lash, & MOMUS frowne)
 proclaime him excellent; the happy son
 of FAME; worthy the Myrtle & the Bay
 in his queint Poems, & Prophetick Play.

65 [74]

the last in order but the first in worth
 for ELOQUENCE, & boundlesse ORATORIE
 (whom J could wish, FATE had denyde a birth
 or being borne, the heavenly Consistory
 had voted him a longer date on earth)
 is that great CHARLES, who to's eternall glory
 to the rude seas, & the relentlesse stones
 sang his admired MEDITATIONS.⁷¹

66 [75]

the noble paire, having with great delight
 listned to METANOJAS learned song
 like to her love, their thanks was Jnfinite
 ravish'd with the soft Musick of her tongue.
 they ban the neare approach of busie night
 here they must rest a while, t' will not bee long
 ere FATE appoint them such a taske shall bee
 their lasting Fame, to all posteritie.

the end of the
 fift booke

Harvard University.

⁷¹ Sheppard of course made the author of *Eikon Basilike* (1649) "the first in worth" purely out of loyalty to his memory.

THE USE OF THE VULGATE IN *PIERS PLOWMAN*

BY M. RAY ADAMS

No poem in English not purporting to be a metrical paraphrase of parts of the Bible has made a more thorough use of Scripture than *Piers Plowman*. Yet in the large body of critical literature that has accumulated about the poem little has been written about the significance of this element. The purpose of this study is, first, to state briefly what has already been in part pointed out by others concerning the author's relation to the Church as given us more or less directly in the text but more especially as implicit in his own use of the Bible, and, secondly, to examine the poet's quotations from the Vulgate especially as related to the ecclesiastical ritual in order to determine what implication can be drawn from them about his ecclesiastical connections.

I

But in order not to appear presumptive in writing of the author of a poem the nature of whose authorship as multiple or single is still a matter of doubt to many, it may be well to preface the treatment of the topics mentioned above by a record of what a statistical study of the Vulgate quotations yields us concerning this subject. The possible bearing of the use of the Vulgate upon the question of authorship has been little investigated. The total number of Vulgate quotations in A1 is 24, in A2 ¹ 29, in B 260, in C 241.² The comparative fewness of quotations in A1 and A2 is accounted for not only by their brevity but by the fact that quotations become much more frequent in the added passus of B and C. Though there are more quotations repeated within C than within B, the actual number of Vulgate passages quoted in C is smaller than in B, a fact which does not help to bear out the impression of C's greater learning, or pedantry, which advocates of multiple authorship have insisted upon.

¹ The two parts of the A-text ascribed to different authors, passus I-VIII and passus IX-XII, are designated as A 1 and A 2, respectively.

² This tabulation is based upon the list of Bible references appended to D. Chadwick's *Social Life in the Days of Piers Plowman*, 1922. So are all the other scriptural tabulations of this article.

Mr. R. W. Chambers,³ in checking up according to the quotations Professor Manly's statement ⁴ that his authors differ in scholarly attainments, argues that the fact that A1, A2, B and C show an exceptional preference for the *Psalter*, *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke* is evidence that they are the work of one man and not imitations of A1. "For an imitator can easily imitate the phraseology and tricks of style of his original; but the imitator cannot emulate a habit of apt quotation from certain works unless he, too, has his brain stored with passages from those works."⁵ In support of this he presents his discovery that avowed imitations of *Piers Plowman*, like *Richard the Redeless*, *the Plowman's Crede* and others, contain among them only one Latin quotation from the *Psalter*. He also finds it noteworthy that of the quotations from the Epistles of the *New Testament* the 9 quotations in A come from the same 22 chapters from which are taken the 40 quotations added by B and 8 of the 9 quotations added by C.

A further examination shows that from the 47 chapters of the *Gospels* from which the quotations of the B-additions are taken come 18 of the 23 quotations in A and 16 of the 27 quotations in the C-additions. The following table indicates how uniform the frequency of quotation is in the books of which the poem makes most use:

	A 1	A 2	B-additions	C-additions
Genesis	1	2	2	
Exodus			4	
Deuteronomy		1	3	
Job	1	1	1	2
Psalms	8	6	42	9
Proverbs	1	3	5	
Isaiah			9	
Ecclesiasticus		1	3	
St. Matthew	8	5	41	8
St. Mark		2	7	3
St. Luke	4	1	24	7
St. John		3	18	9
I. Corinthians		1	8	2
II. Corinthians		2	3	1
Galatians		1	4	
I. John	1		3	
	—	—	—	—
	24	29	177	41

³ "The Three Texts of *Piers Plowman* and their Grammatical Forms," *Modern Language Review*, XIV (1919), 135-137.

⁴ *Cambridge History of English Literature*, II, 35.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 137.

The totals for the four parts are in just about the proportion which might be expected from their comparative lengths, effected however by a marked tendency toward increase of quotations in the less purely narrative additions. That an exceptional preference shown in any of the parts assigned to the four authors is generally common to the other three parts certainly does not indicate imitation.

Moreover, it is found that in the portions of one text incorporated into another most of the Vulgate quotations are carried over. Of the 24 quotations in A1 of the list above, B repeats 23; of the 29 in A2, B repeats 24; of the 224 quotations in B, C repeats 171.

The remarkable unity of treatment here shown in handling this great body of biblical material is evidently of some weight against the claim of multiple authorship. If we argue the possibility of several authors, we must either assume two or more writers who would make like biblical references or consider that each author took over from his predecessor whatever is distinctive in the use of the Vulgate in the poem. But both these suppositions are inherently improbable. Hence this study proceeds upon the assumption of unity of authorship.

II

That the author belonged to the humbler but more worthy ranks of the priesthood has been usually inferred from what he says about himself. Skeat⁶ records in a note to lines 44-48 of Passus VI of the C-text⁷ his opinion that the author was one of a great number of priests who made their living principally by singing masses for the dead in the numerous chantries of medieval England. M. Jussérand⁸ also believes that the author was employed in London as a chantry priest or clerk. "He lived in a little house in Cornhill, not far from St. Paul's, the cathedral of many chantries."⁹ Skeat¹⁰ sees a clear implication that the poet had received the tonsure in B, XI, 35 (C, XII, 197), where Recklessness advises him to enjoy

⁶ *Notes to Texts A, B and C*, E. E. T. S., Part IV, Section I, 88.

⁷ The lomes that ich laboure with and lyfode deserve
Ys *paternoster* and my primer *placebo* and *dirige*
And my sauter som tyme and my sevene psalmes. .
Thus ich synge for hure soules of such as me helpen.

⁸ *Piers Plowman*, 73-102.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 95.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, 251.

life while he may and not to work, as a man may stoop enough "whan he shal tyne the croune"; i. e., lose the crown of hair left on the head of those wearing the tonsure. M. Jusserand¹¹ is fairly certain also that the author received the tonsure and the minor orders.

The use of the ecclesiastical terms, priest and clerk, in medieval times was very indefinite.¹² Religious and secular life not being then clearly differentiated, the priest in minor orders performed ecclesiastical functions, such as that of chanting, and wore the tonsure and clerical dress, though he was married. The word clerk was used very vaguely. In its simplest use it meant a man able to read and claiming certain ecclesiastical privileges. "Many clerks never attained to the priesthood. The title of clerk was naturally attributed to all men of any learning in the Middle Ages, since university students, and often even schoolboys, were in lower ecclesiastical orders."¹³ M. Jusserand notes: "The service for the dead, properly so-called, did not include mass; it was a 'vigil,' and could therefore be celebrated by clerks who were not priests."¹⁴ However, the balance of probability, as already indicated in the passages quoted from the poem and later to be shown in the discussion of the relations between the quotations and the ritual, is that the author was a priest beyond the neophyte stage.

His attitude toward reform then brewing among the lower clergy, of which he was a representative, may be in part inferred from his use of the Vulgate. That the nature of his ministrations was democratic, that the poem was addressed to the rank and file of the people, as we should expect that of a priest in lower orders to be, is shown by his liberal use of biblical quotations. His purpose was not only to appeal to authority¹⁵ in order to show that his own teachings were not revolutionary¹⁶ but also to make the teach-

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, 66.

¹² *Ibid.*, 87-88.

¹³ Chadwick, *op. cit.*, 21.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, 90.

¹⁵ Scripture is for him the court of final appeal for the conduct of life. He uses the biblical quotation as the seal of authority for a statement about the principles of Christian behaviour and very rarely for poetic purposes or pictorial effect.

¹⁶ Though, as Skeat points out in his notes, there are several passages probably derived from Wycliffe, our poet nowhere attacks Catholic doctrine as such nor does he deny any of the Church's prerogatives. M. Jusserand

ings of the Church and the Bible more intelligible to the common people, the greater part of whom perhaps understood only the vernacular. To do the latter, he translates, often in free paraphrases, passages given from the Latin, comments upon them and interprets them in plain fashion.

He not only really did something himself toward the placing of the Bible in the hands of the common people but he approved the efforts then being made to do more for them in this respect.¹⁷ This interest in increasing the popular knowledge of the Bible antedates twenty years the first Wycliffe version. Skeat thinks that the author certainly had in mind the "idea of which Wycliffe's work was the successful realization."¹⁸ But before the publication of the Wycliffe Bible, the habit of translating certain of the much used portions of the Scripture for the unlearned was common. However, "down to 1360 the *Psalter* appears to be the only book of Scripture which had been entirely rendered into English."¹⁹ The preachers of this period, while they always quoted the Latin text of the Bible, generally gave the text in translation. Metrical versions or paraphrases of parts of the Bible in Middle English, such as the *Ormulum*, the *Cursor Mundi* and the Middle English *Genesis and Exodus*, had been common for a long time.

In one passage²⁰ the poet seems to infer that some of the priests found it convenient to use Latin in their preaching to keep their

writes: "In religion as in secular matters, Langland sides not with Wycliffe, but heart and soul with the Commons of England. . . . Like the Commons, he recognizes the religious authority of the Pope, but protests against the Pope's encroachments" (*Piers Plowman*, 128). In fact, criticism of the institutions of the Church he would no doubt have considered presumptive for one of his own humble intellectual pretensions.

¹⁷ Thought, in explaining to the dreamer the nature of Do-bet, says that he

is ronne into Religion and hath rendered the Bible
And precheth to the people seynt Poules wordes,

Libenter suffertis insipientes, cum sitis ipsi sapienter

'And suffreth the unwise with you for to libbe

And with gladde wille doth him gode, for so god yow hoteth.'

(B, VIII, 90-3.)

¹⁸ *General Prefaces, Notes and Indexes to Piers Plowman*, E. E. T. S., No. 67, 214.

¹⁹ Madden and Forshall, *Preface to Wycliffe Version of the Bible*, p. vi.

²⁰ B, XV, 109-110, 112-113.

hypocrisy from becoming evident. Elsewhere,²¹ on the other hand, he hints his misgivings concerning the question whether the open Bible would be an unqualified benefit to the common people, seemingly fearing the unsettling of religious life that too great a fostering of the spirit of inquiry among the unlearned might result in. Doctrinal teaching as distinguished from the Word he apparently would not freely dispense to the "comune." He tells²² friars and preachers that it is better to "tellen men of the ten comaundementz and touchene the sevenne synnes" than to "moeven materes inmesurables to tellen of the trinite, that oftentimes the lewed peple of his beleve douten." In general, however, his example was certainly toward a fostering of biblical knowledge among the common people, one of the cardinal principles of early religious reform.

The general nature of the poet's learning and of his preferences among biblical books for quotation indicates also his relation to the Church to have been very much that of Chaucer's "poore persoun of a toun." His learning is mainly scriptural and patristic.²³ Of over 450 quotations found in the three texts of the poem, 318 are separate passages from the Vulgate, 7 are from the creeds of the Church, 7 from Latin hymns in the ritual, 18 from the church fathers, and most of the rest from Latin prose writers.

The books of the Bible from which are taken a majority of the quotations are just the books that would appeal to a humble priest in the lower orders. Our author goes to the Bible, not for narrative material, but for the rules for a devout life.²⁴ He pays little attention to such books as *Ecclesiastes*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Proverbs* and the *Book of Wisdom*—books dealing with the practical virtues which appeal to a man of the world, giving them a comparatively scant showing in a list of references. There are 16 passage

²¹ B, X, 272-273.

²² B, XV, 69-70, 72.

²³ In the allegorical description of Piers's farming operations (B, XIX, 251 seq.; C, XXII, 256 seq.). Grace gives him a team of four oxen, representing the four evangelists, and four bullocks, representing the four fathers: Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory and Jerome, to follow after them with the two harrows, the *Old and New Testaments*.

²⁴ Cf. Gower, whose preference is for *Genesis* and the four books of *Kings*, and Chaucer, who uses the *Psalms* very slightly. See Grace W. Landrum's "Chaucer's Use of the Vulgate," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXIX, 75-100.

references ²⁵ to *Proverbs*, 3 to *Ecclesiastes*, 6 to *Ecclesiasticus* and none to *Wisdom* as compared with the following to the more nearly devotional books: *Psalms* 79, *St. Matthew* 97, *St. Mark* 26, *St. Luke* 64, *St. John* 44 and the *New Testament* Epistles 50. Of the 318 separate passages from the Vulgate, 73 are from the *Psalms*, 65 from *St. Matthew*, 13 from *St. Mark*, 38 from *St. Luke* and 30 from *St. John*. Accordingly, 211 of the 318 quotations, or over two-thirds, come from the *Psalter* and the Gospels. Every chapter of the 28 in *St. Matthew* except the twenty-fourth is represented by from 1 to 12 references each. Every one but 5 of the 16 chapters of *St. Mark* is represented by from 1 to 8 references each. Every one but 5 of the 24 chapters of *St. Luke* is represented by from 1 to 8 references each. Every one but 7 of the 21 chapters of *St. John* is represented by from 1 to 7 references each.

An intimate acquaintance with the Bible or with the more nearly devotional parts of it need not be accepted as proof positive that the author was an ecclesiastic. In the fourteenth century lay poets often displayed such knowledge and interest. Chaucer does so in the *Parson's Tale*. But if we find that such knowledge closely tallies with what a priest in the exercise of his duties might be expected to be best acquainted with, we have something more than a hint about the author's status in life. We need not infer here that, even if his time was mostly employed in saying masses for the dead, his knowledge was limited to those parts of the service books used in such a office. In what follows, the attempt is made, through a comparative study of the scriptural contents of the Roman Breviary and Missal,²⁶ and the Vulgate quotations of *Piers*

²⁵ Under the term reference are included Latin quotations, paraphrases in English of passages not given in the Latin and unmistakable allusions.

²⁶ The content of the fourteenth century service book we may suppose our author to have used cannot be determined with any fine degree of accuracy. We may be fairly sure, however, that the Roman Breviary as at present constituted is in its essentials the same as that used in the fourteenth century, though there undoubtedly are minor differences. The *Proprium Sanctorum*, or special offices of saints, is, for example, of such varying and uncertain content that it has been disregarded in this study. On the other hand, the disposition of the *Psalms* has remained constant since the eighth century. Before the late thirteenth century, there was no

Plowman, to determine what this sort of internal evidence can tell us about the author's connection with the Church. Chadwick says that he "quotes little that is not in the Breviary,"²⁷ but the extent of his dependence upon the service books has apparently never been shown.

An examination of the Breviary Psalter reveals that, of the 20 psalms from each of which 2 or more references are given in *Piers Plowman*, all but 5 belong to matins and, of these 5, 4 belong to vespers. But this does not necessarily indicate laxness in our

standard Breviary. Then the Roman version was adopted for the whole Church and it began gradually to drive out partial ones like the Sarum. But until the Council of Trent (1545-1563) every bishop was allowed to regulate his own Breviary and each monastic community had one of its own. This fact makes it almost certain that our author, if he was a priest, used a local form of the Roman office. So a Breviary of the fourteenth century would probably not be more nearly like the one we may suppose our author to have used than the form as finally standardized at the Council of Trent, since when it has suffered no fundamental change. In this study an eighteenth century copy (1760) has been used, which tallies closely with the Aberdeen Breviary, a local form of the early sixteenth century.

The Roman Missal, like the Breviary, dates in its present form from the Council of Trent. At the time of our author, however, the parts now collectively known as the Missal existed as a number of separate volumes. Moreover, as has been found in the case of the Breviary, before Trent the Missal varied much in different dioceses in England and there seems to have been no standard, though most of them conformed more or less to the Roman type. Hence a fourteenth century Missal would not be much more likely to approximate what we may suppose our author used than the present standard Roman Missal. The *Proprium Sanctorum*, like the corresponding section of the Breviary, is quite variable, every sovereign pontiff adding to the masses for saints or discontinuing certain ones and substituting others of his own. For this reason this section of the Missal has been eliminated from the study. The Missal used is one of 1474, edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society, the earliest printed Roman form, which corresponds in scripture lessons approximately with both a nineteenth century and a seventeenth century copy.

For the history of the Breviary and the Missal, the writer has relied upon the articles on the Breviary, the Missal and the Canonical Hours in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Pierre Henri Batiffol's *Histoire du Breviaire romain*, George Lewis' *The Bible, the Missal and the Breviary* and E. J. Quigley's *The Divine Office*.

²⁷ Chadwick, *op. cit.*, 99.

priest in attendance at other hours, as two-thirds of the *Psalter*, 98 of the 150 psalms, belong to matins. Three-fourths of the psalms most frequently quoted in the poem belong to this two-thirds of the Breviary Psalter. Little, however, can be argued about the author's calling on the basis of his use of the *Psalms*, since they all appear in the Breviary Psalter and about one-third of them are constantly repeated at the saints' festivals.

The Breviary and Missal supply 39 of the 65 Vulgate quotations from *St. Matthew*, 2 of the 13 from *St. Mark*, 31 of the 39 from *St. Luke* and 22 of the 30 from *St. John*. The fact that *St. Mark* is so little used in the Missal gospels ²⁸ accounts largely for the difference in ratio. Of the 140 Vulgate quotations from the Gospels in *Piers Plowman*, 94, or more than two-thirds, are in the Breviary and Missal. The poet, however, may reasonably be expected to have had a better general knowledge of the parts of the Gospels not in the service books than of those parts of other books of the Bible not contained therein.

But a study of the Vulgate quotations exclusive of those from the *Psalms* and the Gospels yields more definite results. We have observed that our author's ready knowledge of the Gospels as a whole beyond those parts used as lessons in the services may be taken for granted and that, therefore, there is nothing especially remarkable about our not finding a larger percentage of his quotations in the ritual. If we find, however, in the ritual approximately as large a percentage of the quotations from the books of the Bible other than the *Psalms* and the Gospels used in *Piers Plowman*, and if we consider the fact that in this case our author has seven times as large a body of writing to draw upon, we have evidence that points even more directly to his dependence upon the ritualistic lessons for his ready knowledge of the Bible. Now, this is just the case. Of the 43 Vulgate quotations from the *Acts*, the *Epistles* and the *Apocalypse*, 37 are in the ritual; of the 13 from the historical books of the *Old Testament*—*Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *I. Samuel* and *I. Kings*—10 are in the ritual; of the 15 from the *Old Testament* Prophets, 10 are in the ritual.

This is all the more remarkable when we consider what a vast

²⁸ Of course this is true largely because his story is told more completely in the other Gospels.

body of quotable passages there is in these books outside the Breviary and Missal and what a very small proportion of them is in the ritual at all. In *Isaiah*, for example, more frequently quoted than any other book of the *Old Testament* exclusive of *Psalms* both in the ritual and in the poem, 30 of the 66 chapters are missing from the service books. In the four weeks of Advent called reading of the prophet *Isaiah* in the Breviary, 39 chapters of the 66 are omitted. In the first week, only 72 of the 153 verses of 7 chapters are read. Likewise, the *Hebrews*, falling for reading in the Breviary during the sixth week after Epiphany, has 4 of 13 chapters omitted and 73 verses omitted from the 9 chapters read.

Of 21 Vulgate quotations from *Job* and the wisdom books, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and *Ecclesiasticus*, only 9 are found in the Breviary and Missal, the variation here being largely caused by *Proverbs*, only 1 of the 9 quotations from which is in the ritual. We may explain this broader use of *Proverbs* easily by the fact that the book is the greatest storehouse of quotable maxims in the Bible and that, therefore, the poet was less dependent upon the parts of it which he had used most in his services. We may add the further observation that of the five chapters in *Proverbs*, in each of which there are two or more references in *Piers Plowman*, all are quoted either in part or as a whole in the service books. If we, then, do not count *Proverbs* in this group, the proportion stands 12 to 9.

The hardest discrepancy to explain is that not one of the 4 quotations from *Deuteronomy* is found in the service books, though parts of 4 different chapters are given. It seems that our author just happens here to be better acquainted with the part of the book not contained in the lessons. Or perhaps the service books which he used contained different readings from *Deuteronomy*.

Counting *Deuteronomy* and *Proverbs* and excluding the *Psalms* and the Gospels, we find in the Breviary and Missal approximately two-thirds of the Vulgate quotations of *Piers Plowman*. The possibility is that, could we actually examine the service books the author used with the *Proprium Sanctorum* ²⁹ of each, we should find the fraction considerably greater.

In general, an examination of the use of Vulgate quotations in

²⁹ A study of the dates of the institution of special offices and masses for saints with reference to the proportion of scriptural quotations in the

the poem, apart from what support it incidentally provides for unity of authorship, confirms the author's own evidence that he belonged to the clerical profession.³⁰

The effect of such a study as this is to impress one neither with the extent of the author's learning nor with the originality³¹ of his genius but with the simplicity of his piety,³² which is without a trace of prejudice or bigotry. Piers is his brother as the plowman is the brother of Chaucer's "persoun."³³ He does not belong to "thise grete clerkes that canne many bokis,"³⁴ than whom no class of people are "rather yravissshed from the rigte beleve,"³⁵ but he wrote for and apparently sympathized with and served the "pore people as ploughmen and pastours of bestis"³⁶ who could "percen with a *paternoster* the paleis of hevene."³⁷

Goucher College.

poem taken from the saints' festivals established before its composition to those quotations common to saints' festivals established since its composition, might yield interesting results.

³⁰ The poet's knowledge of parts of the Breviary besides the scripture readings is shown in his use of quotations from seven of its hymns. A comparative examination of the author's quotations from the fathers of the Church and of the hagiological portions of the Breviary would perhaps be fruitful in evidence.

³¹ Mr. G. R. Owst, in an article entitled "The 'Angel' and the 'Goliards' of Langland's Prologue," in the *Modern Language Review* for July 1925, presents the poem as "the fine product of medieval preaching" and traces a particular indebtedness in the *Prologue* to the pulpit eloquence of Thomas Brunton, Bishop of Rochester, whom our gentle clerk, living in his little house in Cornhill near St. Paul's, appears to have made one of his spiritual heroes.

³² He warns against the folly of trusting to learning rather than to the Christian virtues for salvation (B, XIII, 133, 201; C, XVI, 180). He writes that Christ did not commend learning in choosing simple folk rather than learned men as his disciples (A, XI, 286; B, X, 442; C, XII, 276, XXI, 408).

³³ *Prologue*, 529.

³⁴ A, XI, 298.

³⁵ A, XI, 299; B, X, 456.

³⁶ A, XI, 300.

³⁷ A, XI, 302; B, X, 461; C, XII, 295.

THE HOME OF THE HELIAND — A NON-LINGUISTIC APPROACH

BY E. C. METZENTHIN

INTRODUCTORY REVIEW

This is the third of a series of articles on three outstanding problems connected with the Old Saxon epic, the *Heliand*, which have, in spite of more than a century's unceasing work and strenuous efforts on the part of the Germanists, withstood all attempts of solution.

1. In my treatise¹ on the first problem, the so-called *home problem*, I stressed the necessity of a sharp distinction between the home of the poet and that of his addressees, because the lack of this distinction has frequently obscured the whole issue.²

I endeavored to prove, on the basis not of linguistics but of the *realia* in the *Heliand*, and of the historical situation at the time of its composition (between 820 and 850), that the epic was written mainly for the use of clerics, particularly of missionaries who were at work, or preparing for work, in Northern or Low Germany, under the patronage of Emperor Louis the Pious, whose cherished ambition was to win to a sincere adoption of the Christian religion the hearts of the Saxons subjugated by Karl the Great and, more or less, converted to the official religion of the conqueror. Thus, the probable home of the addressees was found to be along the coast of the North Sea, from Holland eastward over Friesland, Oldenburg, Bremen, Hamburg and up to, possibly including in part, Denmark.

In the contribution³ to the discussion of the second problem, concerning the *personality of the unknown writer of the "Heliand,"*

¹ *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXI (1922), 191-228 and 457-506, under the heading, "*Die Heimat der Adressaten.*"

² Now it seems to be even more opportune to stress the necessity of distinguishing between the home of the *original manuscript* and the homes of its *various copies*, and to warn against the use of conclusions drawn from linguistic characteristics of copies of copies of the original *Heliand*, for the localization of the poet.

³ *Studies in Philology*, XXI (1924), 502-539, under the heading, "*The Heliand, a New Approach.*"

in particular the question whether he was a cleric or a layman, I attempted to find first the cause, or causes, for the unsatisfactory and contradictory results of previous research in regard to the poet's personality and to arrive at a reasonably safe ground for the statement that the poem could not have been written by a layman or uneducated person. The investigation was based mainly upon a detailed study of the poet's *deviations* (omissions, alterations, additions) from his sources: the Bible, Tatian and commentaries of Rhaban, Beda, and Alcuin. It is strange indeed how tenaciously many a *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur* and numerous monographs on the *Heliand* cling, under the bane of tradition, to the impossible theory of a layman's writing the *Heliand*. This harmful tradition has its basis only in the *Praefatio*, the authenticity of which I attacked in my first article on "The Home of the Addressees."⁴

But there are signs of hope that students of the *Heliand* are on the way to free themselves from the orthodox overestimation of the *Praefatio*, which finds its latest and most powerful advocate in the venerable scholar, Eduard Sievers, in his own *Beitraege zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur*,⁵ who even asserts that Hraban himself is the author of the *Praefatio*. Such a sign of hope is to be seen in the most recent treatise on *Der dichter des Heliand im verhaeltnis zu seinen quellen*, where another German scholar, C. A. Weber, qualifies the character of the *Praefatio* as *unsicher*.⁶ It is highly gratifying to find in Weber's scholarly contribution to this problem of the personality of the poet, a contribution which deserves the most careful study of all

⁴ *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXI, 191-217: "Ueberblicken wir noch einmal den etwas langen Weg unserer Untersuchung ueber die Praefatio, so koennen wir unser Urtheil dahin zusammenfassen:

"Trotz aller Versuche hat sich bisher eine *Beziehung der Praefatio auf unsern Heliand nicht beweisen lassen*. Insbesondere erscheint die Zuverlaessigkeit der Praefatio in ihren Angaben ueber den Zweck des Heliand sowie ueber die Persoenlichkeit seines Dichters bei tieferem Eindringen immer zweifelhafter. Deshalb muessen wir auch bei unserer Frage nach der Heimat der Adressaten des Heliand *auf die Praefatio als Erkenntnisquelle in allen ihren Teilen verzichten*."

⁵ Vol. 50, 3 (January, 1927), pp. 416-429: "*Heliand*, Tatian und Hraban."

⁶ *Z. f. d. A.*, LXIV, 1 and 2 (May, 1927), pp. 2, 1. 10).

lovers of the *Heliand*, an appreciation of the principles on which the "New Approach" is built.⁷ Weber calls the attempt to explain the deviations a "*an sich begruessenswerten ausblick in die karolingische zeitgeschichte*"⁸ and shows a sympathetic understanding of my aim to get "*aus den abweichungen von Tatian anhaltspuncte fuer die theologische und politische umwelt des dichters.*"⁹

As this present treatise is partly based upon the outcome of the argument in "A New Approach," I repeat here that all the evidence brought out therein seems to me to indicate unmistakably two facts: first, that only a clergyman having gained in his practical *Seelsorge* a pastoral understanding of the human heart¹⁰ and, through his theological training, a discriminating insight into the Holy Scriptures, would be able and willing to retell the story of

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2, l. 26-29: eine anregende ergaenzung zu Lauterburg bietet Metzenthin (*Studies in Philology* 21 (1924), 502-39), der aus den abweichungen von Tatian anhaltspuncte fuer die theologische und politische umwelt des dichters zu gewinnen sucht; pp. 9, l. 18-21: Das zuruecktreten Josephs in und von fitte 10 ab ist auffaellig und von M. (aao. p. 519-20) eingehend eroertert worden. Joseph war die entscheidend handelnde figur in der vorhergehenden fitte, hier gruppiert sich alles um die mutter; pp. 24, l. 9-16: Man hat bei der in frage stehenden fitte einen von quellen besonders unabhaengigen, rein persoenliche empfindungen des dichters widergebenden passus zu sehen geglaubt: so Rueckert und neuerdings wider M. ('outspoken antisemitism,' p. 503). die feststellung einer judenfeindlichen haltung wuerde uns die verlockende moeglichkeit geben, den dichter einer bestimmten theologengruppe einzureihen und eine engere datierungsmoeglichkeit (823-28) vorzunehmen; pp. 35, l. 26-30: M. (s. 538) deutet die unterdrueckung des letzteren wie auch aller koenigsgleichnisse als ruecksichtnahme auf den kaiserlichen hof. es duerfte jedoch zu weit gehn, aus einer summierung des vom dichter verschwiegenen derart weittragende schluesse ex silentio zu ziehen; pp. 41, l. 27-33: weit ueber diesen an die dichtung gebundenen deutungsversuch hinaus greift Metzenthins geistreiche vermutung, die wahl dieses im mittelalter meist gemiedenen stoffes sei ein stiller gruss des dichters an die befehdete kaiserin Judith. dieser an sich begruessenswerte ausblick in die karolingische zeitgeschichte gewinnt indessen von der quellenforschung aus keine weitere stuetze.

⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 41, l. 31-32.

⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 2, l. 27-29.

¹⁰ Cf. Weber, p. 55, l. 24-26: es zeugt von allerhoechstem geschick und seelsorgerisch feinstem ppsychologischen verstaendnis, wie hier dem widerstrebenden hoerer die zustimmung zum kreuzestode des Gottessohnes abgerungen wird.

Christ in that particular way, tone, and arrangement which is found in this alliterated gospel harmony; second, that in order to explain the reasons for the author's *deviations*, which have so long puzzled the scholars, it has to be assumed that the author was one of the—rather few—thoroughly loyal friends and supporters of Emperor Louis among the clergy, although being, at the same time, an orthodox adherent of the pope and the established church, a man very similar to Rhabanus Maurus, abbot of Fulda and archbishop of Mainz.

Special stress was laid, therefore, upon the distinction between the author's ecclesiastical considerations, emanating out of his respect, first, for the *heroes of the gospel drama*; secondly, for the established church, as represented by the priests, the monks and the pope; thirdly, for ecclesiastical precepts and regulations, and his *political* considerations, based upon his respect for the God-ordained emperor and his representatives.¹¹

A NON-LINGUISTIC APPROACH

I. *The futility of a solely linguistic approach*

In order to justify the appendix, a *Non-Linguistic Approach*, to the heading of this treatise, it will be necessary to answer the question: why not proceed in the orthodox way by using the linguistic features of the manuscripts for the localization of the *Heliand*? One answer, a practical one, based upon the unsatisfactory result of all the previous research work upon the *Heliand*,

¹¹ Cf. C. A. Weber, p. 35, l. 6 ff.; also p. 35, about the *Zinszahlung*: Note 1: zur wichtigkeit der letzteren fuer staat und kirche der Karolingerzeit vgl. vSchubert 551-2,—where Weber's views frequently coincide with those expressed in the "New Approach"; cf., for instance, p. 37, l. 22-28; p. 59, l. 5-10: die waechter am grabe sind nicht als roemische soldaten, sondern, wie aus v. 5780 (vgl. auch 5800) ganz deutlich zu ersehen ist, als juden aufgefasst. auch bei geiselung und kreuzigung ist nie von soldaten die rede, wodurch sich die handlung vereinfacht und uebersichtlicher gestaltet, andererseits aber auch die volle verantwortung auf die juden faellt; cf. also p. 68, l. 25-34, where Weber speaks of the "ineinandergreifen praktischer und kuenstlerischer erwaegungen bei auswahl, gruppierung und gestaltung," he himself stressing the *artistic* considerations of the poet, while I stressed the pedagogical considerations of an experienced *Seelsorger* and the political considerations of a born diplomat.

is this: because the old approach has led scholars not to a generally accepted home but to many disputed homes, distributed over a large territory, stretching out through all parts of Saxony and from there to Franconia, Holland, and Normandy, even passing over to England. In view of this fact and of the wide diversity of diametrically opposed theories offered by prominent Germanists, it must be permissible to try another way, a new approach—of course without neglecting the valuable results of the painstaking work of the linguists, or losing the linguistic aspect altogether, but laying the emphasis on something else besides linguistics.

But another objection may be made to the new approach. It may be said: if you abandon the linguistic method, you may lose the firm ground under your feet; why not, therefore, rather try the old way over again, working and waiting patiently for better results? To this suggestion, the answer must be: as long as neither the original *Heliand* nor any of its first copies has been found, the linguistic way itself can never be on firm ground. Of course, that does not mean that the linguists should cease, or even slacken, their investigations, especially into the comparison of the manuscripts; but it means that, in addition to their work, research of another kind and in other fields should be encouraged and emphasized more than has been done up to the present time. The second, the positive, part of this treatise, will indicate other fields of research for the solution of the home problem.

In this negative part, the futility of the linguistic approach and its causes will be pointed out.

1. There has been found, in spite of all investigation, no direct testimony concerning the author's personality except the doubtful *Praefatio*, with its legendary flavor. Even though this *Praefatio* should be accepted as based upon facts, there is no indication in the *Praefatio* as to the place or country where the author was born or educated or where he spent his life and did his work—except that he was a Saxon. Nor is there—as long as the scholars are divided among themselves as to the personality of the author, one half of them proclaiming him, with the *Praefatio*, a layman; the other half equally convinced that he was an educated theologian—any agreement of opinions possible about the question whether he himself was able to write or not. Before such a conclusion is

established, no definite answer can be given to the other very important question whether he wrote, like Otfrid, the *Heliand* himself, or whether it was written by a scribe, whose mother tongue will hardly be easier to ascertain than that of the poet himself.

2. No locality has been found the dialect of which could be completely identified with that of either of the two extant manuscripts, or even with that of the two short fragments. Especially the two former ones present features belonging to different dialects, a strange intermingling of varied spellings of the same word, which is only explainable by the assumption of one of the following hypotheses:

- a) that different copyists worked on the same manuscript. This hypothesis seems hardly applicable to the two short fragments, namely, P, with its 49 verses, and V, with 80 verses;
- b) that the copyists themselves were men of mixed tongues. Of such there were certainly many, especially among the monks and scribes in the first half of the ninth century: Anglo-Saxons and Scotch-Irish, coming over to the continent; Danes, crossing the German border; Franconian monks in Saxon cloisters; scholars attracted to the Carolingian court, and others. Especially cloisters newly founded in heathen neighborhoods or among people only partly or superficially Christianized could not draw on the surrounding country. In some of these cloisters there must have been a veritable Babel of tongues, Latin being the useful substitute for the various mother tongues among the inmates;¹²
- c) that the copyists lacked the capability or the exactitude necessary for faultless copying of manuscripts. A surprisingly large number of "mistakes" committed by the scribes are met in the perusal of medieval manuscripts, and they are the source of much vexation for the investigators and the cause of much dispute and uncertainty in regard to the dating and locating of these manuscripts. Here may be cited only a few instances

¹² Cf. R. Koegel, *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 500: die Insassen eines Klosters haben gewiss nicht alle dieselbe Sprache gesprochen, da sie unmöglich alle in der unmittelbaren Umgegend des Klosters zu Hause gewesen sein koennen.

out of the documentary material used in this treatise. In the documents of Werden, for example, is found¹³ within a few lines the name even of an emperor, Louis the Pious, written with two different spellings: "Lodowicus" and "Ludowicus"; the name of the second *episcopus*, *Titgrinus sive Tiatgrinus*; and, soon after,¹⁴ the name of the third abbot, *Adaldagus sive Adalgagus*. Even in the titles themselves of two equally important documents, the very name of the cloister is spelled differently: "Werthinensis" and "Uuerthinensis," respectively. A most striking example of different spelling between the manuscript M and two other manuscripts of the *Heliand* itself is found in the verses 970, 973, 979 and 982, where M has "Krist," while P and C have "Crist."

In all these three cases—and some more possibilities are thinkable—the language and spelling of the copies could certainly not furnish a basis for ascertaining, fully and without doubt, the language of the original manuscript.

3. There exists no reliable basis for a reconstruction, after a lapse of eleven hundred years, of the dialect actually used between 820 and 850 in or around the different homes:

- a) by the common people, who, as illiterates, had no method of writing, and of whose spelling and vernacular there exist no records;
- b) by the inmates of the monasteries themselves, as they doubtlessly presented a mixture of various native tongues; in Corvey, for example, of at least two, Franconian and Saxon, perhaps also Hessian; in Werden, of at least three, Frisian, Saxon and Low Franconian. The *historia regalis et insignis monasterii et abbatię Werthinensis*;¹⁵ records that to the cloister Werden, founded in 800, were attracted *monachi . . . ex Frisia, Traiecto inferiori et e Saxonia*.
- c) within the *Schreibschulen* of the monasteries, since these writing-schools were, in their spellings and vocabularies, not

¹³ Cf. *Insignis monasterii sancti Ludgeri Uuerthinensis annales et catalogus abbatum*, sheet 83b.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, sheet 85b.

¹⁵ Edited by Otto Schantz, Bonn, 1912, p. 12, under the year 809.

necessarily identical with, or dependent upon, the native tongue of the inmates of the same cloister or of the surrounding laity, who had both, moreover, neither German grammars nor dictionaries as a basis or standard for speaking and writing. Each of the prominent cloisters developed its own standard writing-school, which again changed in the course of time and under different masters.

4. Another point should not be forgotten. The language of the original would naturally have been that of the addressees, that is to say, of those for whom it was written. It is not necessary, or even probable, that it was the local dialect spoken by the common people in a small neighborhood. It could be the language spoken, or at least understood, by the upper classes throughout a wider territory, perhaps all over Northern Germany, including Saxony, Frisia, Hessen and Low Franconia—not a literary language of the poets, which Collitz has several times proposed, but a certain common, average language, freed from dialectical extremes, such as is even now in use among the educated people of Germany. This Low German standard language the poet himself would have been able to use, no matter from which particular strip of the whole territory he hailed. Something similar to this, even the monks in the German cloisters might have used, besides Latin, as a common vehicle of understanding. Otherwise, it would hardly have been advisable for the monks of the cloister of Werden to elect a monk from far-away Corvey to become their abbot, as they actually did.¹⁸

5. Finally, the immense difficulties of writing down the first manuscript of an epic poem, like the *Heliand*, containing about 6000 verses, must not be overlooked. When, or if, Louis the Pious asked a poet to compose the *Heliand*, it meant a tremendous task, not only of a spiritual and literary nature, but also of a linguistic

¹⁸ Cf. *Insignis monasterii sancti Ludgeri Uerthinensis annales et catalogus abbatum*, sheet 85b, where the following record, of great importance in several respects, is found:

Uuiggerus, qui et Wigger, 9. abbas, in coenobio Corbeyensi ordinis Benedictini in Saxonia huc Werthinam accitus atque in abbatem assumptus, vir in sacris eloquiis eruditissimus, postquam 10 annis prope preedisset, in fata concessit 19. kalendas Septembris anno 943. Hic fuit comes Frisie, Rathbodi ut puto filius.

and mechanical character. In just those years the Latin *Tatian* was translated at the famous cloister Fulda under the great *Præceptor Germaniæ*, Rhabanus Maurus. This translation into Old High German has fortunately been preserved; it is one of the most precious documents of the first half of the ninth century. The Germanists have, with the greatest interest and zeal, investigated this manuscript and have come nearer and nearer to the conviction that the work was completed not by one monk but by several dozens of collaborators. Eduard Sievers, in his recent article, *Heliand, Tatian and Hraban*,¹⁷ writes: "Das eine aber duerfte doch jetzt feststehen, dass die uebersetzung von einer sehr grossen anzahl von teilnehmern angefertigt worden ist: von einer so grossen anzahl, dass man das ganze wol als *gemeinsame arbeit einer grossen schule* betrachten muss, deren angehœrige umschichtig sich an dem gottwolgefœlligen werke *ex officio* zu beteiligen hatten. Mit solcher zusammenarbeit *ex officio* haben wir ja auch sonst in der mittelalterlichen klosterliteratur zu rechnen: ich weise einstweilen nur auf die *Wiener Genesis*, und die noch mehr hierher einschlagende ags. *Genesis C* hin."

May not the example of *Tatian* and the result of its study be helpful and suggestive for the investigators of the *Heliand*, in order that the amount of work comprised in even the mechanical writing down of a poem of 6000 verses may be more fully appreciated? Did the poet himself write, like Otfrid? Or did he dictate from memory? Did he jot down his verses or did he keep them in mind until the scribe had finished his task? How did the *dictator* (from which word the German word *Dichter* is derived) pronounce the different letters? How did his pronunciation distinguish between *a* and *o*, *fan* and *fon*, or between *th* and *dh*, between *g*, *j*, *i*, *h* and *ch*? There being no books on orthography on hand, how were doubtful cases decided? With whom lay the decision? With the poet, the scribe or the master of the school? All three might have hailed from different territories, using different dialects, especially different pronunciations. How difficult, vexatious and often unsolvable the linguistic problems under these circumstances became can be fully appreciated by a thorough study

¹⁷ Cf. *Beitraege zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, vol. 50, 3, p. 426.

of Edward Sehr's *Vollstaendiges Woerterbuch zum Heliand und zur altsaechsischen Genesis*,¹⁸ a veritable treasury for the student of the *Heliand* and a store house of information in regard to the troubles encountered by the scribes of the *Heliand* manuscripts. Even an investigation of the *Heliand*, verses 959b to 1019, according to the manuscripts P and M, or of v. 1279 to 1304a, according to C and V, as they are found, each pair printed side by side for convenient comparison in Otto Basler's *Altsaechsisch*,¹⁹ will provide sufficient material, as, for example:

- v. 1286: C has: theson liudeon, V has: thesun liodion
- v. 975: M has: Vuëst, but v. 964, Uuintro and Uueroldi, P has, however: Uuëst
- v. 982: M has: cneo craftag, but Krist, P has: knio kraftag, but Crist
- v. 969: M has: sprac, but in v. 974 sprāki; P has: sprak; C has, v. 1288 spracon
- v. 1301: C has: thia hér an iro muode; V has: thea hier an iro muodi

Do not these instances, which could easily be multiplied, show clearly the continuous wrestling of the scribes with the difficulties of spelling that they encountered in every line? And their only help was a few short and rather poor glossaries. The number of variations in the spelling of the same words in one and the same document may often be a proof, not of the scribes' negligence, but of the very opposite—of his conscientious endeavor to reproduce in writing what he heard the poet dictate. The variations ought not all to be called mistakes by investigators who themselves do not know and, in the absence of medieval phonographs, can never know the correct pronunciation of the respective words eleven hundred years ago. Nor should variations be used lightly as a basis for dating and locating medieval manuscripts. There is no doubt that the articulation and clearness of pronunciation, in the ninth century, must have been even worse than those in the twentieth century, when it is hard, even for an expert in phonetics, to decide how to write the little word *on* phonetically correct and in such a manner that a foreigner eleven hundred years from now will know exactly how *on* was, or should have been, pronounced in the year 1927 in a given territory of the United States.

¹⁸ The Johns Hopkins Press, 1925.

¹⁹ Freiburg im Breisgau, 1923.

The foregoing must, and it is hoped will, suffice to establish the futility of localizing the *Heliand* solely on the basis of the *linguistic peculiarities* of the extant manuscripts. A safer basis has to be found. This basis will be pointed out in the second, the positive, part of this study.

II. *The practicability of a non-linguistic approach*

A firmer basis than linguistics has, up to the present, been able to produce—or will be able to produce, as long as the original manuscript of the *Heliand*, or a reliable copy of it, has not been discovered—may be expected to result from a searching investigation into the earliest *history* of the possible homes, that is, of the monasteries sponsored by the Germanists, of which I select, as particularly characteristic examples, Werden and Corvey. Space forbids the reprinting of all the material available bearing upon this topic. I have, therefore, to restrict myself to a presentation of the historical conditions and the *Umwelt* in these monasteries as well as of such passages from documents as shed light on them, with some necessary explanations, for the purpose of pointing out the value of these historical documents for the selection of the probable home of the *Heliand*.

1. *The Monastery of Werden on the Ruhr*

About the early history of the Benedictine monastery at Werden on the Ruhr, which has found many sponsors among the Germanists as a home of the *Heliand*, two documents are extant, both, however, not always reliable in regard to names and dates—the *Historia regalis et insignis monasterii et abbatię Werthinensis*, written by its abbot, Heinrich Duden, and the *Insignis monasterii sancti Ludgeri Uerthinensis annales et catalogus abbatum*, by a contemporary of abbot Duden, probably from Essen, both composed about the end of the sixteenth century.

According to the *Annales*, the founder of cloister Werden was born of a Frisian nobleman, Tiatgrinus or Thitgrimus and his wife Liafburg (apparently also of Frisian ancestry) about the year 730. In pursuit of the best possible education attainable in his times, he left his native country and went to Holland, where he studied under the famous Gregorius of Utrecht, and even to

England, where he worked with Alcuin, the greatest Anglo-Saxon scholar, whom Karl the Great later invited to join his illustrious imperial academy. He was a writer of the *Vitae* of several clerics, among them his teacher, Gregory.

According to sheet 110a of the *Historia*, Werden was founded by him in the year 800: *patrocinio et adiutorio Caroli Magni imperatoris et aliorum regum et comitum*.

On the margin of the same sheet 110a there is added, under the year 800, a significant note, which reads as follows:

N. B. Quo fundamento nixus scribat, tempore sancti Ludgeri filios ducum aut comitum fuisse huius monasterii, nondum reperi nec video, cum evidenter constet ex primis litteris foundationis et aliis monumentis synchronis, primos clericos et religiosos huius loci a sancto Ludgero et eius nepotibus assumptos fuisse filios *vasallorum*, nobilium ex Westphalia, Saxonia et Frisia, proinde nobiles, postea vero, crescente patrimonio et substantia monasterii, comitum filii seu etiam ducum sive modo duces aut comites, qui fuere tunc nobiles illustres seu domini temporales.

He was ordained bishop by the archbishop of Cologne in 804, not in 800, as the *Historia* records, and died in 809. The names of his successors are of no importance here, but the fact is significant that the four next incumbents of the abbacy were all near relatives, one, a brother, three *nepotes*, of the first abbot; like him, of the Frisian nobility and, like him, combining the offices of abbot and bishop.

It was only after the abbacy of those five *Ludgeriden*, as they were called, had expired, that the monks at Werden *elegerunt ex eorum numero primum abbatem, nomine Andulphum*, in 885, which means that from 799, or earlier, to 885, a period of close to ninety years, this monastery was a family affair, a domain ruled by one aristocratic family, which provided the first five abbots. Only in 877²⁰ was the monastery placed under Emperor Louis III, who granted to the cloister the free election of abbots, immunity and protection by the crown (*Koenigsschutz*). This fact has an important bearing upon the home problem, in so far as it indicates on the part of the *Ludgeriden* a tendency to keep their monastery

²⁰ Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, p. 419, Anm. 1.

as long and as much as possible outside of the emperor's sphere and domination, aloof from closer relationship with the Carolingian house, succeeding in that from 815 to 877, that is to say, during just that time beyond which, either forward or backward, no Germanist has ventured in the dating of the composition of the *Heliand*.

But through investigation into the *Historia monasterii Werthinensis*, mentioned above, and into its companion manuscript, finished probably prior to the *Historia*, the *Insignis monasterii sancti Ludgeri Uerthinensis annales et catalogus abbatum*,²¹ I found more direct instances against the probability of Werden's being the home of the original *Heliand*. From them I select for this paper the two which seem to me most remarkable, but which, up to the present, have been entirely overlooked. One of these instances, that furnished by the *Historia*, is a negative one, but carries conviction for the psychologically inclined student of history. The other, which I discovered in the *Annales et catalogus abbatum*, is *positive*, and, in my opinion, removes Werden definitely from the list of homes of the *Heliand*.

a) *Negative testimony*

In studying the *Historia monasterii Werthinensis*, the careful reader notes that, while *Carolus Magnus* is referred to not fewer than thirteen times, his son and successor, *Ludowicus Pius*, at whose behest it is assumed the *Heliand* was composed, is mentioned not a single time. In order to get a clear insight into the significance of this discrimination between father and son, it is necessary to study the exact wording of these thirteen references to the father. They read as follows:

- 1) 744 *Karolus Magnus, filius Pippini secundi, nascitur.*
- 2) 768 *Hoc anno Carolus Magnus regnare cepit regnavitque annis 47.*
- 3) 772 *Circa hæc tempora Carolus Magnus imperator fundavit primam episcopalem ecclesiam Osnaburgensem, ad quam regendam constituit quendam virum pium ac sanctum nomine Wiho, qui erat natione Frisius.*
- 4) 778 . . . *Et hoc quidem novem ante episcopatum annis addeptum Werthinense coenobium fundari et construi inceptum est circa*

²¹ Cf. MS. boruss., Fol. 578 of the Royal Library in Berlin.

hec tempora, adiutorio domini Caroli Magni, qui ex Italia et a Ravenna plurimas columnas marmoreas easque fusiles Werdenam transvehi curabat.

- 5) 781 Sanctus Hildegimus, frater beati Ludgeri, per Carolum Magnum iam antea in episcopum Cathalaunensem in Francia ex mandato Hadriani pape constitutus, isto anno in prothoepiscopum Halverstedensem postulatur, ut habetur in chronica ecclesie Halverstedensis.
- 6) 787 Carolus Magnus rex, cum tribus annis sub Pipino patre et 30 annis in propria persona cum Saxonibus pugnasset, eosque iam nunc subiugatos isto anno et tempore clero subiecit et regionem omnem in episcopatus distinxit, quando beatum Ludgerum in primum episcopum Monasteriensem prefecit et eius fratrem in prothoepiscopum Halverstedensem.
- 7) 800 Werthina fundatur et construitur, idque patrocinio et adiutorio Caroli Magni imperatoris et aliorum regum et comitum. Fuere eo tempore omnes religiosi et monachi filii tam ducum, comitum quam nobilium per beatum Ludgerum huc ex Frisia, Traiecto inferiori et e Saxonia adducti.
Hildibaldus, episcopus Coloniensis 19., sanctum Ludgerum ordinavit in episcopum.
Anno 800 ecclesia in Wichmundt fundata et constructa est.
- 8) 801 Circa ista tempora sanctus Ludgerus et sanctus Hildigrimus fratres germani, episcopi primi Monasteriensis et Halberstadensis, consilio et adiutorio domini Caroli Magni monasterium religiosorum tanquam scolam christianam in loco Helmonstede fundaverunt et edificaverunt iuxta Albertum Krantzium. Et hoc factum est eo tempore, quando Carolus Magnus bellica manu Saxones ad christianam fidem compulerat et eos penitus subiugaverat.
- 9) 802 Isto anno 802 donatum est castrum cum fortalicio in Ludinckhusen cum omni iurisdictione atque pertinentiis suis sancto Ludgero et monasterio Werthinensi. Et habetur libro privilegiorum maiori folio septimo, anno scilicet 33. regni Caroli Magni imperatoria.
- 10) Anno isto datum est privilegium Caroli Magni super fundatione abbatię Weridenensis, anno scilicet 802. Habemus originale per eundem subscriptum et sigillatum, cuius copia habetur libro maiori privilegiorum folio 19.
- 11) 809 Sanctus Ludgerus episcopus octogenarius 26. Martii in domino moritur in pago Billerbeck. Deinde eius corpus Monasterium ad quoddam sacellum in Monasterio trans aquas deportatur atque ibidem ad dies 30 inhumatum, donec de sepulture loco consensus Caroli imperatoris requiritur, relinquitur.

- 12) 812 Circa annum domini 812 Carolus Magnus insulam cum toto dominio atque pertinentiis sancto Hildegribo, episcopo Halberstadensi primo, contulit.
- 13) 815 Isto tempore obiit Aquisgrani Carolus Magnus.

It is remarkable indeed how carefully the incidents of the life of *Carolus Magnus* are chronicled in this *Historia monasterii*, not only everything that *Carolus Magnus* did and gave for this monastery and its famous abbot, *Sanctus Ludgerus episcopus*, but also the dates of the emperor's birth, ascendancy to the throne, activities in regard to the Saxons, and, of course, of his death. After having found these thirteen references to *Carolus Magnus*, I searched in vain through the same *Historia* for any mention of Karl's son, Louis the Pious. This complete elimination of the second Carolingian emperor is the more striking as he was the overlord of Germany for fully twenty-five years (815-840), spending most of his life in the neighborhood of the monastery. He convoked a great number of Church synods not far from this monastery, and was himself less a king than a monk, to become which only the strict inhibition of his father prevented him. There was none who took a more conspicuous part in all ecclesiastical and monastic affairs. On the other hand, it is recorded in history, that the then abbot of Werden had a prominent share in one of the greatest controversies between Louis the Pious and his sons. In spite of these facts, which would appear to have caused, or even necessitated, frequent mention of the Emperor Louis in the *Historia Werthinensis*, the unbroken silence of the annalist in regard to the same emperor is not only proof of an astonishing indifference or neglect, but is for me a convincing testimony that there existed in this monastery a deep-seated hostility against Louis, which did not die with the emperor, but remained unabated, as the historical documents show, during a period of eight centuries. What must have been the sentiment of the abbots and bishops of Werden if in their cloister annals the year 815 was marked down as the year of the death of Karl the Great but not as that of his successor's ascendancy to the throne, although Karl's ascendancy had been duly recorded under 768, as well as the year of his birth, 744 (see above under 1 and 2)? And more than that, for the year 840, where we should expect the annalist, if he was so fond of recording deaths, to mention at least the death of Louis the Pious, he records indeed

a death, not that of his own emperor, whose end was of paramount importance for the whole Christian Church and, of course, especially for the German Church, but the death of Titgrimus, bishop of far-away Halberstadt. Thus, we read in the *Historia*, under the year 840:

Titgrimus, episcopus Halberstadensis secundus, nepos eorum prescriptorum episcoporum, 8. d Februarii obiit et Werthinam delatus atque in cripta apud reliquos prescriptos episcopos tumulatus iacet.

That amounts to a direct insult to the emperor, who died in the selfsame year, explainable only by the fact that the writer intentionally ignored the emperor and expressed, by so doing, the official sentiment of the Werden monastery. Moreover, after his silence about Louis the Pious, the annalist takes up the record of the Carolingians in the year 877, to report the grant of another Emperor Louis, who elevated the abbots of Werden to the rank of *Princes of the Empire*, calling him *Ludovicus imperator*, as though he were the only emperor of this name.

b) *Positive testimony*

In order to strengthen the *argumentum ex silencio* the other document of the cloister Werden furnishes a welcome and convincing positive testimony. It is called *Insignis monasterii sancti Ludgeri Uerthinensis annales et catalogus abbatum*. The original has been lost, but two copies have been found, differing mainly in some spellings of names. The following is quoted from the manuscript in Berlin, which was written about the year 1600 and which represents "the oldest connected history of the abbacy of Werden which we possess."²²

²² Cf. Otto Schanz, *Werdener Geschichtsquellen*, II, 49: "die aelteste zusammenhaengende Geschichte der Abtei Werden, die wir besitzen." It is worth while to notice that this document, like so many others, demonstrates the futility of relying for the localization of manuscripts on their linguistic characteristics or variations. In the two opening lines on sheet 82a we find side by side: "Frisonum" and "Frysos"; a few lines below, "Uerthinense," "Uueneswaldt," but "Widenbergh," "Werthinense," "Westphalie"; then again, "Frisius," "Frysiam." Further on we read "Ludowicus" alongside of "Lodowicus"; "Uuiggerus qui et Wigger" (cf. sheet 85a); again "comes Frisiae" (85a) and "comes Frysie" (85a);

It may be noted in passing that the "Annales" give the official name of the monastery at Werden as *monasterium sancti Ludgeri*—from its founder and first abbot. This is another testimony of the individualistic and almost monarchic character of the cloister in Werden, and is the more remarkable as upon none of the other cloisters has the name of an abbot been imposed. Compare, for example, the monasteries at Fulda, Hersfeld, Fritzlar, Lorsch, Helmstedt, and especially that at Corvey.

Of the greatest importance and most immediate concern for the home problem, however, is what the annalist has to record of the year 840. The following is quoted from sheets 83b and 84b:

Titgrinus sive Tiatgrinus, Halberstadensis ecclesie, post Hildegrium secundus episcopus, sanctitate et iustitia clarus, Hildegriini ex fratre nepos, consecrationi Hirsaugiensis monasterii interfuit circa annum domini 838 (iuxta Trithemium). Praefuit episcopatus 14 annis sub Lodowico Pio; obiit 8. Februarii anno 840 et iuxta alios anno 841 et Werthinam delatus in crypta apud reliquos episcopos suos nepotes tumulatus iacet.

De hoc annales Werthinensium: Tiatgrinus sancti Hildegriini nepos erat. Is defuncto Hildegriino in Halberstadensi ecclesia pontifex ab imperatore Ludowico secundus et eius successor constitutus fuit, qui, postquam 14 annis in multis virtutum operibus sanctorum patrum suorum exemplo ecclesiam suam rexerat, tandem anno salutis quadregesimo super octingentesimum die 8. Februarii in domino requievit. Cuius anima apud cognatos suos in supernis vivit, corpus autem hic in Werthina penes eiusdem antecessoris sui ossa digne collocatum est. Huic vero quidam dictus Haimo Heresfeldensis monachus tertius ibidem antistes successit et eodem mox anno *prae-fatus imperator Ludowicus in fata decessit*. Tiatgrini epitaphium tale reperitur ibidem:

Hac recubant fossa Tiatgrini praesulis ossa
Terra tenet corpus, *pneuma fovet dominus*.
Idibus in Februi senis obit assecla Christi
pro meritis vite gaudia perpetua.

This very illuminating passage merits thorough treatment for itself. Here space permits but the pointing out of three words, but these are of the greatest significance, first in themselves, and then in contrast with the wording used everywhere else in the same *Annals*. These three words record the death of the *prae-fatus* (!)

on sheet 87a, "beatę Marię virginis" beside "sanctę Agnetis" and "sanctę trinitatis"; on leaf 90a, "Ueide" followed soon by "Wanheim," "Werthinensi" and "Wilhelmus."

imperator Ludowicus eodem mox anno in the following words: *in fata decessit*, a model of laconic, almost sardonic, brevity and ambiguity, especially in the setting between the eulogistic reports of the death of the Werden abbot, Titgrimus, of whom the annalist states:

1. *in domino requievit*
2. *cuius anima apud cognatos suos in supernis vivit*
3. *pneuma fovet dominus*
4. *pro meritis vite gaudia perpetue*

Sapienti sat!

Upon this historical basis the question arises: Is it conceivable that Emperor Louis would have chosen, of all the German monasteries, just this Werden as the workshop for the composition of a religious epic in which he was personally deeply interested, a work the elaboration of which by members of this cloister would mean an intimate and continuous collaboration between himself and the cloister? Does not the knowledge of the official attitude of this cloister towards the emperor, its siding with the outspoken adversaries of Louis, preclude the assumption of Werden as the birth-place of the *Heliand*, even if the linguistic basis for this assumption were more firmly established than it actually is? In the light of the historical facts and of their psychological analysis the arguments of those Germanists who sponsor Werden as the home of the *Heliand* lose their weight.

A remarkable example of how far an acknowledged authority as to the *Heliand* can diverge from the sound historical basis is furnished in the story told by Rudolph Koegel in his *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*,²³ as follows:

Als er (the emperor) sich nach einem Manne umsah, der seinen Plaenen dienen koennte, wurde ihm dieser (purely imaginary) Moench des Klosters Werden genannt, der vor seinem Eintritte ins Kloster als Saenger und Dichter epischer Lieder beruehmt gewesen war. Er (this imaginary poet again) war ein juengerer Zeitgenosse und Kunstverwandter jenes Bernlef, von dem uns Altfrid in der vita Liudgeri (vgl. S. 141 f.) Kunde giebt.

There are two additional considerations which make the possibility of Werden as the home of poet and poem appear even more

²³ Erster Band, Strassburg, 1894 and 1916, p. 283.

remote. First, if the emperor expected from this monastery the elaboration of a poem of about 6000 verses he knew that such a task meant not only a difficult and delicate work of several years for one single monk, the poet, but the collaboration of at least half a dozen inmates who were experts in the preparation of material for the manuscripts, of the utensils for the writing (ink, colors, etc.), and, most probably, one or two clerical advisers, if the writer was a layman or a recently initiated monk. That is to say, the whole cloister would have been for several years more or less affected by this necessary co-operation with the emperor, to agree to which neither a monastery filled with an antagonistic spirit nor the emperor, sensing that antagonistic spirit, would have felt inclined. Second, if the emperor had asked this monastery to perform that strenuous task, or if the monastery had voluntarily put itself to such a great task for a good many years, the emperor surely would have shown his appreciation of the work done there for his sake in the usual way; viz., by granting special favors to the same cloister, or by giving land, houses, books, pieces of art, etc. The fact that not one such favor is recorded in the *Historia*, although these annals record many such favors granted by other emperors, proves clearly that the emperor Louis the Pious never granted any special favors to Werden.

For all these reasons it is obvious that the monastery of Werden may definitely be dropped from the list of aspirants for the honor of being the home of the *Heliand*.

2. The Monastery of Corvey

Let us now turn to the other monastery which has been sponsored, although much less frequently, as a possible home of the *Heliand*, Corvey, near the town of Hoexter on the Weser, in southeastern Saxony. Here we find the situation in every respect reversed. When I paid a visit to Corvey in 1925, in order to examine the locality, the buildings and the monuments, and to look for documents and other material upon which to base the claim of Corvey's being the home of the *Heliand*, I was immediately struck by the fact that the main entrance to the cloister is flanked by the two statues of Karl the Great and Louis the Pious, both of equal size and dignity, both in full armor, with crowns on their heads.

This unique side-by-side of Carolus, whose almost superhuman

greatness is acknowledged the world over, and of Ludovicus, whom the dignitaries of his own church regarded, and not infrequently treated, as an arch criminal, is characteristic of Corvey. These two statues in stone, at both sides of the portal of the monastery, stand forever as a silent symbol of its spirit, the spirit of equal reverence for father and son. And how fitting are the inscriptions chiseled in the stone beneath the two figures. Beneath the one figure, holding the imperial orb and the sword in its hands, we read:

Carolus magnus fidei propagator et propugnator gloriosissimus inclytam ecclesiam hanc fundare intendens *Pium filium* voluntatis hujus executorem reliquit A. DCCCXIV;

beneath the other, holding the sceptre in the right hand and *a model of the original cloister in the left*, stands:

Ludovicus pius paternae pietatis haeres et aemulator principalem hanc abbatiam pro orthodoxae religionis incremento velut fidei columnam fundavit dotavit ditavit A. DCCCXXII.

Entering the main building, we find in the corridor of paintings or the *Hall of Fame*, after the pictures of Saint Stephen and Saint Vitus, the patron saints of the cloister, and of Saint Benedict, the founder of the order of the Benedictines, to which Corvey belonged, the pictures of Carolus Magnus and Ludovicus Pius, as another testimony of the veneration in which both were equally held in this cloister. And as though this were not enough to express the profound gratitude and lasting loyalty to both of the two first Carolingian emperors, there are in the *Kaisersaal*, in precious frames, again the portraits of both emperors, in life size. Finally, in the old church itself, close to the main altar, we find the figures of both emperors, larger than life size. Indeed, abundantly and unmistakably has this monastery expressed in stone and color its high respect for both emperors; while in Werden the same respect is withheld from them and is bestowed on the abbots Luidger and the *Luidgerides*, for whose relics precious shrines are found in the crypt of the church.

Moreover, the same spirit which the sculptors and painters expressed in stone and color we find expressed on parchment by the scribes of this monastery; for thus they introduced Louis the Pious into one of the foundation documents, the so-called *Notitia II*:

Ludowicus imperator, cesar, *servorum Dei amator, maxime monachorum*, volens monasterium facere in provincia Saxonum quam pater Karolus augustus subigerat in suam ditionem, emit itaque possessionem a quodam Bernhardo comite, qui tunc tempore nobilissimus Saxonum, necnon in sua tribu princeps et praecipuus habebatur. . . . Qui vocatis de *Gallis* monachis religionis commendavit eis reliquias predictas iussit, ut (in) ista marka ecclesiam construerent et dedicari facerent in nomine sanctissimi protomartyris Stephani.

This old document of the founding of Corvey is of the greatest importance, not only because of its fine acknowledgment of Louis the Pious as a *lover of God's servants*, especially of the monks (while Carolus is mentioned mainly as the subjugator of the Saxons), but also because of the information that the first monks of Corvey had been called from Gallia, that is, Franconia, mainly, as other sources indicate, from Corbie on the Somme, Corvey's mother cloister.

There is no doubt that the gratitude was as sincere on the part of the monastery as it was deserved by Emperor Louis; for all his actions in regard to this monastery were dictated by the spirit of generosity and helpfulness and by a desire to make the cloister a well endowed center for the mission work among the Saxons, whom Carolus Magnus, as we read in the *Historia Werthinensis*, under 801: *bellica manu ad christianam fidem compulerat et penitus subiugaverat*. How different from the Corvey document cited above is the phrasing used in this Werden document, with its unmistakable approval and even praise and admiration of the compelling of the Saxons to the Christian faith by Carl!

Just here is the place to point out that the tone of the *Heliand* itself and the whole spirit pervading the epic is much more in accord with the tone and spirit of Corvey than with those of Werden, not only in this single instance, but in general. In the *Heliand* and in Corvey one feels everywhere the spirit of generosity and loving kindness on one side, of gratitude, loyalty and willingness to serve on the other. To show the generosity of Louis towards Corvey we need only enumerate the gifts and privileges he bestowed upon this cloister, space not permitting here to go into detail.²⁴

²⁴ Documentary material on which the following survey is partly based may be found in:

In connection with the founding of the cloister, in 822, we read:²⁵

Domnus Ludowicus, electis probatissimis monachis de Gallis cum venerabili Adalhardo, datis reliquiis sancti Stephani prothomartiris Corbejenae coenobium ipsi construxit et dedicari fecit.

Emperor Louis the Pious endowed the cloister Corvey immedi-

Roger Wilmann's *Die Kaiserurkunden der Provinz Westfalen*, vol. I, Muenster, 1867 and 1880.

Jaffe's *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, vol. I, Monumenta Corbeiensis, Berlin, 1864.

Rodenberg's *Die Vita Walae*, 1877.

Catalogus donatorum Corbejensium.

Valuable material, some of it, however, to be used critically, is found in:

Paul Wigand's writings:

1. *Geschichte der gefuersteten Reichsabtei Corvey und der Staedte Corvey und Hoexter*, Hoexter, 1819.
2. *Der Corvey'sche Gueterbesitz*, Lemgo, 1831.
3. *Die Corveyschen Geschichtsquellen*, Leipzig, 1841.
4. *Traditiones Corbejenais*, Leipzig, 1843.

Rud. Martiny's *Der Grundbesitz des Klosters Corvey in der Dioecese Osnabrueck* (Diss.), Marburg, 1895.

Paul Nitzchke's *Gueter und Einkuenfte der Reichsabtei Corvey*, Gymnasialprogramm, Brieg, 1884.

Paul Robitzsch's *Beitraege zur Geschichte von Hoexter*, Gymnasialprogramm, Hoexter, 1882.

Johannes Falke's *Traditiones Corbeiensis*, Leipzig, 1752.

Always reliable, or at least noteworthy, is the material and its presentation found in the justly famous *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, by Dr. Albert Hauck, Leipzig, 1912, Zweiter Teil: Die Karolingerzeit, 3. und 4. Auflage. Especially instructive are the passages about the abbots of Corvey: Adalhard and Warinus, as well as the scholars Rhabanus Maurus and Paschasius Radbertus; about Emperor *Ludwig der Fromme* and Wala, as well as about the early history of the monasteries Werden and Corvey. Finally, may be mentioned:

Gerhard Bartel's *Die Geschichtsschreibung des Klosters Corvey*, in the *Veroeffentlichungen der historischen Kommission fuer Westfalen*, Muenster, 1906; and

Paul Lehmann's *Corveyer Studien*, in the *Abhandlungen der Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophischhistorische Klasse*, 1919, Band 30, Abhandlung 5, Muenchen.

²⁵ Cf. *Catalogus donatorum Corbejensium*.

ately with estates and houses, especially with the *villa Huxeri*, which he himself had bought from a Saxon nobleman; he presented also the relics of Saint Stephanus, out of his own court chapel (!!).

In 826, he donated the *Eresburg*.

In 833, he granted a number of most valuable privileges: exemption from all tribute (*Abgaben*) and military obligations, immunity and royal protection (*Koenigsschutz*), permission to establish a market, and a mint for coining their own money.

In 834, he gave Meppen, founded as a mission station by his father, with its tithes, to Corvey, instead of to the bishopric of Osnabrueck, which latter had also been founded by Karl the Great.

In the same year he transferred to Corvey, from the Franconian mother cloister Corbei, all the latter's possessions located in Saxony.

In 836, he transferred to the cloister, from the diocese of Amiens, the *corpus St. Viti, cujus martiris patrocinio Saxoniam rerum suarum prosperitate in immensum excrevit*.

Finally, we read: *post hanc itaque et huiusmodi caritatem addidit adhuc pius imperator Hludowicus.*²⁶

In summing up the above, it becomes evident that for Werden there is not recorded one single gift, grant or privilege, throughout the twenty-five years of the reign of Emperor Louis, while for Corvey, during fourteen years, there is recorded a veritable shower of beneficence on the part of the same emperor. Furthermore, in Werden, the election of the abbots was a family affair for almost a century (up to 877), and was only then transferred by the emperor to the monks; in Corvey, the election of the abbots was granted to the monks by Emperor Louis from the beginning. And what kind of men are these abbots? In Werden, the first five were all members of the same family and Frisian noblemen without any relation to Emperor Louis; in Corvey, Warinus (826-856) was a near relative of the emperor; we know of him that he maintained unwavering loyalty to Emperor Louis through all the vicissitudes of the latter's life and was praised highly in the *Translatio St. Viti*

²⁶ Cf. Willmann's *Kaiserurkunden*, No. 30.

as well as by Paschasius Radbertus (as *placidus meus*), who dedicated to the abbot his masterwork, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*. If we add to all this the fact that Geroldus, the imperial chaplain of Louis the Pious, presented, in 847, besides his estate Godelheim, his library (*magna copia librorum*) to Warinus and the cloister, indicating the high respect of this *vir omni scientia eruditus* for the abbot as a scholar *eloquens utrarum linguarum* (scil. Latin and Greek) and for the cloister as the center of learning in Saxony, and proving the continuous close relationship between this cloister and the Carolingian court, we have surely abundant proof of the high esteem in which Corvey, and especially its abbot, was held at the imperial court. Here in Corvey the conditions were obviously as propitious as possible for harmonious and congenial co-operation with its generous benefactor in a pious literary work like the *Heliand*, the missionary aim of which is conspicuously in line with the religious interests and tendencies of both Emperor Louis and this his favored cloister, namely: *ut Saxones ad aquitionem verae fidei adduceret*.²⁷

One more word about Paschasius Radbertus, mentioned above. More recently several Germanists have pointed out instances of similarities between some passages in the *Heliand* and corresponding chapters in Radbertus' commentary on St. Matthew, which was partly written from 831-844, that is, about the time when, as is almost universally agreed, the *Heliand* was composed. It is also known that Radbertus, being a Benedictine monk and a personal friend of Warinus, maintained close relations with Corvey, where he visited in 822 and 831, and in the interests of which he negotiated with Emperor Louis, defending the transfer by Louis of all Saxon possessions of Old Corbie to *Corbeja Nova*, warning, at the same time, the monks not to indulge in worldly pleasures and desire of wealth, in these striking words:

ne incolae illius regionis propter invidiam rerum et felicitatem fratribus inviderent . . . *sicut in Gallia multas deperisse a religione ecclesias bene olim fundatas cernimus.*

Without laying undue stress upon these facts, we might still see a possibility of deducing from them a new proof for a closer rela-

²⁷ Cf. the Foundation document of Corvey in Willmann's *Keiserrkunden*, No. 7.

tionship than formerly thought of between Radbertus and Corvey on one side and the author of the *Heliand* on the other. But even without this possibility we can safely reiterate, and in a wider and fuller sense, what the Germanist Kauffmann stated:²⁸ Es giebt auf niederdeutschem Boden keine Staette, in deren litterarische Wirksamkeit der Heliand sich so vortrefflich einfuegte, wie Corvey, enlarging this statement upon the basis of our new set of historical facts and of the psychological analysis attempted in this investigation, by the following addition: neither is there on Low German territory any place with whose political situation and spiritual atmosphere the *Heliand* so completely harmonizes as it does with those at Corvey.

If we weigh once more the facts presented in the foregoing pages concerning the historical relation of the two cloisters, Corvey and Werden, to Emperor Louis the Pious, and compare their political atmospheres, the conclusion seems obvious that there is strong historical and psychological justification for the consideration of Corvey as the Home of the *Heliand*, but none whatsoever for Werden.²⁹

The University of North Carolina.

²⁸ *ZfdPh.* XXXII (1900), 512.

²⁹ The problems of the personality and of the home of the poet have recently been taken up in Germany with renewed vigor. A tiny island on the coast of France, near the mouth of the Loire, is the newest home, and the two famous uncles of Louis the Pious, Adalhard and Wala, warriors, diplomats (and abbots of Corbie in France) are the creators, directly or indirectly, of the *Heliand*. I intend to prove at an early date the utter improbability of this hypothesis, again on the basis of historical facts and with the help of psychological analysis.

THE SOURCE OF HENRY VAUGHAN'S IDEAS CONCERNING GOD IN NATURE

By A. C. JUDSON

Many students of the poetry of Henry Vaughan have called attention to the poet's apparent sense of the divine in nature. Thus Canon Beeching writes: "It is easy to see that he has a passion for Nature for her own sake; that he has observed her moods; that indeed the world is to him no less than a veil of the Eternal Spirit, whose presence may be felt in any, even the smallest, part. . . . 'He makes us feel,' as Mr. Myers says of Wordsworth, 'that Nature is no mere collection of phenomena, but infuses into her least approaches some sense of her mysterious whole.'" ¹ In similar vein writes Lionel Johnson: "The haunting preoccupation of his mind is the divine ministry of the world, the divinity interpenetrating the universe, and ever ready, as it were, to break through the veil and flash in visible form upon those who have eyes to see, who possess the faculty of vision. . . . He will, with Blake, Wordsworth, Shelley, gaze upon streams and flowers, clouds and stars, until there break forth from them the creating indwelling spirit: for him, as for Berkeley, nature is 'the visual language of God.'" ²

Most critics have been content to describe Vaughan's attitude toward God and nature by the conveniently vague term "mystical," though several have ventured a step further. Richard Garnett, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, for example, defines him, in contrast with George Herbert, as pantheistic. F. E. Hutchinson, in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (vii, 47), on the other hand, remarks: "*The Mount of Olives* reveals the occasions of many of his poems, and shows that he has been wrongly described as a pantheist." W. L. Jones sees "little, if any, trace in Vaughan's poetry of such mysticism as one associates with some particular cult or school of thought, like that of his contemporaries the Cambridge Platonists. . . . Love of Nature pure and simple is the foundation of what is best and most characteristic in Henry

¹ *Poems of Henry Vaughan* (Muses' Library) I, xlii-xliv.

² *Post Liminium*, pp. 272-3.

Vaughan's poetry, and in his spiritual interpretation of Nature's life there is nothing esoteric or mystical."³ In the opinion of Lionel Johnson, Vaughan's sense of divinity interpenetrating the universe, together with his thoughts of the earth's innocence and his own angel infancy, is "steeped in a mystical light caught from Plato, the 'Attic Moses,' who preached the 'doctrine of ideas,' which are almost spiritual persons, by whom and in whom are all things."⁴ The most comprehensive study of Vaughan's mysticism is that by E. N. S. Thompson, in an article entitled "Mysticism in Seventeenth-Century English Literature."⁵ Here the mystical element in Vaughan's poetry is carefully analysed and related to the very considerable body of mystical thought in the work of his contemporaries. Professor Thompson speaks of Vaughan as a Platonist (p. 186), mentions an analogy which he "probably learned from Cornelius Agrippa" (p. 198), and quotes from Plotinus a passage on the immanence of God as akin to Vaughan's conception (p. 204). Evidently the critics of Vaughan who have made some attempt to probe his attitude are in disagreement, not only concerning the source of his belief in the immanence of God, but also in regard to the very character of his opinions.

In this paper it will be my aim to show what I believe has hitherto not been suggested, that the passages in Vaughan's poetry which describe the universe as animated by the Divine Spirit are similar to passages (much more extended and numerous) in the magical writings of his twin brother, Thomas, and that, if he did not derive his ideas directly from his brother, he probably made use of the same sources as his brother, who was deeply read in the Hermetic Books and in other mystical works.⁶

Before turning to a discussion of the writings of Henry and Thomas Vaughan, it may be well to sketch briefly their lives and

³ *Quarterly Review*, CC, 454-5.

⁴ *Post Liminium*, pp. 272-3.

⁵ *Studies in Philology*, XVIII, 170-231.

⁶ Mr. Robert Sencourt, in his *Outflying Philosophy*, London [1925], published after the completion of this study, expresses the conviction that Henry's religious and philosophical ideas must have been influenced by those of his brother Thomas. See especially pp. 150-55. His point of view and the development of his thesis are, however, quite different from my own.

to examine into the probable relationship of the brothers to one another. They were born at Brecon, Wales, at their father's country home, Newton-by-Usk, in 1622. They acquired their "grammar learning" from Matthew Herbert, rector in the not distant village of Llangattock. When they were sixteen, they went up to Jesus College, Oxford. Henry, according to Anthony à Wood, spent two years or more at the University, and was then sent by his father to London for the study of law, but, "the Civil War beginning," returned (in 1642?) to his home in Wales.⁷ There he spent the remainder of his life, his profession being medicine, acquired no one knows just how or when; his avocation, especially during his earlier years, the writing of religious poetry and devotional treatises. Thomas, Wood tells us, remained at Jesus College, became a Fellow, and took orders. In 1640 he was granted the living of Llansantffread, the parish church of which stood scarcely a quarter of a mile from the Vaughan home. Apparently, however, he postponed assuming his active duties, since on February 18, 1642, he took his B. A. degree. It is possible that both brothers were back in Breconshire, living perhaps in their father's home, Newton-by-Usk, by 1642. Both of them served in the Royalist army. Thomas, Wood informs us, was deprived of his living "in the unquiet times of the civil war." According to Sir Edmund Chambers, "This must have been in 1649, under the Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales."⁸ Thomas appears to have lived thereafter in Oxford and London. This account, fragmentary and in part conjectural as it necessarily is, indicates that the brothers had opportunity for intimate association up to the age of eighteen, when Henry left Oxford, and also that they were probably in touch with each other during part, or even all, of the period from 1642 to 1649; that is, from the age of twenty to twenty-seven.⁹

Though Thomas was a magician and a minister, and Henry was a physician, their interests must have coincided at many points.

⁷ *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, III, 722.

⁸ *Poems of Henry Vaughan* (Muses' Library), II, xxxvi.

⁹ The Life of Henry Vaughan promised by Miss G. E. F. Morgan, of Brecon, ought to furnish additional information on this important period of the brothers' lives.

Both were, to begin with, ardent Christians, and adherents of the Church of England. Henry Vaughan's most inspired verse is all of a religious character, and breathes a spirit not less sincere than that of his poetic master, George Herbert. His only original prose works are devotional treatises. Thomas, though a magician, was, none the less, a strong adherent of the Church of England. In speaking of such magicians as Thomas Vaughan, A. E. Waite remarks: "They were simply Christian mystics who never dreamed of looking further than Christianity for light, and what they pretend to have possessed was the key of miracles and not the key of religious symbolism."¹⁰ Indeed Thomas himself gives unequivocal testimony to his loyalty to the English church. In his *Anthroposophia Theomagica* he says: "Take this short answer. I am neither papist nor sectary but a true, resolute protestant in the best sense of the Church of England."¹¹ His magical writings all reveal a steadfast faith in Christianity, and abound in quotations from the Bible.

In addition to their sympathy in religion, both Henry and Thomas were lovers of nature. In *Anima Magica Abscondita* Thomas writes: "In the summer translate thyself to the fields, where all are green with the breath of God and fresh with the powers of heaven. . . . Sometimes thou mayst walk in groves, which being full of majesty will much advance the soul; sometimes by clear, ætieve rivers, for by such—say the mystic poets—Apollo contemplated."¹² Like his brother Henry, he put into a poem his sincere affection for the River Usk, which flowed but a stone's throw from the Vaughan home. The common love of the brothers for nature may have been in part a cause, in part a result, of their pursuits of medicine and magic, both of which at this time and earlier relied much upon the study of plants and

¹⁰ *The Magical Writings of Thomas Vaughan*, London, 1888, p. xxiii.

¹¹ *The Works of Thomas Vaughan: Eugenius Philalethes*, ed. A. E. Waite (prepared for the Library Committee of the Theosophical Society in England and Wales, and issued by the Theosophical Publishing House, 1 Upper Woburn Place, London, W. C. 1), 1919, p. 58. All my references to the works of Thomas Vaughan are to this edition. Thomas Vaughan's writings are here reprinted in full, except his two tracts against Henry More, the Cambridge Platonist, which Mr. Waite summarizes in an appendix.

¹² Pp. 115-6.

minerals, and of the stars.¹³ The close relationship of medicine to magic accounts, of course, for the fact that men like Arnoldus de Villa Nova, Cornelius Agrippa, and Paracelsus distinguished themselves both in medicine and in natural philosophy or magic.

The passages revealing Henry Vaughan's sense of the presence of God in nature occur first in his volume entitled *Silex Scintillans*, published in 1650. Other similar passages appear in the enlarged second edition, printed five years later.¹⁴ Thomas Vaughan's first three works on magic,¹⁵ from which most of my parallels are drawn, were, like the first edition of *Silex Scintillans*, published in 1650. If one grants the similar interests and tastes of the brothers and the probability of their having been in touch during the years when the volumes named above were being written, then the parallelism of ideas in their writings at once acquires significance. To me it seems likely that the brothers discussed their literary work together, that Henry became familiar with some of the magical and theosophical writings which so absorbed his brother, and that he read his brother's manuscripts. Henry, by his frequent echoing of George Herbert, shows how sensitive he was to literary influence.¹⁶ George Herbert's poems appealed to his religious instincts; his

¹³ Cf. Beeching, *Poems of Henry Vaughan* (Muses' Library) I, xlii. See L. C. Martin's note on *The Starre*, in which he quotes from *Magia Adamica* (*The Works of Henry Vaughan*, II, 700).

¹⁴ "The Author's Preface" to the 1655 edition is dated September 30, 1654.

¹⁵ (1) *Anthroposophia Theomagica; Or a Discourse of the Nature of Man and his State after Death; grounded on his Creator's Proto-Chemistry and verified by a Practicall Examination of Principles in the Great World.* (2) *Anima Magica Abscondita; Or a Discourse of the Universal Spirit of Nature, with his strange, abstruse, miraculous Ascent and Descent.* (3) *Magia Adamica; Or the Antiquity of Magic and the Descent thereof from Adam downward proved: Whereunto is added a perfect and full Discovery of the True Cælum Terræ, or the Magician's Heavenly Chaos and First Matter of all Things.* I also make two quotations from *Lumen de Lumine: Or a New Magical Light, discovered and communicated to the World*, 1651. These titles are from A. E. Waite's "Bibliography of the Writings of Thomas Vaughan," in his edition of *The Works of Thomas Vaughan*.

¹⁶ Cf. the statement of Professor Edward B. Reed that fifty of his one hundred and thirty religious and didactic poems "show Herbert's influence" (*English Lyrical Poetry*, p. 288).

brother's writings would have appealed both to his religious instincts and to his love of nature. That the writings of Thomas, or at any rate their sources, did appeal to Henry becomes, in my opinion, pretty clear from an examination of the following quotations, which I have arranged under these four topics: 1. The immanence of God; 2. The Divine Light and Heat; 3. The Light of God in all His creatures; 4. The child's keener perception of God.

1. The following passages express perhaps most clearly Henry Vaughan's sense of the unseen presence of God. In paraphrasing Psalm 121, 1650 (I. 136),¹⁷ he renders the words "the Lord, which made heaven and earth" thus:

Him Who fills,
Unseen, both heaven and earth.

In "I walk'd the other day," 1650 (I. 173), he speaks of God as "in all things, though invisibly." In *The Stone*, 1655 (I. 239), he refers to God's Spirit feeding all things with life. More imaginatively he phrases the same idea in *The Holy Communion*, 1650 (I. 134):

All were by Thee,
And still must be;
Nothing that is, or lives,
But hath his quick'nings and reprieves,
As Thy hand opes or shuts;
Healings and cuts,
Darkness and daylight, life and death,
Are but mere leaves turn'd by Thy breath.

The same thought occurs often in the works of Thomas Vaughan. Notice these passages from *Anthroposophia Theomagica*, 1650 (pp. 8 and 53): "The Peripatetics look on God as they do on carpenters, who build with stone and timber, without any infusion of life. But the world—which is God's building—is full of spirit, quick and living." "But without doubt the Breath or Spirit of Life is the Spirit of God. Neither is this Spirit in man alone but in all the great world, though after another manner. For God breathes continually and passeth through all things like an

¹⁷ References to Henry Vaughan's poems are all to the Muses' Library edition.

air that refresheth—wherefore also He is called of Pythagoras 'the quickening of all.' Hence it is that God in Scripture hath several names, according to those several offices He performs in the preservation of His creature. 'Moreover'—saith the Areopagite—'they bear witness to His presence in our minds, as also in our souls and even in our bodies, that He is in heaven and on earth, and simultaneously in His very self: they declare Him to be within the world, to be around and also above it, over and above heaven, the superior essence, sun, star, fire, water, wind, dew, cloud, the very stone and rock: to be in all things which are and Himself to be nothing which they are.'” In *Anima Magica Abscondita*, 1650 (p. 84), Vaughan says: “For Nature is the Voice of God, not a mere sound or command but a substantial, active breath, proceeding from the Creator and penetrating all things.” Again in *Lumen de Lumine*, 1651 (p. 297), he writes: “Certainly He built and founded Nature upon His own supernatural centre. He is in her and through her, and with His Eternal Spirit doth He support heaven and earth—as our bodies are supported with our spirits.” Of this last passage A. E. Waite remarks: “The doctrine of Divine Immanence is here enunciated in its fulness within the limits of a sentence.”

2. “Light” and “heat” are words sometimes used by Henry Vaughan in referring to God. In *The Dawning*, 1650 (I. 123), we find:

The whole creation shakes off night,
And for Thy shadow looks, the light.

In “I walk'd the other day,” 1650 (I. 172), Vaughan, with reference to the creation, writes:

O Thou! Whose Spirit did at first inflame
And warm the dead,
And by a sacred incubation fed
With life this frame,
Which once had neither being, form, nor name . . .

Likewise in *Love-Sick*, 1655 (I. 200):

Thou art
Refining fire, O then refine my heart,
My foul, foul heart! Thou art immortal heat;
Heat motion gives; then warm it, till it beat.

A passage in *Cock-Crowing*, 1655 (I. 189), couples the ideas of light and heat:

O Thou immortal light and heat!
Whose hand so shines through all this frame,
That by the beauty of the seat,
We plainly see Who made the same.

These passages gain a new interest when read in connection with similar, but more extended, passages in the works of Thomas. The following is from *Calum Terræ*, 1650 (p. 218):

Even so truly the great world itself lives not altogether by that heat which God hath enclosed in the parts thereof, but it is preserved by the circumfused, influent heat of the Deity. For above the heavens God is manifested like an infinite burning world of *light and fire*, so that He overlooks all that He hath made and the whole fabric stands in His *heat and light*, as a man stands here on earth in the sunshine. I say then that the God of Nature employs himself in a perpetual coction, and this not only to generate but to preserve that which hath been generated.

The passage just quoted clarifies, I believe, the second stanza of Henry Vaughan's *Midnight*, 1650 (I. 63): in the first stanza Henry speaks of God's "host of spies," the stars, and then his inward eye, it seems, perceives a brighter heaven beyond; probably the "infinite burning world of light and fire" alluded to above:

Thy heav'ns, some say,
Are a fiery-liquid light
Which mingling aye
Streams, and flames thus to the sight.

The passage from "I walk'd the other day," which describes the "sacred incubation" of God's spirit, may be compared with the following from Thomas Vaughan's *Magia Adamica*, 1650 (p. 129): "Hermes affirmeth that in the beginning the earth was a quagmire or quivering kind of jelly, it being nothing else but water congealed by the incubation and heat of the Divine Spirit."

3. Henry Vaughan does more than assert, in general terms, the immanence of God. He reminds us that God's humblest creatures, by virtue of the divine spark, are, like man, in touch with God. In *The Stone*, 1655 (I. 238), he mentions:

That busy commerce kept between
God and His creatures, though unseen.

In *Rules and Lessons*, 1650 (I. 94), he says:

Walk with thy fellow-creatures: note the hush
And whispers amongst them. There's not a spring
Or leaf but hath his morning-hymn. Each bush
And oak doth know I AM.

Cock-Crowing, 1655 (I. 189), one of Vaughan's most interesting poems, deals with this theme:

Father of lights! what sunny *seed*,
What *glance* of day hast Thou confin'd
Into this bird? To all the breed
This busy ray Thou hast assign'd;
Their magnetism works all night,
And dreams of Paradise and light.

Their eyes watch for the morning-hue,
Their little *grain*, expelling night,
So shines ~~and~~ sings,¹⁸ as if it knew
The path unto the house of light.
It seems their *candle*, howe'er done,
Was *tinn'd*¹⁹ and lighted at the sun.

If such a tincture, such a touch,
So firm a longing can impour,
Shall Thy Own image think it much
To watch for Thy appearing hour?
If a mere blast so fill the sail,
Shall not the breath of God prevail? . . .

Seeing Thy *seed* abides in me,
Dwell Thou in it, and I in Thee! . . .

Only this veil which Thou hast broke,
And must be broken yet in me,
This veil, I say, is all the cloak,
And cloud which shadows Thee from me.
This veil Thy *full-ey'd love* denies,
And only gleams and fractions spies.

The following passage from Thomas Vaughan's *Anima Magica*

¹⁸ Cf. Agrippa, *The Philosophy of Natural Magic*, Chicago, 1913, p. 98:
"Amongst birds, these are Solary: The phœnix, . . . the eagle, . . . the
vulture, the swan, and those which sing at the rising Sun and, as it were,
call upon it to rise, as the cock and crow."

¹⁹ From *tind*, to kindle.

Abscondita, 1650 (p. 81), furnishes an excellent commentary upon the poem just quoted:

The Soul though in some sense active yet is she not so essentially but a mere instrumental agent; for she is guided in her operations by a spiritual, metaphysical *grain*, a *seed* or *glance* of light, simple and without any mixture, descending from the first *Father of Lights*. For though His *full-eyed love* shines on nothing but man, yet everything in the world is in some measure directed for his preservation by a spice or touch of the First Intellect. This is partly confirmed by the habitation and residence of God; for He is seated above all His creatures, to hatch—as it were—and cherish them with living, eternal influences which daily and hourly proceed from Him. Hence he is called of the Kabalists *Kether*, and it answers to Parmenides his Fiery Crown, which he places above all the visible spheres.

The last two lines of the second stanza of *Cock-Crowing* may be compared with the following passage from Henry Vaughan's *Lumen de Lumine*, 1651 (p. 266):

Within this fantastic circle stands a Lamp, and it typifies the Light of Nature. This is the Secret *Candle* of God, which he hath *tinned* in the elements: it burns and is not seen, for it shines in a dark place. Every natural body is a kind of black lantern; it carries this *Candle* within it, but the light appears not: it is eclipsed with the grossness of the matter.

In general I am claiming for my parallels merely similarity of thought. But in *Cock-Crowing*, I believe Henry's phrasing may be colored by the two passages just quoted. To facilitate comparison, I have italicized certain words (*grain*, *seed*, *glance*, etc.) which I think Henry may have borrowed from his brother. Since Thomas's two volumes, *Anima Magica Abscondita* and *Lumen de Lumine*, would almost certainly have been in Henry's hands when he wrote his poem, I feel disinclined to attribute the likenesses of phrasing to mere chance. J

What we term instinct in animals, Thomas Vaughan evidently thought of as a "spice or touch" of the Divine Spirit. I quote again from *Anima Magica Abscondita*, 1650 (pp. 81-2):

In the first place then I would fain know who taught the spider his mathematics? How comes he to lodge in the centre of his web, that he may sally upon all occasions to any part of the circumference? How comes he to premeditate and forecast? . . . He Who ordained flies for his sustenance gave him also some small light to know and execute His ordinance. Tell me—if you can—who taught the hare to countermarch when she

doubles her trace in the pursuit, to confound the scent and puzzle her persecutors? . . . Certainly this is a well-ordered policy, enough to prove that God is not absent from His creatures but that "wisdom reacheth from one end to another mightily"²⁰ and that "His incorruptible Spirit is in all things."²¹

4. The theory that, since all nature possesses something of the Eternal spirit, the child, blessed with the keenest memory of his celestial home, can most easily perceive it, underlies *The Retreat*, 1650 (I. 59), Vaughan's most famous poem. Its opening lines are almost too familiar to need quotation:

Happy those early days, when I
Shin'd in my angel infancy!
Before I understood this place
Appointed for my second race,
Or taught my soul to fancy ought
But a white, celestial thought;
When yet I had not walk'd above
A mile or two from my first love,
And looking back—at that short space—
Could see a glimpse of His bright face.

Corruption, 1650 (I. 101), with its wistful regret over the soul's exile here, begins thus:

Sure, it was so. Man in those early days
Was not all stone and earth;
He shin'd a little, and by those weak rays
Had some glimpse of his birth.
He saw heaven o'er his head, and knew from whence
He came, condemned, hither.

Partly because of the possible influence of these poems upon Wordsworth's great *Ode*, they have been much discussed, and there has been considerable speculation about the origin of their thought.²² The following passage in Thomas Vaughan's *Anthroposophia Theomagica*, 1650 (p. 46), is based upon the soul's longing for a return to God:

²⁰ Wisdom of Solomon 8: 1.

²¹ *Ibid.* 12: 1.

²² E. C. Baldwin, in an article on "Wordsworth and Hermes Trismegistus," advances the idea that Henry Vaughan may have acquired his "belief in the sacredness of childhood" from the Hermetic books" (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXXIII, 241).

The soul of man, whiles she is in the body, is like a candle shut up in a dark lanthorn, or a fire that is almost stifled for want of air. Spirits—say the Platonics—when they are “in their own country” are like the inhabitants of green fields who live perpetually amongst flowers, in a spicy, odorous air; but here below, “in the circle of generation,” they mourn because of darkness and solitude, like people locked up in a pest-house. “Here do they fear, desire and grieve,” etc.” This is it makes the soul subject to so many passions, to such a Proteus of humours. Now she flourishes, now she withers—now a smile, now a tear; and when she hath played out her stock, then comes a repetition of the same fancies, till at last she cries out with Seneca: “How long this self-same round?” This is occasioned by her vast and infinite capacity, which is satisfied with nothing but God, from Whom at first she descended.”²⁴

The question now arises as to the source of Thomas Vaughan’s mystical ideas. In the passages already quoted from his writings, he himself supports his ideas by reference to certain writers: Dionysius the Areopagite on the immanence of God; Hermes Trismegistus in connection with the Divine Heat; the Kabalists in regard to the “living, eternal energy” with which God cherishes His creatures; and the Platonics on pre-existence. Moreover, in the very first passage quoted, one finds a hint of one of his settled convictions—that no value is to be placed upon the teachings of Aristotle and his followers. In the Foreword of Mr. Waite’s edition of Thomas Vaughan’s works, Vaughan’s sources are described as “the school of the Kabbalah in all its extensions and reflections,” “the Hermetic Neo-Platonists,” and “those Latin-writing scholars of Europe who, subsequent to the Renaissance, represented and not infrequently typified the struggle for liberation from the yoke and aridity of scholastic methods.”²⁵ Some notion of the character and extent of Vaughan’s studies may be gathered

²⁴ *Æneid*, VI, 733.

²⁵ Cf. also Thomas Vaughan, *Aula Lucis*, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

²⁶ A. E. Waite, in the Introduction of *The Magical Writings of Thomas Vaughan*, 1888, p. xxiv, after describing the three broad divisions of medieval esoteric knowledge as natural magic, spiritual or transcendental magic, and alchemy, says: “The philosophy of the whole subject is embodied in two priceless collections, the so-called works of Hermes Trismegistus and the Jewish Kabbalah, which to all intents and purposes is contained in the Baron de Rosenroth’s *Kabbala Denudata*, a part of which has been recently translated into English.”

from the frequency with which he refers to Pythagoras, Zoroaster, Hermes, Iamblichus, Dionysius, the Kabalists, Raymond Lully, Arnoldus de Villa Nova, Johannes Reuchlin, Cornelius Agrippa, Paracelsus, Michael Sendivogius, and, of course, the Scriptures.

The most profound influence upon his thought seems to have been exerted by Cornelius Agrippa. Of him Vaughan writes: "He indeed is my author, and next to God I owe all that I have unto him."²⁸ In a poem to his memory he describes him as:

Nature's apostle and her choice high priest,
Her mystical and bright evangelist."²⁹

Again he calls him "the oracle of magic, the great and solemn Agrippa."³⁰ Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, a gifted and versatile man, soldier, physician, and reputed magician, was born in Cologne in 1486. His activities included lecturing on Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* at Ghent when he was but twenty-three years old, and, a few years later, on the *Poimandres* of Hermes Trismegistus at the University of Pavia. His *De Occulta Philosophia* was written, as he informed his friend Trithemius, to recover ancient magic "from the errors of impiety, purify and adorn it with its proper lustre, and vindicate it from the injuries of calumniators."³¹ This work is quoted often by Vaughan.

²⁸ *Anthroposophia Theomagica*, p. 50.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

³⁰ *Anima Magica Abscondita*, p. 88.

³¹ *The Philosophy of Natural Magic*, Chicago, 1913, p. 32. The work just cited is a reprint of the first of Agrippa's *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, translated by J. F., London, 1651. This first book (the remainder of the *De Occulta Philosophia* has not been available to me) is a systematic treatise on the properties of plants and animals and of the stars, a crude and curiously unscientific attempt at a scientific manual. In chapter 13, Agrippa expresses his conviction that the ultimate source of the occult virtues of all things is God himself. In *The Vanity of Arts and Sciences*, London, 1684, p. 111, Agrippa writes: "Natural Magick therefore is that, which considering well the strength and force of Natural and Celestial beings, and with great curiosity labouring to discover their affections, produces into open Act the hidden and concealed powers of Nature; so coupling inferiour with superior faculties, by a mutual application thereof, that from thence many times great and marvellous Miracles have been effected."

Less often Vaughan quotes from the later work, *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum et Artium atque Excellentia Verbi Dei Declamatio*,³⁰ in which Agrippa reveals disillusion even in regard to his own scientific studies. Though a magician, one indeed who claimed to have received the secret of the stone,³¹ Agrippa's ultimate concern in life was, no doubt, like Vaughan's, the finding of God.

Let us now return to Henry Vaughan, and consider what bearing this study has upon our knowledge of him and of his poetry. In the first place we have discovered in Thomas Vaughan what appears to be a new and vital influence in Henry's life, an influence, as it seems to me, second only to that exerted by George Herbert. Not only are a number of Vaughan's poems colored by the mystical and theosophical writings that so absorbed his brother,³² but his love and reverence for nature must undoubtedly have been deepened, her value as a teacher enhanced, by his brother's doctrines. To be sure, Henry never became so thorough a convert. His only original prose work, *The Mount of Olives: or Solitary Devotions*, and the great majority of his poems, reveal none of the kind of mysticism we have been discussing. Yet, on

³⁰ This work discusses, in ninety-nine short chapters, the uncertainty of the results obtained in the study of all the arts and sciences. In chapter 100, Agrippa concludes that the real key to knowledge and wisdom "is nothing else but the Word of God." "For God himself hath in himself the fountains of Truth, out of which it is necessary for him to draw it, whoever desires perfect knowledge; seeing there is no knowledge can be had either of the secrets of Nature, of separated substances, nor of God the Author of all, unless it be reveal'd from above" (*The Vanity of Arts and Sciences*, pp. 348, 351). We may, I think, infer that Henry, as well as Thomas, was acquainted with this work, because of the likeness of certain lines in Henry's poem *The Ass* (I. 244) to a passage in chapter 102, entitled "A Digression in praise of the Ass." I have elsewhere discussed the possible influence of this book on Vaughan (*Modern Language Notes*, XLI, 178).

³¹ *The Works of Thomas Vaughan*, ed. Waite, p. 377.

³² In addition to the passages cited in this paper, cf., for example, the following: *Rules and Lessons* (I. 97), 87-96; *The Check* (I. 109), 35, 36; *Repentance* (I. 116), 1-7; *The Constellation* (I. 156), 28; *Mount of Olives* (I. 168), 21, 22; *Man* (I. 170), 25; *White Sunday* (I. 184), 17, 18; *The Star* (I. 191), 9, 10; *The Bird* (I. 207), 16; *The Dwelling-Place* (I. 241), 10.

the other hand, his poems embodying these mystical ideas are among his most charming.

In the second place, we have acquired a better understanding of some of Vaughan's best poetry. A number of passages are illuminated by our knowledge of the thought that must have occasioned them. Thus certain stanzas in *Cock-Crowing*, always a quaint and fascinating, yet always a puzzling poem, become perfectly clear. Thus, too, Vaughan's passion for light acquires a new significance. Nor need we any longer wonder whether Vaughan was or was not a pantheist. He most assuredly was not a pantheist in the sense that Wordsworth was during his early years. Vaughan's was a mind that could accept the notion of God "in all things, though invisibly," and yet see him on his throne in Heaven. His mind, like the minds of the great Renaissance Platonists, knew how to harmonize the seemingly irreconcilable. Undoubtedly he accepted every word of the Bible literally, often indeed interpreting it so as to prove his mystical ideas. For instance, he cites, as an example of the Divine Intelligence residing even in stones, Joshua 24: 27, in which Joshua said to the people: "Behold, this stone shall be a witness unto us; for it hath heard all the words of the Lord which he spake unto us" (I. 238). Henry, like Thomas, had no doubts about the truth of Christianity. An ardent desire to know God filled the spirits of them both, only they felt that a diligent reading of nature, as well as of the Scriptures, would lead them most surely to their goal.

Indiana University.

THE OUTBREAK OF WAR IN THE SEVENTH AENEID ¹

BY GEORGE HOWE

The seventh book of the *Aeneid* is concerned with the outbreak of the war which Aeneas waged against the Rutulians and the Latins in order to establish himself on Italian soil. The narrative runs as follows:

The country has enjoyed a long continued peace under the quiet rule of the aged king Latinus. But the reign of the family is destined to end with Latinus, since his only child is a daughter, Lavinia, now ripe for marriage and wooed by many suitors from all quarters of Italy. Chief among these suitors is Turnus, prince of the Rutulians, who has won the favor and strong support of Latinus's queen, Amata.

But through certain portents and consultation with the oracle of Faunus Latinus has learned that it is the will of heaven that Lavinia shall become the bride, not of Turnus nor of any other Italian suitor, but of a stranger prince who shall shortly come to the shores of Italy.

The first move of Aeneas, after he has learned something of this local situation, is to send an embassy of a hundred chosen envoys to the city of Latinus, bearing gifts and instructed to beg for peace. The embassy is gladly received by the Latins and is granted an immediate audience with the king. Latinus bids them a hearty welcome, assures them that he already knows something of their history, and inquires what it is that they have come to seek. The leader of the embassy replies that they desire only a modest home for their country's gods, a bit of the shore for a settlement, and the air and water that are the common property of all. The request is accompanied by explanations of who the Trojans are and of how destiny and the will of the gods, not chance, have brought them to Italy and have led them to appear before the king as suppliants. The gifts from Aeneas are then presented to Latinus.

¹ Read at the annual meeting of the Southern Section of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, April, 1927.

The king, recognizing in Aeneas the stranger, foretold by the oracle, who was to wed his daughter and to share his power, gladly accepts the gifts and grants the request. He bids the embassy ask Aeneas to come in person that he may grasp his hand in pledge of peace, and carry back the offer of Lavinia's hand in marriage. He dismisses the embassy with rich gifts.

This peaceful agreement between the two kings angers Juno. The goddess, finding herself helpless to prevent the fulfilment of Aeneas's destiny, is yet determined that he shall not achieve it without further delay and fearful toil and bloodshed. She therefore summons from the infernal shades the Fury Allecto,

cui tristia bella
iraeque insidiaeque et crimina noxia cordi, (vii, 325-326)

and instructs her to sow the seeds of war.

Allecto betakes herself first to Amata the queen, and throws upon her one of the snakes that form her own locks of hair. The serpent glides unseen over Amata's body, breathing into her its venomous breath and stirring her to remonstrance with the king. Amata pleads the cause of Turnus, arguing that he too may be regarded as a stranger and so satisfy the demands of the oracle, and accusing Latinus of breaking his pledge. When Latinus remains fixed in his purpose, the poison of Allecto working now into her very veins, she suddenly loses all control, dashes forth from the palace and rages in madness throughout all the city. Like a bacchante she runs out into the forest, hides her daughter in the mountains and shrieks the Bacchic cry. Other matrons of the city, inspired by her, are seized by the same frenzy, leave their homes, and fill the skies with their shrieking. In the midst of the crazed revellers Amata holds aloft a lighted pine torch and sings the marriage song of Lavinia and Turnus.

Satisfied with the mischief she has accomplished within the household of the king, Allecto next betakes herself to the home of Turnus. Entering by night in the guise of an aged priestess of Juno, she presents herself to Turnus in a dream and seeks to arouse him to action. She urges him to bestir himself and to go forth with armed men to destroy the rival stranger and his followers and to burn their ships. But Turnus is not moved to action:

he mocks the old woman for her vain fears born of age and decay, and bids her attend to her own priestly business and leave questions of war and peace to him.

Enraged at this answer, Allecto puts off disguise, proclaims herself as the bearer of war and death, and amid the hissing of serpents plunges her burning brand into his breast. In terror Turnus starts up from his sleep, calls for his arms, orders his warriors to march on Latinus, and cries out that he will defend Italy and prove a match for both Trojans and Latins.

Allecto next turns her attention to the Trojans. She wings her way to the place on the shore where it chances that the young prince Ascanius is engaged with his comrades in the sport of hunting wild beasts. She inspires his dogs with a sudden frenzy and puts them on the scent of a certain stag which had been domesticated by the keeper of the king's herd and given as a pet to his daughter Silvia. Ascanius, eagerly following, with shaking hand lets fly his arrow. True to the mark it speeds, and the wounded animal flees to its accustomed stall at the keeper's home. Silvia, wailing and beating her body, cries aloud for help. Quickly from all sides come running the peasants armed with their rustic implements. Allecto, who has mounted to the top of a farm-house, sounds the horn that summons the shepherds to war, and from their camp gates the Trojans also rush forth to the protection of Ascanius.

In the clash that follows first blood is shed by the keeper's son Almo. The shepherds, bearing his body back to the city, call upon the gods and demand war of Latinus. Turnus is there and seizes the occasion to urge the people on to slaughter of the strangers. The sons of the matrons who had followed Amata, assembling from all sides, address their prayers to Mars. In a twinkling a mob clamoring for war forms about the palace of the king. Like a cliff of ocean, Latinus stands unmoved, but, one against all, is helpless to quell the storm of passion. Crying out that the guilt of the unholy act must be borne by Turnus, he shuts himself within his palace *rerumque reliquit habenas* (vii, 600).

There are three main movements in this narrative: the agreement between Aeneas and Latinus, the activities of Allecto, and the slaying of the stag by Ascanius.

The first of these contains no thought of war whatever. Aeneas

in proffering his request to Latinus recognizes fully the authority of Latinus and the fact that he himself is an intruder in a domain where he has no rights. This is obvious in the very act of seeking the permission of Latinus to be allowed to settle in his territory. And he keeps his request down to a minimum: only enough land for a settlement for his people and a home for his gods and the air and water essential to life. He offers, besides, apologetic explanation of his intrusion in the assertion that it is due to the direction of the divine will, not chance, nor, by implication, deliberate choice on his own part. That his pride sustains a shock in appearing before the king in the humble position of suppliant is voiced in the strong assurance, accompanied by an oath, that many peoples have sought alliance with him. The very pocketing of his pride only adds force to the wholly friendly nature of his proposal. This is further borne out by his promise to honor the authority and fame of Latinus and to hold in lasting gratitude any favorable action he may take upon his request. There is in it all not the slightest hint of guileful diplomacy, nor the remotest suggestion of a threat of force if the request be not granted. Aeneas's whole intent and desire is for peace and friendship.

It is in the same spirit of friendship and peace, and with a like respect for the expressed will of the gods, that Latinus meets the request. He is convinced from the first that Aeneas is the stranger pointed out by the oracle as his future son-in-law, and he feels only joy in his coming. He therefore welcomes heartily Aeneas's proposal and longs to grasp his hand in pledge of peace. Not only does he freely grant the request, but he seals the sincerity of his purpose by offering Aeneas the hand of his daughter in marriage.

In the entire passage one discovers not a single suggestion of fear on the part of either king, nor of double meaning in word or act, nor of the slightest distrust of one by the other. The atmosphere is altogether one of peace—so much so that war seems even beyond the pale of possibility. This applies of course only to the particular incident under discussion. That the reader knows that war is to be the final outcome is derived from other sources than the account of the initial interchange between the two leaders. The whole narrative up to this point has prophesied the grim wars which await the hero upon his arrival in Italy; this very passage is im-

mediately preceded by a special invocation announcing *horrida bella*, . . . *acies actosque animis in funera reges* (vii, 40). Aeneas himself, always a devout and trusting believer in oracles and prophecies and all supernatural forms of divine revelation, knows that war in Italy is the final and terrible obstacle to be overcome in the fulfilment of his mission. Whether such an expectation is also in the mind of Latinus is not so clear. In the preliminary account given of his circumstances at the time of Aeneas's arrival nothing is said of it, unless one is to take as a foreshadowing of war the brief mention of queen Amata's passionate desire to see Lavinia married to Turnus as opposed to the king's determination to obey the oracle. But what the reader has been led to expect and what foreknowledge Aeneas and Latinus themselves may possess at the moment are matters beside the point. The poet, having announced war, is of course not at pains to mislead in any way, but rather is now concerned only to make plain how war actually starts. In approaching the point he has pictured two peoples in friendly relations with each other, with no thought of conflict in their hearts. He has represented their leaders as preëminently men of peace, frankly and honestly disposed to genuine friendship, willingly obedient to divine commands. And the divine commands themselves, so far as they are revealed as having bearing on the particular incident, enjoin upon them the very reverse of hostility. Out of such a situation how is war possible?

The second movement, narrating the activities of Allecto, carries us instantly from this serene atmosphere of friendliness into one of frenzied hostility. Allecto makes no attempt to effect a change of heart in the responsible leaders—a further clear indication, by the way, of the sincerity of Aeneas and Latinus in their desire for an amicable adjustment—but devotes her energies to the queen Amata and the prince Turnus. That these two are fertile fields for her sowing has already been suggested—but merely suggested—in the single statement that Turnus was the most attractive of the many suitors for Lavinia's hand and that Amata passionately favored his suit. But slight as the suggestion is, and almost hidden away in an elaborate exposition of the circumstances which had induced in Latinus a frame of mind favorable to the friendly reception of Aeneas, it yet serves as a skillful con-

neeting link between the first and second movements. The ground for Allecto's sowing having thus been prepared, there is no need for the invention of a new set of relations among the characters.

Allecto's program consists of two parts, each of which is essential to the fulfilment of her purpose. The attack on Amata has for its object the development of a strong opposition to the plans of Latinus within his very household and capable of spreading thence throughout his city. It is of little moment that Amata's following consists only of the women of the city who have no voice in the determination of public matters; it is enough if a sharp division of some sort be effected among the subjects of Latinus. The summarizing words at the end of the passage—*consiliumque omnemque domum vertisse Latini* (vii, 407)—indicate that the poet so interpreted the incident himself. What comes of it in the issue is a union of forces between the families of the Latin women and the followers of Turnus to break down the newly formed alliance of Latinus and Aeneas.

There are two distinct stages in Amata's progress from the state of inactivity, beneath whose surface she cherishes the fond hope of seeing Lavinia married to Turnus, to the open and violent opposition to the king's offer of Lavinia to Aeneas. At first the poison of Allecto

*pertemptat sensus atque ossibus implicat ignem,
necdum animus toto percepit pectore flammam,* (vii, 355-356)

and she is moved only to pleading and argument with Latinus. The second stage, brought on by the quiet firmness of the king, is one of sudden anger, developing rapidly into the wild frenzy of madness.

The second part of Allecto's program is the awakening of Turnus to action. In this incident also Allecto employs a two-fold approach, just as she did in the case of Amata, and the effect is the same. There is first the rather restrained exhortation somewhat in the form of an imparting of information and advice on the general situation, where the arguments used are similar to those of Amata's remonstrance with Latinus, including even the accusation of a broken pledge. When this method fails, heroic measures follow. And Turnus, like Amata, springs up in sudden frenzy, madly shouting for his arms and raging to fight. The parallel is

carried further by the introduction at precisely corresponding points in both incidents of a simile to picture the state of frenzy: for that of Amata, the simile of a spinning top which boys lash with a whip to drive it in a great circle through an empty court; for that of Turnus, the simile of a cauldron of water heated by flaming sticks piled beneath and brought to the boiling point, foaming, overflowing.

Very sharp indeed is the contrast between the close of the first movement and the close of the second. In the former all was peace, in the latter all is hostility; then, the action seemed to reach a definite rest, now it is all commotion and prophecy of infinitely greater activity to follow; the former created an impression of the power of the leaders concerned to arrive at a wholly friendly arrangement, the latter an impression of the complete futility of the good intentions and friendly plans of these same leaders in the face of frenzied passions over which they have no control.

But a radical cleavage of interests, even uncontrolled passion and frenzy, are not in themselves enough for war. The third movement is necessary.

Allecto throws the responsibility for the deed which leads to actual bloodshed upon the Trojans, and particularly upon their young prince Ascanius. The hunt on which the latter is engaged is an innocent enough sport—there is no implication that he is exceeding his rights in any way or wilfully committing any wrong against the Latins. Yet because the stag, which Allecto causes his dogs to start and which with uncertain aim he fatally wounds, happens to be a pet animal of the keeper's daughter Silvia, one which she tended with loving care, hanging garlands on his horns, currying his coat, and bathing him in clear water—

adsuetum imperiis soror omni Silvia cura
mollibus intexens ornabat cornua sertis,
pectebatque ferum puroque in fonte lavabat. (vii, 487-489)

the act has the full effect upon the peasants' minds of an intended outrage. The flaring up of hot anger, which takes no thought of consequences but is intent only on immediate punishment for the deed, is natural to the untutored mind. The sudden attack on Ascanius and his fellow-huntsmen leads of course to a quick counter-move of Trojan soldiers hurrying to the defence of the

prince, and a clash is inevitable. Inevitable it is also, since the Trojan fighters are very much superior to the untrained and indifferently armed peasants, that the spilling of first blood should be the act of the strangers.

This double guilt of the Trojans—the killing of the stag that justified the violence of the peasants and the shedding of first blood in the clash that followed—supplies the necessary fuel with which to start the conflagration. When the country-folk retire from battle into the city carrying with them their dead, the Rutulian followers of Turnus urging war on the invaders and the Latin men already roused to a state of anxious excitement by the Bacchic frenzy of their matrons unite in demanding war, casting aside every restraining influence of reason and all reckoning of consequences, indifferent to obedience and loyalty to the king, simply swayed and guided by the intense passion of the moment. This state of mind could hardly have been brought about by the frenzy of the women alone; nor by the demands of Turnus, who was no more a subject of the Latin state than Aeneas, but one who, on the contrary, was even now threatening war against the Latins, while Aeneas was seeking peace and friendship. The third movement of the narrative thus draws together into unity of purpose the interests of Amata and of Turnus, which, though seeking the same ultimate goal, had hitherto moved from entirely separate sources, adds a third immediate interest springing from the enraged rustic population, and supplies the justification and the force of concerted action necessary to break down the authority of Latinus. In the face of all this, the aged king, still holding fast to his conception of what is right, can only withdraw in helplessness and let events take their course, while Aeneas is forced out of his plans of peace into a war of self-defence.

If on the basis of this analysis we now look at the passage as a whole, its meaning as the poet's conception of how wars take their start becomes clear. We are concerned, it should be noted, not at all with the causes of war, but only with war's actual outbreak. In the present instance we may assume that an adequate cause exists, whether we take it to be the invasion of an alien, or the rivalry of royal suitors, or the immutable purpose of the gods; whether it is ultimately to be explained on economic grounds, or on the basis of movements of population, or of the spread of relig-

ious propaganda. Whatever the underlying causes, remote or near at hand, war is conceivably avoidable up to the very moment at which it actually begins. How does this outbreak come about?

In Vergil's conception, there are three stages corresponding to the three movements discussed above. First there is the state of mind of the persons and peoples concerned. For his point of departure the poet has chosen—not of set purpose, of course, but in harmony with his story and with his idea of his hero's character—the most difficult situation possible. He pictures the responsible leaders as lovers of peace, moved by a sincere desire for friendship, and possessed of no ulterior purpose whatever. The same attitude is true also of the two peoples involved, and not a single hint is given of a lack of loyal support of the leaders on the part of their subjects generally.

Yet somewhere beneath the surface of every such situation, even when intentions, desires, purposes of leaders and peoples are indubitably sincere, must lie latent the seeds of difference and discord—somewhere a divergent interest, a personal ambition, an influence from without, whatnot. It may at the moment, if known at all, appear so insignificant or so readily subject to control, that it receives no more attention than a mere passing allusion to its existence, like that to Turnus as one of a number of suitors for Lavinia's hand and to Amata's passionate desire for his success.

The second stage is the growth of the divergent interest to a maturity capable of destroying the conditions of peace. Vergil's account of this progress is, of course, fitted out with all the trappings of epic narrative—an angry goddess, a hideous fury with locks of hissing serpents, Bacchic frenzy, dreams, venom, burning brands, shrieks of madness. But these devices do not obscure at all the essential truth behind them. If we should subtract all of them and reduce the whole to the most matter-of-fact statement, we would still have left the same conclusions about the workings of self-interest and the behavior of human beings. Indeed, it is worth while remarking in this connection that Vergil, though he employs the miraculous, never needs it to explain or to solve situations. Allecto is epically interesting and poetically serves to heighten the effect of the hideousness of ugly passions; but Allecto does not create these passions, nor is any supernatural power necessary to goad them into action. All that the situation demands is that the

passions be grand passions and that the characters in whom they appear be big enough to sustain grand passions. Such are Amata and Turnus.

Neither in Amata nor in Turnus is the development a sudden one. Both have for some time believed that their common desire was to be realized, and this possibly despite their knowledge that Latinus held other views on the matter. All the keener therefore their dismay when they learn of the definite agreement made with Aeneas, the stranger who has just arrived. They are at once severally stirred to action. The poet skillfully represents the developmental nature of the passage from a reasonable sense of security to a violent opposition by recording in each case two sorts of activity, the parallel pointed out above. Amata resorts first to gentle remonstrance with Latinus:

mollius et solito matrum de more locuta est,
multa super natae lacrimans Phrygiisque hymenaeis. (vii, 357-358)

From such pleading she passes to sophistries, and, still feeding her passion, concludes by breaking forth into false charges of a broken pledge. When entreaty, argument, and accusation alike prove futile to effect a change, then her pent-up passion breaks forth, and, under its sway, her behavior becomes that of a madman. In the same way Turnus at first gives mild enough reply to warnings and advice, dismissing the words as false alarms and trusting in his own power to settle matters to his liking. It is only when a complete realization of the accomplished fact awakes his jealousy and his patriotism that passion takes possession of him and drives him headlong to open violence.

Epic deals mainly with individuals. Just as the actual waging of war is chiefly the single combat of heroes, so the analysis of situations which lead to action consists chiefly of the analysis of the attitudes of mind and the behavior of the same individual heroes. We shall not be forcing the point if we transfer the poet's thought from the individuals of his story to nations and empires such as the poet himself knew in his own lifetime. Whether such passion be that of kings or of individual subjects or of minorities or of peoples, it is a psychological state which leads directly to the outbreak of war. And its unfolding is brought about through

opposition, even though that opposition take the form of a compact of peace.

But there must be a third stage, an overt act to perform the function of a precipitate. Vergil's selection of an unintentional injury, originating with those who in the circumstances would have been the last to give offence, and falling upon the simple peasant-folk farthest removed from the determination of matters of state, is equivalent to maintaining that it matters not at all what the overt act itself may be, whether right or wrong, whether intended or accidental. It is not the essential cause of war's outbreak, it is but the excuse.

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